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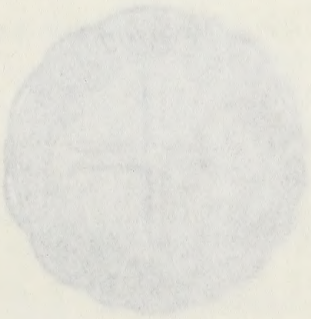

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CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

ST. LOUIS

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THE LANGUAGE QUESTION IN THE OLD CATHEDRAL OF ST. LOUIS

St. Louis was a French settlement. It was founded by Frenchmen and for Frenchmen. During the Spanish regime, the official Spanish language was used only in government documents. French was spoken in the families, in the streets, in the shops, in court, and French, exclusively, was the vernacular of the Church, even in presence of the highest Spanish officials. French remained the language of the Church also after the United States had seized the reins of government in the Territory west of the Mississippi, when eastern Americans, Englishmen and Irishmen passed the open door to St. Louis and to the Western land of hill and prairie. Only on extraordinary occasions, when curiosity led this new element in the population of St. Louis to the Catholic chapel on Second Street, a sermon would be preached also in English. The French Creoles of St. Louis were not ready to plunge headlong into the new order of things. They raised no vigorous protest against the transfer subsequent to the Louisiana Purchase, but when the Spanish and French flags went down and the American flag was hoisted, they shed tears. [1]

It is safe to say, that the French language remained in full and indisputed possession of the Church at St. Louis, during the interregnum from the day of the departure of Father Janin (Nov. 12, 1804)[2], to the day when, sent by Bishop Du Bourg of Louisiana, Father Rosati arrived (Oct. 19, 1817). All these thirteen years no legitimate pastor

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[1] L. Houck, History of Missouri, II 375.

[2] Father Janin, the sixth Parish priest of St. Louis gave up his charge four days before De Lassus with the Spanish officials and soldiers left the city to descend to New Orleans November 16, 1804. The Irish priest, Father Thomas Flynn, who took charge of the parish December 5, 1806, to January 2, 1808, was no legitimate parish priest; he was "elected" pastor by the people, or rather, without any explicit faculties in the Louisiana Territory, by permission of the forlorn Catholics of St. Louis and perhaps also of the quasi-Vicar General Maxwell of Ste. Genevieve, performed a pastor's functions. Father Maxwell was called "Vicar General," but it would be difficult to say, whose Vicar General he was. The Propaganda, February 21, 1807, expressly states, "cum nullus in eadem dioecesi extstat, qui facultates spirituales interim ab apostolica hac S. Sede obtinuerit, donec novus in eadem dioecesi episcopus praeficiatur"; i. e., after the cessation of the jurisdiction of Bp. Peñalver over Louisiana, there was nobody in that diocese who obtained faculties for jurisdiction from the Apostolic See. On September 1, 1808, Bishop Carroll was made Administrator of the diocese of Louisiana; it is quite improbable that before the coming of Father Flynn, Father Maxwell was appointed Vicar General by Bishop Carroll. Father Flynn had come from the East; November 8, 1806, he wrote to Bishop Carroll that he had taken possession of St. Louis. Father Savine, who is said to have been the eighth pastor of St. Louis, resided at Kahokia, Ill., and served St. Louis the third Sunday of every month, from December, 1812, to September, 1817. Other priests who occasionally performed services at St. Louis during the interregnum were Father J. Maxwell of Ste. Genevieve, Father D. Olivier of Prairie du Rocher, Ill., and the Trappists Urbain Guillet, F. M. Bernard, and M. Jos. Dunand of Florissant and the Monks' Mound, Ill. Maxwell and Flynn occasionally may have preached in English.

THE LANGUAGE QUESTION IN THE OLD CATHEDRAL OF ST. LOUIS

resided in the little presbytery adjoining the church. The order of instructions in the church of St. Louis continued to follow the beaten tracks and the English speaking Catholics were looked upon as intruders.

Whilst Bishop Du Bourg resided at St. Louis (January 5, 1818 to November 19, 1820) the sermon at High Mass was always preached in French. But because a considerable number of Irish Catholics had come to St. Louis and made the city their home, men who were good Catholics and liberal to the Church like Jeremiah Connor,[3] Bishop Du Bourg made the new rule, that every Sunday, after Vespers, a sermon should be preached in English. This appears from a letter of De Andreis, the saintly Vicar General, (February 20, 1818), to Father Rosati: "At every Sunday at morning, we preach in French, and afternoon at the Vespers in English." (The English is De Andreis'). Again, on March 2, he writes to the same: "I have here scarcely occasion to speak English and I preached English but twice, and very seldom I hear confession in such tongue." (The English is De Andreis'). And again: "My work . . . does not leave me time . . .: to preach twice on Sundays (*le feste*), in French and (these last three Sundays) in English, because Monsignore is absent." (Original written in Italian).

This indicates that Bishop Du Bourg, either personally or through his Vicar General, preached in English every Sunday. De Andreis, January 1, 1820, wrote to his brother: "I speak and preach in French and in English." Bishop Du Bourg wrote and spoke English well. The English of De Andreis shows that he thought in Italian. Also Father Niel, after the demise of De Andreis (October 15, 1820) pro-rector of the Cathedral and President of St. Louis Academy, was able to preach an English sermon, but he seemed to have discontinued the practice. In 1823, therefore, when he made an attempt at regulating the financial affairs of the congregation, the Irish Catholics "were led to believe that there would be an English sermon every second Sunday at High Mass" (cf. the petition below). But if then any promise had been made by Father Niel, it was never realized. It was difficult for the French clergy of those days to leave the established groove. The expectations of the Irish Catholics were never complied with (cf. the petition).

When, in March 1825, Father Niel[4] left for Europe to raise funds wherewith to pay the debt of the struggling parish of St. Louis, Father

---

[3] Jeremiah Connor, the second sheriff of St. Louis was a bachelor. He had come to St. Louis from Georgetown, D. C. He gave a thousand dollars to put the old presbytery of St. Louis in readiness for Bishop Du Bourg. He gave also to the city the great thoroughfare, called now Washington Avenue, from Third Street to Jefferson Avenue. In 1820 he sold to Bishop Du Bourg the two squares on which the Jesuits, in 1822, erected their college. (W. B. Stevens, *St. Louis*, I p. 777). On March 17, 1820, St. Patrick Day was celebrated for the first time in St. Louis by the Irish Benevolent Society (organized October 10, 1819, Jeremiah Connor, president). F. L. Billon, Annals of St. Louis II. J. Jeremiah Connor died September 23, 1823.

[4] Father Francis Niel, born at St. Antonin, Languedoc, France, left Bordeaux with Bishop DDu Bourg June 17, 1817, came to St. Louis with the Bishop, January 5, 1818, and was ordained priest in the old Spanish chapel of St. Louis, March 19, 1818. He never returned from his trip to France. His last letter to Bishop Rosati is dated from Paris, September 12, 1835. (Archives.)

Edmond Saulnier[5] was appointed pro-rector of the Cathedral. He was notoriously a poor speaker, hardly able to preach in French, still less in English. Nor did he ever learn enough English to preach a fair sermon. As late as July 21, 1847, Saulnier in a sort of Diary, kept by himself, stated that he was made light of by his confreres for reading his sermons from a copy (*cahier*).[6] It was but a matter of course that the Irish became impatient. Even the poor courtesy of an afternoon sermon was denied them, because there was no one to preach it. Besides Bishop Rosati and the Flemish Jesuits at Florissant, there was only one priest in Missouri who could preach a decent sermon in English; this one priest was the Fleming, P. Leo de Neckere, C.M.[7] At St. Mary's of the Barrens, then the only English speaking parish in the new State of Missouri, he had learned English fairly well, being gifted with an extraordinary memory. Saulnier saw that something had to be done to provide for the instruction and spiritual need of those who knew no French. Wherefore, March 1, 1826, he wrote to Bishop Rosati:

> "I shall be pleased to see Mr. De Neckere, but I shall be still more so, if he can stay; he could do a great deal of good by preaching in English every Sunday. No doubt he could even make some converts. It would be a treat for the Protestants to hear him. In regard to his health Mr. De Neckere would be better off here in St. Louis than at the Barrens, because here he would enjoy better accommodations than there. I know that very often his sickness is only imaginary; he is too retired, he needs distraction. . . ."

On April 3, 1826, Bishop Rosati sent Fathers De Neckere and Odin to New Madrid to give a mission. After their return the Bishop gave De Neckere his papers for St. Louis (May 15). On the same day Rosati started for New Orleans. The Bishop assumed that the coming of Father De Neckere would check all friction in the church of St. Louis. We permit Father Saulnier to give an account of what happened after De Neckere's arrival.

> . . . . It had not been my intention to write to You at this time, but the course things have taken forces me to do so. First, I must tell you that last Sunday at eight o'clock, I invited the Irish to assemble before Vespers. Twelve of them came; there may have been a few more, but this does not matter. I told them the reason why I called the meeting, that is, to grant them a favour: that in the future Mr. De Neckere would preach in English every Sunday after Vespers. But they would not listen to my proposition, unless I would grant them the right of having a sermon in English every

---

[5] Edmond Saulnier was born at Bordeaux, March 13, 1798, arrived at the Barrens in Ma, 1819, and was ordained priest at St. Louis, September 22, 1822. From November, 1831, to July, 1832, he was pastor of the missions in Arkansas (v. *St. Louis Hist. Review*, July-October, 1919), was appointed pastor of Vide-Roche (Carondelet) in August, 1832, and pastor of French Village, Ill., in 1842. In 1845 he was curate at the Cathedral of St. Louis and since 1851, chancellor of the Archdiocese. He died March 22, 1864, in the chapel of Calvary Cemetery, the only survivor (with Father St. Cyr) of the French Regime.

[6] The documents used in writing this sketch are in the Archives of the archiepiscopal chancery office, St. Louis, and have mostly been translated from the French.

[7] P. Leo Raymond De Neckere was born June 6, 1800, at Wevelghem, Flanders; he crossed the ocean with Du Bourg in 1817, and was ordained priest in the Cathedral erected by Du Bourg, October 13, 1822. During his stay in the Seminary at the Barrens he joined the Lazarists. He was consecrated Bishop of New Orleans in the Cathedral of that city, June 24, 1830, and died of yellow fever September 5, 1833.

second Sunday at High Mass. I told them that I could not abolish a custom which had always existed in St. Louis, that the French had a sermon in French every Sunday at High Mass, that I could not change this unless a Superior order told m e to do so. How the French would complain if we were to preach to them in English! They would leave the church, as the Irish do when they notice that the sermon is to be in French. Besides, the French enjoy this right since the day when St. Louis was founded, and Msgr. Du Bourg changed nothing in this respect, although four years ago there were three times as many Irishmen in the city as there are now. But this is not all. Some Irishmen held a meeting in the city and made up a lengthy petition, signed, not by the most respectable amongst them, but mostly by men of objectionable conduct. For those , of whom I know that they practice their religion, refused to sign, like Higgins, Walsh, English, etc. Furthermore, I was told by those who would not sign, that the petition shows but little respect to my character. I leave the decision to You, Monseigneur, but for my part I expect more assistance for Mr. De Neckere from non-Catholics than from the others. If the French did not pay better than the Irish, I do not know what would become of my support. I made the arrangement with Mr. De Neckere that I would pay him ten dollars a month or more, if he wished. All is calm at present. Msgr. Du Bourg has informed You of the rest. . . . . (June 6, 1826).

The petition, it is true, was not signed by all the Irish Catholics of the city. Men like James Timon, father of Father Timon, (later on Bishop of Buffalo) and James Timon Jr., who had signed, had later on their names taken off the list. One of them, Peter Walsh,[8] even wrote a formal protest (in English) against the petition, in the form of a postscript to Father Saulnier's letter:

Rt. Rev. Sir:

Pardon the liberty I take in obtruding myself at this crisis; but I should consider myself in a certain degree a criminal, were I deficient in making You acquainted with what I deem a petit schism in our church of St. Louis and raised only by a few discontended spirits, and those not of a respectable class. A petition has been framed by them, I understand, in terms not the most elegant, to obtain a certain grant of you; but be assured, Sir, not one respectable Catholic Irishman has signed it. For my part, I have not been at their meeting and do in conjunction with most of my respectable Irish acquaintances protest against and repel said Petition; while I and my friends naturally desire instruction from the pulpit, yet we deem it our duty as Catholics, to be subject to the will and direction of those superiors which the Church has placed over us, and I do consider the petition ill-timed and proceeding from a source not entitled to attention.

I have the honor to be, Rt. Rev. Sir, your obedient servant

P. WALSH.

On the following day, June 7, Saulnier wrote again:

I have been told that the petition of which I spoke to you in my preceding letter, was sent to you, but it seems that at present grass has grown over it. I have been informed that the man who raised this commotion, is a worthless fellow (*surtout*), who felt insulted when I reprimanded him for talking whilst I performed a marriage ceremony; I know that he resented and still resents having been reproved publicly and to his face. He would be glad to see me far from here. You have, I suppose, seen my reasons; I believe they are just, and if it were otherwise there would be no end of trouble in the parish.

Mr. De Neckere takes great interest in his English sermons, and I hope he will do a great deal of good in the future. There is a rumor that the Americans will raise a collection of 300 dollars for him.

[8] Peter Walsh, born in Sligo, Ireland, in 1783, came to New York in 1803, and to St. Louis in 1820; he was a commission merchant and Justice of the Peace; died 1851.

But all was not calm, as Father Saulnier imagined. Te petition was sent to New Orleans and was received by Rosati at the Barrens, August 27, 1826.[9] If its terms are not of the most elegant, it appears to be very tame in comparison to similar eastern documents of the same period. We reprint the entire petition, together with the names attached to it:

Saint Louis, Missouri,
June, 1826.

To the Right Reverend Louis Wm. Du Bourg,
Bishop of the Upper anl Lower Louisianas and Floridas.[9]
Right Reverend Father,

We your petitioners, members of the holy R. Catholick Church and parishioners of the Parish of Saint Louis Mo. humbly sheweth.

That some time in the year of our Lord 1823, at an aggregate meeting of the Roman Catholicks of this Parish, the following resolution was unanimously agreed to; The Reverend F. Niel in the Chair, and the then acting Church Wardens present.

Resolved, that each family will pay for the support of the parish Priest two dollars per annum, to make up the Sum of five hundred dollars per year, provided, the said contribution is not sufficient to make up the said sum of five hundred dollars per annum, the Church Wardens are to make up the deficiency, and pay to the Parish Priest the said sum of five hundred dollars, out of any monies collected in the Church for the sale and rent of Pews, or otherwise. And further that at a subsequent meeting, the Reverend F. Niel P. Priest, did for the further consideration of one hundred and fifty dollars, to be added to the above five hundred dollars, making a total of Six hundred and fifty dollars per annum; did agree to give up his right to certain sums allowed him at Marriages, Buriels, etc. unto the Church, and thereby changed only the receivers right. In showing the foregoing resolution to your Reverence, your petitioners do not Complain.

But your petitioners do complain, and most humbly and respectfully shew, that at the time the above resolution was passed, the amount then deemed sufficient for the support of our Parish Priest and his Coadjutor, and was granted at their own request. — And further—Your Reverence's petitioners do most humbly and respectfully shew, that at the time the above regulations were passed, your petitioners were led to believe that there would be an english sermon every second Sunday at high Mass. And further that your Reverence's petitioners have truly and faithfully complyed with the above regulations as far as in them lay, although our expectations have never been complyed with.

Your Reverence's Petitioners do most humbly and respectfully shew, that a meeting of the American part of the Catholic Congregation was called on last Sunday by our acting Parish Priest at his room, then and there told us that the Reverend Wm. Denackary would stay here if we could separately raise a sufficient sum to maintain him. Your Reverence's petitioners did then most respectfully state, that the Sallery of Six hundred and fifty dollars, as above stated, did support two clergymen heretofore, and that they deemed the same amount now sufficient, but your Reverence's petitioners did offer to raise their subscriptions, one dollar each per annum, provided we would get an english Sermon every second Sunday, which was refused by the Reverend Edm. Saulnier.

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[9] On May 15, 1826, Bishop Rosati started for Louisiana and did not return to the Barrens before July 19. (*Diary* of Bp. Rosati.) When the petition arrived at New Orleans, Rosati was gone; this explains the long delay. The postal service at that time was very imperfect.

[9] It is difficult to say why the petition was addressed to Bishop Du Bourg. Everybody in St. Louis knew that Bishop Du Bourg was on his way to Europe; on his way to New York he had been at St. Louis on Ascension Day and had been received with the highest public honors.

Your petitioners do most humbly and respectfully shew, that so long as the great distinction is kept up between what is termed the French and the American part of this congregation, by giving after Vespers an english Sermon, and always at high Mass the French Sermons and exertations, a a language that few or none of the Americans understand, and that the said American part can have no satisfaction in attending at high Mass, only the contemplation of being present at the August mistery of our divine religion.

Your Reverence's petitioners do distinctly and most respectfully state that a very large majority of the French population that composes in part this congregation, do understand perfectly the english language, to these your petitioners would beg leave to add, that a great number of respectable Citizens of this place, of other denominations who attend at our Church, and who do not understand the French language, would form not only a very large majority who understand the english language, but would leave very few who do not understand it.

Your Reverence's petitioners, do most humbly and respectfully state, that it is not our intention to dictate to your Reverence any rules or regulations for the Parish which forms a part of the Diocese, which it has pleased God to place you over, far be it from us, we only wish to make known to your Reverence these our grievances which we labor under, trusting therefore to the justness of our Claims, and your Reverence's known liberality, we deem it not necessary to state to Your Reverence, the great advancement it would be of the glory of God and our holy religion, to have a Clergyman who is capable of giving suitable and frequent explanations of that faith "once delivered to the Saints," in the language of the State and in which all business is here transacted, to so mixed a population as this rapidly growing City is daily pouring in upon us, with their existing prejudices, that Clergyman your petitioners are confident they have now got in the person of the Reverend Wm. Denackary, but the time that he is at liberty to preach to us in the language we understand is at a very unseasonable hour, and indeed an hour that a majority, or a great part of the American Catholics cannot attend, as they reside at some considerable distance in the country, and is of necesity obliged to return home even before Vesper hour.

Your Reverence's petitioners do humbly and sorrowfully state, that there has of late been a great apathy or total neglect in a number of lukewarm Catholics to the important duty of hearing Mass on Sundays, on this, and no other account, than that of never hearing an English instruction at the time of Mass.

Your Reverence's petitioners do therefore most humbly and respectfully request that your Reverence be pleased to direct, that every second Sermon be prached at the time of high Mass, in the English language, and your petitioners shall ever be Your faithful Children in Christ.

PATRICK QUIGLEY
JAMES FORTUNE
ROBT. COONEY
MATHEW DOUGHERTY
MICHAEL MCLAUGHLIN
MICHAEL REILLY
EDWARD HARRINGTON
MICHAEL ROURKE
JOHN MCGOVERN
WILLIAM TIERNAN
CORNELIUS CAUGHLIN
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TIMOTHY COTTER
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C. G. BRUN
PATRICK MURPHY
WILLIAM MCKNIGHT
HENRY HEAGERTY
JAMES ROACHE
PATRICK SULLIVAN
JOHN SHADE

But the Bishop could work no miracles. Fredericktown, Kaskaskias and other neighboring towns had exhausted his resources; from the Seminary he could not take away any of the professors, etc. (Rosati's letter to Saulnier Sept. 10, 1826). In this sense he sent a communication, not to the signers of the petition, but to the trustees (*marguilliers*) of the church of St. Louis, September 1, 1826:

> "As God is no respector of persons, so those of his ministers whom he has appointed the pastors of his flock, make no distinction between the souls entrusted to their care. French and Americans, Creole and Irish are equally dear to us, because we think them equally entitled to the spiritual assistance which is in our power to afford them. But imperious necessity often renders ineffectual our most ardent desires and reduces us to the painful impossibility of doing what we would think our happiness to do. The parish of St. Louis has hitherto had a greater share in the sollicitude of her pastors than any in the diocese, and if those amongst the parishioners who speak the English language have been often deprived of instructions from the pulpit, it has not been the effect of neglect or disregard on our side. We have been more deeply affected than any other by the consideration of the sad effects that are to be expected from this inconvenience. But we cannot give what is out of our power and in such circumstance the only remedy which we can find for our evils is to have recourse to the Lord of the harvest and beseech him to send evangelical workmen into his harvest. In the meantime we think it our duty to exert ourselves in order to raise a national clergy who, knowing the languages spoken in the country, may be able to assist all their countrymen."

The practice of preaching English after Vespers only was continued. But even this arrangement did not last. On July 26, Saulnier, who was never friendly to De Neckere, wrote to Rosati:

> "Mr. De Neckere suffers from the heat. But is there anything of which he does not complain? I shall comment upon this more fully when I see you. . . ."

From Father De Neckere's own letters, however, it appears that he was continually ill. To save his life he was compelled to leave St. Louis and return to Flanders. Before Rosati had received the petition of the Irish Catholics, he gave permission to De Neckere to go to Europe (August 12, 1826), to return, if possible; otherwise he was to stay in Rome.

His departure caused great discontent amongst the Catholics of St. Louis. It seems that reports of an ill feeling between Saulnier and De Neckere had leaked out; sharp tongues attacked Saulnier and accused him of having driven away the young Flemish priest by jealousy anud harshness. Father Saulnier was wounded in his feelings. On Sept. 2 he wrote to the Bishop:

> "One more word. A Presbyterian church[10] has been built at St. Louis in tasteful style; by its refinement it attracts the curious. Another (Episcopalian) temple is in course of erection, and will have a very fine appearance. Mr. De Neckere who is gone, left his hearers half converted. What

[10] The first Presbyterian church at St. Louis was organized by Rev. Salmon Giddings. On January 3, 1818, this Rev. Salmon Giddings had opened a school for young ladies and gentlemen in his house on Fourth and Market Streets. The church of which Saulnier speaks stood on the west side of Fourth Street near Washington Avenue. The first Episcopalian church was built on Third and Chestnut. (Walter B. Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 708 and 717.)

is to become of the Catholics of poor St. Louis? If you could do without Mr. Timon he could attract crowds to the Church. You can hardly conceive how glad the Protestant ministers are since Mr. De Neckere is gone. Whilst he was here they complained that their church was deserted. I have nothing to say. God will arrange things as He sees fit. But I deplore it very much that I am so devoid of talent as not to be able to preach. The Devil is doing good business at present. I hope the time is not far off when again we can twist his tail.

But see, how far malice has gone here, since I am accused in town of having ill-treated Mr. De Neckere, of having been so jealous of him as to demand his removal. Well, God knows better than that, thanks be to Him forever."

"I had the best intentions in obtaining Mr. De Neckere from Msgr. Du Bourg; everybody was so delighted to hear him; and now I am accused of having been jealous of him, to have ill treated him and that for this reason De Neckere left. . . . all the Flemings who ever came to St. Louis, have caused trouble." (Letter, Sept. 12.)

In November and December of the same year, the Irish Catholics of St. Louis had a pleasant surprise; Father Timon, C.M., the son of one of their citizens, preached the jubilee in English. But after that, for eighteen months, Father Saulnier had to supply the English sermons. He even went beyond the episcopal instructions, and to satisfy both parties gave two short sermons in French and English at every High Mass. On July 7, 1827, he wrote to the Bishop on this subject:

"If it could be done, there ought to be at St. Louis a larger number of ecclesiastics for the divine services and somebody who could preach controversial sermons in English. I believe that there would be much more fruit produced than there is now. From my part I do all I can: every Sunday I preach at High Mass in French and in English. I am well contended. There are several people who approached the Sacraments after having neglected them for eight, nine, ten, nineteen and twenty years. . . ."

On February 28, 1828, he wrote:

"If the inhabitants of St. Louis would have you among them and if you had a priest for the American Catholics who could preach to them in English, things would turn out better in the Church in regard to religion as well as to those continual financial troubles."

In June 1828, a new star arose in St. Louis to realize the hopes of the English speaking Catholics. Regis Loisel[11] was ordained priest in the Cathedral, June 29, 1828. He was born in St. Louis, but considered French his mother tongue. He spoke English well, although like all the Creoles of that period, with a strong French accent. On July 5, he received his faculties and his appointment as curate at the Cathedral, together with a pastoral instruction to Father Saulnier. To this very explicit pastoral letter Saulnier answered July 29, 1828:

In your letter which I received through the kindness of Mr. Loisel, I have with pleasure read of various plans which I would very much like to

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[11] John Timon was born of Irish parents at the old Jesuit mission of Conewago, Pa., February 12, 1797. His Father opened a dry goods store in St. Louis in 1819. John joined the Lazarists at the Barrens, in 1823, and was ordained priest in 1825. In 1835, he was appointed the first Visitor of the Lazarists in America; in 1838, superior of the missions in Texas. In 1839 he was nominated Coadjutor to Bishop Rosati, but refused to accept the burden. On October 17, 1847, he was consecrated Bishop of Buffalo, at New York. Died April 16, 1867.

[12] v. *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 103.

carry into effect; but permit me to submit my objections before I commence to obey you. You desire that the English sermon be preached at nine o'clock; that after benediction there should be catechism for the children, then for the negroes; that Mr. Dussaussoy[13] should give popular instructions before and after Vespers; that Mr. Loisel and Mr. Dussaussey should from time to time go to Edwardsville, to Kahos, to Vide Poche; this is a pretty mess; pardon, Monseigneur, but I see great difficulties in all this; before we commence this order of things we must know if we can keep it up; if we cannot carry it out, it is better not to start at all.

First: nine o'clock is too early for the English sermon, not only for the people in the country, but also for the Americans in St. Louis. I cannot see that any other hour would be more proper than after Vespers or after High Mass, or rather during High Mass, having alternately a sermon in English and on another Sunday a sermon in French. This arrangement would satisfy everybody, after the demands which have been made. However, there are still some drawbacks in having the English sermon preached every other Sunday during High Mass: there would be a considerable crowd of Americans (as last Sunday after Vespers), so that the church could not hold them and there would not be room for all; these great numbers serve to show how necessary it is to have another, more spacious church. The French would leave the church when they hear that the sermon is to be in English and the English would go when the sermon is in French. Then the irreverent behavior of the Americans during the Holy Sacrifice is very distressing. If you would issue some regulation on this point, it might do some good and keep them in due respect. As soon as you give a decision, I shall not delay action.

Father Saulnier writes again August 2, 1828:

"You instruct me, Monseigneur, that Mr. Loisel should preach at nine o'clock. For the Americans, especially for those from the country, the hour seems to be inconvenient; there is no other hour possible but after Vespers, or every other Sunday during High Mass, or every Sunday after High Mass. It is true, the country people could not derive any benefit from an English sermon preached after Vespers, but there are so few of them that this would form no real obstacle. You saw the great number of hearers he had on the Sunday, when you assisted at the English sermon of Mr. Elet; well, in a little while there will be the same numbers for Mr. Loisel, and I would like to see, where all these people find room during the morning services.

Furthermore you want catechism for the children after Vespers, other catechetical instructions for the negroes, popular conferences before and after Vespers by Mr. Dussaussoy; then you wish that these gentlemen go to Kahokias, to Vide Poche and to Edwardsville and also to the Convent. This is expecting rather much; we would have to have more priests and additional hours. Pardon, Monseigneur, for taking the liberty to speak to you in such a shocking manner; it is I who do not understand, because I am too stupid. Please excuse me, the good God has created me just as I am. . . ."

But the Bishop did not yield. He would not permit Father Saulnier to preach in English during High Mass; on August 17, 1828, he instructed him: "Preach in English at Vespers or even after High Mass."

Father Loisel, without a fault of his own, was a failure. He was a saintly man, but no great speaker; besides he was subject to fevers and rheumatism to such a degree that several times he was compelled to

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[13] Father Dussaussoy was a nephew of the Blessed Sophie Barat. He had been stationed at St. Michael's, La., and arrived in St. Louis during Passion week 1828; he was appointed curate to Father Saulnier at the Cathedral, but, molested by various bodily complaints, he left St. Louis, April 11, 1829, and returned to France.

spend weeks in the house of his mother, Mrs. Lebeau. Consequently again, for months, there would be no sermon in English at the Cathedral, for the simple reason that there was no one to preach it (letter of June 30, 1829) "except for Saulnier's little English" (letter, Sept. 19, 1831). And thus things remained until Father Lutz[14] had given up the idea of evangelizing the Indians and, in December 1831, returned to St. Louis to stay. Because, towards the end of November 1831, Saulnier had resigned his position at the Cathedral, and had been sent to the Post of Arkansas. Lutz was appointed to take his place. Father Lutz knew English fairly well, although he was only five years in this country. In his missionary trips to Kansas, Illinois, and the Northwest Territory he had been thrown together with Indian agents and other English speaking men and had acquired some facility in using the English idiom. Saulnier, in one of his letters, written in the spring of 1832 from Arkansas, proposed Father Lutz for the purely English speaking mission of Little Rock.

Shortly after the arrival of Father Lutz, after a retreat (February 26 to March 3, 1832) made by Bishop Rosati in the Bishop's house, with Fathers Rondot, Lutz, Condamine, and Roux, on Quinquagesima Sunday, March 4, 1832, a new rule was made regarding the sermons, and, on March 7, a rule regarding catechetical instructions.

English sermons[15] were to be preached at High Mass on the first and third Sunday of every month; on all other Sundays in French. After Vespers the sermon was to be preached in English, when the morning sermon had been in French and vice versa. The Jesuits were to preach the English sermons in the morning. Catechism begins at 2:30 P. M. in French by Roux, in English by Lutz, as long as Lent lasts. Every evening, on week days and Sundays, there would be a sermon. [16] At the Lenten devotions Father Lutz sometimes preached in English.

On Monday, April 2, 1832, at the Lenten devotions, prayers, for the first time, were said in English at the Cathedral. So the contest for recognition of the English speaking part of the parish at High Mass, a contest which had lasted six years, was won to the satisfaction of the Irish Catholics. To keep up the concession, however, the Fathers from the Jesuit College, Verhaegen, Elet, Van de Velde, Van Lommel and others had to preach the sermons at morning services.

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[14] Joseph Anthony Lutz was born in Germany, at Odenheim, Baden, in 1801. Ordained priest at Paris he was sent to St. Louis by Father Niel, with the clerics Surault and Chiaveroti, and arrived November 5, 1826. He was appointed pastor of Kahokia and Vide-Poche, but resided at St. Louis. Afer hving spent some time in the Indian missions, he was appointed pro-rector of the Cathedral. On Septuagesima Sunday, January 24, 1834, Father Lutz preached the first sermon in German in St. Mary's chapel and taught catechism in German; this henceforth was to be done every Sunday. St. Mary's chapel had been dedicated on the second Sunday after Easter, May 6, 1832, by P. Verhaegen, S.J., assisted by Fathers Roux, Jeanjean and Bouillier. P. Verhaegen preached, Father Lutz said the Mass, at 8:30 A. M. In 1842 to 1845 he built St. Patrick's church at St. Louis, was appointed Vicar General for the Germans in 1846, but left the diocese April 15, 1847, and died at New York February 6, 1861.

[15] Five Minutes' sermons were unknown in those days. The sermons at the forenoon and afternoon services were great and long oratorical efforts in the style of Bossuet and Fenelon, answering to all the requirements of rhetoric.

[16] The day before, March 6, the Bishop had written in his *Diary*: † Crux † heu, quam gravis † ("Alas, how heavy is the Cross!")

According to Bishop Rosati's *Diary,* the afternoon sermon was sometimes preached in St. Mary's chapel in the former St. Louis Academy.

In fall of 1836, a priest from the diocese of Boston, Father Jamison, came to St. Louis to the great delight of everybody concerned. He had arrived whilst Bishop Rosati was on the confirmation trip in Ste. Genevieve, St. Francis and Perry Counties. The Bishop found Jamison at the episcopal residence, when he returned to St. Louis, October 27, 1832, and incorporated him at once into the diocese for the English speaking members of the parish. As soon as Father Verhaegen, then President of St. Louis University, heard of this arrangement, he wrote to Bishop Rosati (November 14):

> "Rev. Mr. Lutz has told me, Monseigneur, of the arrangement which you have made with Rev. Mr. Jamison. We are very glad to hear that this worthy priest has decided to stay at St. Louis and we anticipate abundant fruit from his labors. I must, however, make an observation, Monseigneur and, I believe, you will agree with me on this subject. Our Fathers told me that under present circumstances they would feel mortified to appear in pulpit before a congregation which must contribute to Dr. Jamison's support and would not see him at his post. They, therefore wish that Mr. Jamison should preach in the morning and they will gladly assist him in the great work of preaching as often as their services are required. You will, therefore permit us, Monseigneur, to retire from the exercise of this function. Rest assured, that when circumstances later on shall demand that we take up our former post again, we shall do so with all our heart."

But Father Jamison did not stay long. Conditions in the West did not suit his taste and he returned to the East (first to Cincinnati). The Jesuit Fathers again took the charge of preaching in English at the morning services, much against their wish, as appears from a letter, which P. Verhaegen wrote to Bishop Rosati on August 4, 1839:

> "Our Fathers complain much of the burden which is put upon them by having to preach at the Cathedral. I understand this and you, Monseigneur, will also easily understand, if you consider the fatigues which are inseparable from teaching. They are few in number, they have daily four to five hours to teach, most of them are feeble and those who are capable of preaching at the Cathedral, as ill luck would have it, have a weak constitution. Besides, I think, Monseigneur, that the English sermon is impaired in its usefulness and that it is very expedient, not to say *very necessary,* for the prosperity of our religion in St. Louis, that there be at the Cathedral an *American* priest, who could give there regular instructions. This gentleman might double his usefulness by taking charge of the spiritual direction of the *academy* (*pensionnat*) of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, which still more than any other exterior ministry weighs heavily upon our shoulders. Please, Monseigneur, reflect on the remarks which I have submitted to you and arrange things so that those at our house who are already overburdened may have no reason to complain because exterior ministrations are heaped upon them. . . ."

On April 25, Bishop Rosati with Fathers Lutz and Lefevre started east to assist at the Fourth Council of Baltimore. Before he left, Bishop Rosati appointed P. Verhaegen his Vicar General and Administrator. Verhaegen[17] resided at the Cathedral. On June 1,

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[17] Father Verhaegen was dignior on the *Terna,* proposed by Bishop Rosati for the Coadjutorship of St. Louis Diocese (Timon, Verhaegen, Pise), mentioned in Bishop Dubois' letter to Rosati, of July 7, 1835. (*Archives*). On the Terna which Bishop Rosati sent to Rome April 23, 1840, P. Peter Verhaegen was dignissimus (Verhaegen, Timon, Odin).

Bishops Rosati, Portier and Miles and Fathers Lutz and Lefevre sailed for Europe on the Steamer *British Queen*.

P. Verhaegen saw, what he had seen before, that in the matter of preaching things could not go on at the Cathedral of St. Louis as they had done so far. Still, although he saw that the French sermons had lost a great deal of their importance, he kept up the old rule of preaching in English during High Mass only on the first and third Sunday of the month, but of his own free will he added other instructions in English as appears from his letters to Bishop Rosati.

"The French sermons are *poorly attended* and in consequence religion suffers. If Monseigneur would bring along a good French speaker for the Cathedral, you would fill a great void. Regarding the English sermons, I cannot complain of the attendance, but I also cannot suppress my conviction that, as soon as I leave the bishop's house, religion will fall to a low ebb, unless a clever American or Irish priest will replace me. The unhappy Prud'homme always preaches in St. Louis and makes proselytes. His success he owes to his well rounded periods. An excellent speaker at the Cathedral would produce a favorable reaction. You, Monseigneur, know as well as I do, the personnel which surrounds me, and I am convinced that you know as well as I, that in point of talent, it presents very feeble attractions to the public."[18] (Letter, July 8, 1840.)

"It seems that God deigns to bless our labors. The Cathedral, I believe, is better attended than ever these last three years. Everybody seems to be satisfied. My *lectures* after the first Mass have helped, with the grace of God, to spread knowledge amongst Catholics and Protestants, and, if I can continue them, I expect happy results. We have just celebrated the feast of the glorious Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary and we had, at the Cathedral alone, nearly 300 communions." (Letter, August 18, 1840.)

"You ask me, Monseigneur, to suggest some means to make your journey most profitable to your diocese. You know that I take great interest in everything that might contribute to its prosperity. I believe that you should procure a good French preacher for the Cathedral and two good speakers for the Americans. 2. Bring few priests along, because you could not place them to the advantage of religion unless they know English. 3. Buy only what is absolutely necessary. Believe me, the money will be worth more to you than religious articles, no matter how beautiful and useful and convenient they may be. They will be very expensive when delivered here. *Expertus loquor.* 4. Banish all sense of shame in the good cause in which you are engaged—demand, beg, knock everywhere *et aperietur vobis.*" (Letter, December 16, 1840.)

"Thanks be to God, my health is excellent and I have been strong enough to give a popular instruction every morning and three lectures a week for Protestants principally, in the evening. I had 2,000 to 3,000 hearers. These lectures, they say, have done an immense deal of good. They brought about several conversions and inspired a great number with the desire and determination to take instructions. The city papers spoke of them in the most flattering terms. The Protestants found our Lent too short, to me it appeared longer than usual. God be praised; to Him be all the glory of the efforts I am making to fight against error and to vindicate truth. I can

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[18] These priests were Father P. J. Fischer, a native of Lorraine and later on Pastor of St. Mary's Church, and the two Frenchmen: Jacob Fontbonne, superior of the Sisters of St. Joseph and, since 1842, pastor of Carondelet, and Jos. Renaud, who, in 1847, and again in 1853, returned to France. Father Lutz, in 1841, was in Europe, with Bishop Rosati. The latter never returned to St. Louis. On November 30, 1841, he consecrated at Philadelphia his Coadjutor, Peter Richard Kenrick, and having spent some time in Hayti on an occasional mission, he deid at Rome, September 25, 1843.

say that piety gains daily, and I see clearer than ever that St. Louis offers a fertile field to missionaries who are pious, zealous and *well trained.* The underlined words remind you, Monseigneur, of what I remarked in another letter." (Letter, April 19, 1841.)

When in December, 1841, Bishop Peter Richard Kenrick, Coadjutor of Bishop Rosati, arrived in St. Louis, he saw that the church on "French sermon days was practically deserted." Shortly before starting east, Bishop Rosati, on April 8, 1840, had blessed the cornerstone of the new Jesuit church of St. Francis Xavier. Since the vernacular in this new church was exclusively English, there was great danger that the English speaking population would attach themselves to St. Francis Xavier to the detriment of the Cathedral. (Letter of Bishop Kenrick to Bishop Rosati, written February 20, 1842).[19] Therefore Bishop Kenrick abolished French at the morning services altogether. The French sermons were to be preached after Vespers. Then he called Father George Hamilton from Alton to the Cathedral and replaced him by Father Donnelly. Before the coming of Father Hamilton, there was no priest at the Cathedral who, according to Bishop Kenrick's judgment, spoke English well.

The French sermons on Sunday afternoons were soon given up. The young generation of Creoles had been Americanized and preferred English to French. At present in the City of St. Louis the Gospel is being preached in nearly every language of the European Continent, except in French.

F. G. Holweck.

[19] When, in 1829, F. Van Quickenborne who was Vicar General of the diocese of St. Louis, built the Jesuit College, Saulnier suspecting that some day an English speaking church would be connected with the establishement, in a letter of May 9, 1829, most earnestly warned Bishop Rosati: "These gentlemen are going to have a church; in town rumours circulate, that the English now soon would have an English priest who would preach to them every Sunday: *Principiis obsta, sero medicina paratur* [Resist in the beginning, medicine comes too late]. What can a simple priest do against a Vicar General?" Since at the Cathedral the Irish received but little encouragement, a chapel, in connection with the Jesuit college, with regular instructions in English, was a menace to the Bishop's church. The Flemings at Florissant learned English much faster than the French of the diocesan clergy. *Hinc illae lacrimae!* This is the reason, why Father Saulnier wrote to Bishop Rosati, that "all the Flemings who ever came to St. Louis have caused trouble."

DU BOURG
AND THE BIBLICAL SOCIETY

(New Orleans, 1813)

Under the caption, *A Bible Distribution among the Catholics of Louisiana,* the late Martin I. J. Griffin recounted, in his *American Catholic Historical Researches* (July 1903, pp. 123–125), the attempt made in 1813 by agents of the Connecticut and Massachusetts Missionary Societies to foist upon the unsuspecting creoles of New Orleans French and Spanish translations of the New Testament published by the recently created British and Foreign Bible Society. New Orleans was an ungrateful soil for the Society to thrive in; for the Creoles, as a whole, though rather lukewarm in their Catholicity, were ever impervious to protestant proselytism. The incident, therefore, might well be let pass unnoticed by the historian, were not the names of Father Anthony de Sedella and Louis William Du Bourg interwoven in the story; the conduct of both men in this occurrence adds a welcome indication towards the estimate to be formed of their characters.

Martin Griffin's article was based solely upon the account of the event published by Samuel I. Mills, one of the Society's agents; indeed it was scarcely more than a reprint of that part of Mill's *Journal* relating to the incident, and although the editor wisely abstained from drawing any conclusions, yet the story made the reader somewhat uneasy. *Audiatur et altera pars.* This is now possible, for we are in possession of Du Bourg's side of the question. Having the independent testimony of the two principals, we are able to sketch more completely and fairly this curious and little known episode of Du Bourg's administratorship of the New Orleans Diocese.

The Rev. Samuel I. Mills was a Presbyterian minister, sent by the Connecticut and Massachusetts Missionary Societies to the Southwestern part of the United States to get information about its religious condition and establish Bible Societies. At the outset, the "Standing Committee on Missions," formed in 1805, had conceived no thought, it seems, of proselytizing among those "outside the pale;" the purpose of the assembly being rather to provide for the many Presbyterians scattered through the newly-acquired territory, and destitute of ministerial help. For this reason, the Synod had welcomed the establishment, at Philadelphia, of an American branch of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and set eagerly to the work of distributing the Scriptures. By its agency large shipments of copies of the Bible, especially of the New Testament, were disposed of "among the hungry

people famishing for the 'bread of life.' " [1] But it was to be expected that the zeal of the missionaries would soon extend beyond the pale of presbyterianism and thirst for conquest. Bible distribution was for this zeal a natural outlet. A glib tongue, a certain gift of ingratiating himself with the well disposed and religiously inclined people, the display of deep concern in the spiritual welfare and enlightenment of the simple folk, an unctuous speech and tone of voice served the cause powerfully; in a short while the preacher offered his books; and, as he gave them gratis — supreme token of his disinterestedness — even those of his hearers who, at first, had listened to him only grudgingly, could not be so rude as to refuse the present. As the success of his ministry was measured according to the number of copies which he distributed, glowing reports soon reached headquarters, where every heart did exult in the glorious prospect "that the righteousness of Zion shall go forth as brightness, and the salvation of Jerusalem as the lamp that burneth." [2]

Our Rev. Samuel I. Mills, together with one Rev. Mr. Smith, leaving Natchez, Miss., on March 12, 1813, arrived in New Orleans on the 19th. At once two glaring facts, which the preachers' peculiar logic could not help linking together as cause and effect, stood out prominently before their bewildering gaze: the benighted Creoles were woefully ignorant of religion—at least of that type of religion known to the New Englanders—; and no wonder, for not one single Bible could be found anywhere in the whole city. Here was a virgin soil, full of promise. Without delay the two missionaries bent all their efforts to exploit it. We must hear the tale from Mills' own lips, as he recounted it in his *Journal*. [3]

> The greater part of the inhabitants are French Catholics, ignorant of almost everything except what relates to the increase of their property, destitute of Schools, Bibles and religious instruction.
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> In attempting to learn the religious state of these people, we were frequently told that they had no Bibles and that the priests did not allow of their distribution among them.[4] An American, who has resided for two or

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[1] I. Daniel Rupp. *An original History of the Religious Denominations at present existing in the United States.* Philadelphia, 1844. Presbyterian Church, p. 582.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 601.

[3] We cite this *Journal* as quoted by Martin I. Griffin in the above mentioned article.

[4] It is scarcely necessary to point out the gross misstatement lurking under this materially correct affirmation. Let us remember that Mills is speaking of the French Creoles, whose priests were likewise French. It is materially exact that the French clergy did not allow of the distribution of the Bibles among their flocks; the reason for the prohibition was that the Bibles offered for distribution were usually the publications either of De Barneville's "Société biblique catholique," founded about 1719 (De Barneville was a notorious Jansenist), or of the "Société biblique française de Loudres," founded in 1792, that is, translations without notes, and with an heretical taint. That the Church, even the French clergy did not frown upon the reading of the Scriptures in the vernacular, is sufficiently evidenced by the large number of editions of the Bibles of Carrières and of Vence. The Church's position, on this question of modern translations of the Scriptures for the use of the Catholic people, had been, not many years before the events narrated, authoritatively stated in a letter of Pius VI to Archbishop Martini, who was publishing an Italian translation of the Bible: "At a time that a vast number of bad books are circulated, to the great destruction of souls, you judge exceedingly well, that the faithful should be excited to the reading of the Holy Scriptures; for these are most abundant sources, which ought to be left open to every one, to draw from them purity of life and doctrine; to eradicate the errors which are widely disseminated in these corrupt times. This you have seasonably effected, by publishing the sacred writings in the language of your country, so as to place them in the reach of all" (April 1778).

three years at a flourishing settlement and which had a Catholic Church, informed me that he had not seen a Bible during his stay. He had heard that a woman from New York had lately brought one into the place.

Upon our arrival at New Orleans we were soon made acquainted with a few religious people. . . . We found that, in order to have the Bible circulated freely, especially among the Catholics, the consent of those high in office must be obtained. We were frequently told that the Catholic priests would by no means favor the project. We were referred to the Father Antonio,[5] as he is called, who has greater influence among those of his order than even the Bishop, who has lately arrived from Baltimore.[6] If the consent of the former could be obtained, it was allowed by those with whom we conversed, that much might be done towards distributing the Scriptures among the French Catholics. We took a convenient opportunity to call upon the reverend Father. The subject was mentioned to him. He said he should be pleased to have the Bible circulated among those of his order; and that he would approve of the translation distributed by the British and Foreign Bible Society. In addition to this he said he would aid in the circulation of the Scriptures should an opportunity present. We inquired of him whether the priests in the different parishes would likewise favor the good work. At this inquiry he seemed surprised, and answered, "How can you doubt it? It is for their interest to circulate the Scriptures." Upon this point our sentiments were hardly in unison. However we felt no disposition to contradict him.

We have since called upon the Bishop. He also gave his consent and said he would contribute in favor of the infant institution. This disposition of the Catholic priests to circulate the Scriptures has very much surprised all with whom we have conversed on the subject in this city. The priests acknowledge the nakedness of the land. Father Antonio gave it as his opinion, that we should rarely find a Bible in any of the French or Spanish Catholic families in any of the parishes. And the Bishop remarked, that he did not believe there were ten Bibles in the possession of all the Catholic families of the State. When we came to this place we found a number of French Bibles and Testaments had been sent here for distributing gratis, and had been on hand for some time. They are now all disposed of and repeated inquiries are made for those books by the Catholics. I happened to be in Mr. Stackhouse's store a short time since. During my stay, which was short, five or six persons came in inquiring for the Bible in the French language. Mr. Stackhouse informed me that if he had 50 Bibles he could dispose of them at once to the Catholics.

Such, in part, was the report sent East by Mills. No stress needs be laid upon the superficial nature of the information given by the missionaries' advisers in New Orleans as to the exact position of the Very Rev. Louis W. Du Bourg in the Diocese. No Catholic, be he even of the party which strenuously fought against the Administrator, would ever style him Bishop. No Catholic either, be he ever so poorly instructed, could state that the priests did not allow of the distribution of the Bible among the faithful. This is simply the old and trite accusation, ever refuted, but persistently repeated of protestantism against the wise cautions of the Church in this matter. Well might our two Biblical Society agents express genuine surprise that both Father Anthony and "Bishop" Du Bourg did not show themselves averse in principle to the distribution of bibles among the Catholics; this surprise only shows how completely their minds were possessed by the old prejudice; and that the prejudice was ineradicable, Mills manifests

[5] Father Anthony de Sedella, O.M.C., Père Antoine, as he was called, the Rector of the Cathedral.

[6] The Very Rev. L. W. Du Bourg, Administrator of the Diocese.

by his disbelief of Father Anthony's assurance that the other priests of the Diocese were, in this matter, sharing his opinion.

But whatever the tenor of their conversation with the famous Capuchin, and whether or no, the question of principle laid aside, he was not, as to the appreciation of the edition presently to be distributed, hoodwinked by the two preachers, the interview with Du Bourg, while courteous and, on the whole, satisfactory to the two preachers, was not altogether, however, the touching unison which Mills reports. We even understand that there was throughout on the part of the New Englanders a disingenuousness which succeeded in imposing upon unsuspecting Du Bourg, as when they acknowledged the propriety of the Administrator's approving only the distribution of such translations as had received the Catholic Church's sanction, and explicitly declared that their purpose was "not to make proselytes to any denomination of Christians, but to afford to each of them the means of reading the Divine Word in a manner consistent with their own religious principles." How insincere these protestations, when Mills and his partner must be cognizant that the French translation they were endeavoring to circulate was Calvin's rendition, one justly abhorred by the Catholic Church authorities!

The two preachers lost no time in sending to their patrons of the Missionary Society *their* report of the wonderful success obtained both with the Catholic priests in charge of the Church in New Orleans, and in the matter of Bible distribution; nor was the Missionary Society slow in giving wide and loud publicity to this report. With what painful astonishment it was received by the Catholic Clergy in the Eastern States, who were fully conversant with the nature, policy and methods of the Biblical Society, and cognizant of what kinds of versions the Society was endeavoring to poison Catholic minds with, may easily be surmised. Du Bourg's friends in Maryland at once warned him of the abuse made of his name; and to the friendly warning thus sent by Father Simon Bruté we owe the letter of explanation written by the Administrator. Usually Du Bourg used the French language in corresponding with his dear friend of Mount St. Mary's; but this time he wrote in English, so that Bruté might give, if needs be, proper circulation to his letter.

Pointe Coupée, Lower Louisiana, September 13, 1814.[7]

Rev. Simon Bruté—

Your esteemed favour of the 10th. of July last, my very dear Friend, reached me only yesterday at this place, in the course of my visit thro' a part of the Diocese, having been detained and even opened somewhere on its way. The circumstance mentioned in it, had already been communicated to me from another quarter. But not conceiving it to be of a nature capable of creating any serious alarm, I had bestowed upon it but transient attention. The degree of importance which you appear to attach to it, induces me now to give you, as far as my recollection will afford, a detail of the transaction which may have given rise to the publication by which your attention has been so forcefully engaged—

Early in the year 1813, two Baptist[8] Missionaries, whose names at present escape my memory, on a visit to the city of New Orleans, were intro-

[7] The original of this letter is in the *Catholic Archives of America*, University of Notre Dame, Ind., in the Box labelled Bishops and Archbishops of New Orleans, No. 8 of the Letters of Bishop Du Bourg.

duced to me by a common friend, requesting my countenance on their project for circulating thro' the extent of my Spiritual jurisdiction, French and Spanish translations of the Holy Scriptures. — My answer to them was, in the first place, that a *promiscuous* reading of *all* the books of Scripture was uniformly viewed by the Catholic Church as more likely to prove injurious than beneficial, particularly to the uninformed part of Christians, and more especially to such as were wholly left to their own sense of them. They did not express any marked difference of opinion from me in this respect. I then proceeded to manifest my earnest wish that copies of the New Testament might be circulated among the laity of this Diocese: but observed that no translation of the same would ever receive my countenance, that had not the approbation of the Church, to whom alone it was our belief that the interpretation of Scriptures essentially appertained. The Gentlemen appeared to be sensible of the propriety of this *proviso* from a man in my station. Their views, apparently, and even professedly, were not to make proselytes to any denomination of Christians, but to afford to each of them the means of reading DIVINE WORD, in a manner consistent with their own religious principles. — I did not therefore suspect that, undertaking to print French and Spanish translations of the Sacred Books, for the avowed purpose of disseminating them thro' countries entirely catholic, they could harbour an idea of departing from those fair and honourable principles, by choosing any, that, far from having received the sanction of their church, had on the contrary been inured with her stigmas. It was under that impression I cursorily examined a copy of a French New Testament, with which they presented me. The circumstance of its being professedly reprinted from a Paris edition, connected with my implicit confidence in the gentlemen, and the short time allowed for that examination, prevented it from being as minute as it should have been. I compared it however in many of the most important places with the original text, and finding them to accord, I was induced to believe the translation to be a Catholic one. *I freely acknowledge I was too precipitate in that judgment.* — I did not however, as you assert, probably on the report of the Gentlemen, subscribe for or verbally engage any number of copies, and it was not till the Missionaries had left the place, which happened a very few days after our second interview, that on a closer investigation, I discovered it to be *Calvin's Genevan* translation. I am sorry the Gentlemen have thus exposed themselves; and I authorize you to publish, if you deem it at all necessary for my vindication and that of our doctrines, that, whatever inclination I may have manifested to them of being friendly to their design, was founded upon my entire conviction that they would act conformably to the principles I had laid down, and from which I will never depart —

As to the compliment they pay to my *liberality*, for condescending *to receive the Bible from Protestant hands*, if it means anything else than a disposition in me to support any measure calculated to promote general good, without infringing upon any of those rules, which as a Member and Pastor of the Cath. Church I am bound to enforce, by whomsoever such a measure may be proposed, it certainly cannot entitle the Gentlemen to my acknowledgments. It is well known, that, for fifteen centuries previous to the birth of the first Protestant, the Bible was the exclusive treasure of the Roman Cath. Church. From her hands unquestionably have Protestants received it; upon her authority alone can they themselves be certain that it is the *pure and unadulterated* word of God,—and that authority, of which *the Reformation* cannot have divested her, at least in our eyes, is still, and ever will be, the *sole* and *unshaken* foundation of our profound veneration for the sacred volume — I am cordially, my Dear Sir,

Your invariable friend

WM. DU BOURG, Adminis.
Apostolic of Louisiana.

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[8] The Administrator's memory is here at fault, unless he had been from the beginning under a misapprehension in regard to the protestant denomination of Mills and his companion. This slight misstatement does not render the present account less trustworthy than that of Mills calling Du Bourg "Bishop."

A few lines in French follow this long letter; they are devoted to personal news. Then the Administrator, reverting to the subject of the above communication, adds:

> I need only tell you to make of the above whatever use you may deem fit, avoiding, however, *as much as possible*, a paper war, which, owing to the difficulties inherent in my situation in this city, cannot be but most undesirable.

No one will deny that this letter of Du Bourg to Bruté, though written with an apologetic view, is worthy of at least as much credence as the report of Mills, written with a view to extol his missionary achievements.

We grant that the Administrator of the Louisiana Diocese, as he humbly acknowledges, was too hasty in the judgment which he passed, after a too summary examination, upon the edition of the New Testament spread by the Biblical Society. This New Testament from Du Bourg's description, was Olivetan's French rendering, revised and approved by the "Venerable Company" of the pastors and Professors of Geneva: Bertram, Beza, de la Faye, Jacquemot, Rotan and Simon Goulart. "The circumstance of its being professedly reprinted from a Paris edition," would not have misled a more wary critic, for there were several Paris editions of the Genevan Bible. But Dr. Du Bourg's unsophisticated heart, incapable of suspecting deceit in others, because he himself was incapable of deceit, or, as he puts it, his "implicit confidence in the gentlemen," was mainly responsible for the mistake.

But of mistakes there was none regarding the principles. Not a jot would the Administrator waver on the point that any version of the Scriptures to be put in the hands of Catholics should have the Church's sanction and approval. In vain did Mills try to construe his language as meaning "he would contribute in favor of the infant institution"; he had never expressed any more than "a disposition to support any measure calculated to promote general good, . . . by whomsoever such a measure may be proposed," provided that such a measure should in no way "infringe upon any of the rules, which as a Member and Pastor of the Catholic Church he was bound to enforce." How genuinely, therefore, did "the gentlemen" appear "to be sensible of this *proviso* from a man in his station," we must leave undecided; but their peddling among Catholics a French version of the Scriptures distinctly and justly hateful to Catholic Church authorities brands as insincere their pretension "to afford to each of them" (the Christians) "the means of reading the Divine Word, *in a manner consistent with their own religious principles.*" And in view of this to asseverate, as they did, that their purpose was not "to make proselytes to any denomination of Christians," may well be qualified as a capital piece of double-dealing: they might not, indeed, care to make proselytes to any protestant sect, provided they succeeded in de-Catholicizing Catholics.

Two years later, Mills was again in New Orleans on behalf of the Bible Society. This second visit was made some two weeks after the

solemn *Te Deum* celebrated at the St. Louis Cathedral in honor of Gen. Jackson's victory of New Orleans (January 23), "the gentlemen" arriving in the city on February 10. They now had a liberal supply of bibles, and at once began the distribution among the wounded American and English soldiers, the prisoners, and the people. Once more we turn to Mills' report, describing the aid readily given to the work by Father Anthony, and the attitude of the Administrator.

> Some more than two years ago, the Reverend Father[9] engaged to assist in the distribution of French Bibles and Testaments. Soon after I arrived in the city I called upon him in company with Mr. Hennan. We informed him that the Testaments had been received from the Managers of the Philadelphia Bible Society and presented him with a number of copies. He expressed his great satisfaction and repeatedly invoked the blessing of God on the donors. He observed, that God would certainly bless the generous, pious men, who had exerted themselves to give to the destitute His holy word. He expressed his desire to obtain an additional number of copies, and engaged that he would make the most judicious distribution of them in his power. He remarked that he would give them to those persons who would be sure to read them through.
>
> After our visit to Antonio, his attendant[10] called for two or three copies of the Testament. The man who attends at the Cathedral[11] was anxious to receive one. His choir of singers likewise requested a supply.
>
> Soon after the distribution of the Testaments commenced, Mr. Hennan called upon Mr. Dubourg, the administrator of the Bishopric, and informed him that the Testaments, printed by the Managers of the Philadelphia Bible Society, had been received and that some copies had been given to the people. The Bishop observed that he had been made acquainted with the circumstances by some of his people, who had called upon him to ascertain, whether he would advise them to receive the Testaments. He added, that as they were not of the version authorized by the Catholic Church, he could not aid in the distribution of them. When the distribution of the Testaments in the convent was suggested, the Bishop remarked, that the parents of the children who received instruction at the place were at liberty to furnish them if they thought best.
>
> I had myself an interview with the Bishop; during his conversation he expressed to me his regret that the Roman Catholic version of the Testament printed at Boston in 1810 had not been followed, rather than the version printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society. He observed, however, that he should prefer to have the present version of the Testament in the possession of the people, rather than have them remain entirely ignorant of the Sacred Scriptures.

In the light of the clear and uncompromising statement of principles contained in the letter of Du Bourg to Bruté, we cannot hesitate to believe that Mills' report of Hennan's interview with the Administrator has emasculated the latter's declaration. To say that "he could not aid in the distribution of the Testaments." is perhaps very cleverly, but probably not very exactly describing the attitude of the prelate. We may understand, too, what kind of "regret" he must have expressed to Mills himself that "the Roman Catholic version of the Testament printed at Boston in 1810 had not been followed" by the Philadelphia publishers; and it is an easy enough task to reduce to its

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[9] Father Anthony.

[10] Father Kuana.

[11] Possibly the sacristan, or beadle.

genuine proportions the statement that "he should prefer to have the present version of the Testament in the possession of the people, rather than have them remain entirely ignorant of the Sacred Scriptures."

At all events, it will not be amiss to note here the difference between the procedure adopted by Mills and his associate in 1815, and their conduct in 1813. At the time of their first visit, they had begun by asking the Administrator's consent to distribute the Scriptures amongst Catholics; in 1815, they first distribute their wares, and then go to see the Administrator. It can scarcely be alleged they, this time, proceeded to the distribution by virtue of the consent given two years before, as that consent was qualified by the proviso that the version be one approved by the Church. It must be concluded, therefore, that the agents of the Biblical Society, who undoubtedly knew the unreceivableness of the version, had not a clear conscience, and thought it wiser to put the Administrator face to face with the *fait accompli*. One cannot fail to appreciate the finely pointed reply of the prelate — the almost imperceptible irony of which both missionaries seem to have failed to catch—, on being advised that the Bible distribution had been commenced. Most curious and illuminating it would certainly be to know whether the bible-peddler was told of the answer made by Du Bourg to those who inquired "whether he would advise them to receive the Testament"; and if, as we are inclined to believe, Du Bourg made known his answer, why, we are wondering, was it not entered into the report of the interview?

To close this sketch of the episode, just one word on the conduct of Father Anthony de Sedella in this affair: it stands in striking contrast to that of the Very Rev. William L. Du Bourg. Much as we may discount Mills' account, and even if we credit to the naturally high-keyed tone of thought and expression of Spanish mind the repeated invocation of the blessing of God upon the generous, pious men who had exerted themselves to give to the destitute His holy Word; still there will and must remain the fact that the Capuchin Rector of the Cathedral of New Orleans gave his unreserved approval to the missionaries of the Bible Society and to their work. If he, a Spaniard by birth, was ignorant of the heretical origin and bias of the Genevan French Bible, he at least should have known the value of the Spanish translations of Cassiodore de Reina and Cyprian de Valera. Not only did he make no inquiries as to what versions were used in the Philadelphia editions, but he laid down no such conditions for his support of the Bible agents, he stated no such reservations of principles as Du Bourg was careful to emphasize. This, on the part of a Doctor of Divinity—for such Père Antoine is said to have been[12]—, is a lack of theological acumen most regrettable in one who should be the intellectual leader of the flock and the watchful guardian of their faith.

CHARLES L. SOUVAY, C.M.

[12] C. M. Chambon, *In and Around the Old St. Louis Cathedral of New Orleans*, p. 48.

AN APPEAL

HISTORICAL MATTER DESIRED

by the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis

✠

Books and pamphlets on American History and Biography, particularly those relating to Church institutions, ecclesiastical persons and Catholic lay people within the limits of the Louisiana Purchase;

Old newspapers; Catholic modern papers; Parish papers, whether old or recent:

We will highly appreciate the courtesy of the Reverend Pastors who send us regularly their Parish publications;

Manuscripts; narratives of early Catholic settlers or relating to early Catholic settlements; letters:

In the case of family papers which the actual owners wish to keep in their possession, we shall be grateful for the privilege of taking copies of these papers;

Engravings, portraits, Medals etc;

In a word, every object whatsoever which, by the most liberal construction, may be regarded as an aid to, or illustration of the history of the Catholic Church in the Middle West.

Contributions will be credited to the donors and preserved in the Library or Archives of the Society, for the use and benefit of the members and other duly authorized persons.

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209 Walnut Street, St. Louis, Mo.

AN APPEAL

HISTORICAL MATTER DESIRED

by the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis

NOTES

✠

HISTORICAL

Our appreciated contributor, the Rev. Lawrence J. Kenny, S.J., of St. Louis University, last June roused to an uncommon degree the interest of the College Department of the Catholic Educational Association by his paper entitled "Preserve the Records." It had been to us a great disappointment when we did not find this paper in the voluminous *Report of the Proceedings* of the meeting. Our disappointment, however, lasted but a short time; and we have just experienced a keen pleasure, which we are sure was shared in by many, on reading in the February *Bulletin* of the Association (pp. 7-18) the twelve well-digested, illuminating and genial pages of Father Kenny. *Multum in parvo* seems to be his motto; and as he has mastered the secret of stripping science of the cumbersome trappings of so-called technicalities, and is an expert in treating grave subjects in a most attractive way, we cherish the hope that his plea, voicing so well the earnest appeal of History's devoted students, will find an echo in the minds of the many who can so easily, with a mite of good will aid the cause of preserving and making known the documentary relics of a past worth preserving and knowing. And let them not forget that to-day's present will to-morrow have lapsed into the past.

Speaking of the "fuller Catholic co-operation" for which "not a few historical societies in the large cities and State capitals are eager to-day," Father Kenny justly emphasizes how pleased such societies would be "if the churches that have made service flags and service lists would deposit these with them." Repeatedly did we ourselves sound in the pages of the REVIEW a like appeal on behalf of our own *Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis*. We are happy to record that our trumpet call was heard. Now, thanks to the exertions of the Right Rev. Chancellor of the Archdiocese, Msgr. John J. Tannrath, and the co-operation of the Reverend Clergy, we are in possession of a bulky volume containing the list of the *Catholic men from the Archdiocese of St. Louis in the service of the United States during the war with Germany and Austria*, 1917-1919. This is very well. Historians, however, are ever insatiable: they presently suggest that the good work should not stop here. As their desire is neither beyond the limits of reasonableness nor impossible of attainment, we may be permitted to express aloud what they say in a timid whisper. Upon almost every parish service flag golden stars were glimmering; among the Catholic men in the service, not a few were gassed or wounded; many distinguished

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themselves and have reiceved public acknowledgment of their bravery from our or from foreign governments. Side by side, therefore, with the roll of honor of the young men who responded to the country's call does it not seem meet that we should keep a special memory of those brave among the brave? A note in the list, paper clippings containing the mention of noble deeds, copies of public testimonials may thus become a precious and most welcome supplement to the volume above mentioned.

A brave among the brave, "a knight without fear and without reproach, a born soldier, a born leader, with a definite trenchent decision in his manner and in his talk that inspired confidence and cast out fear," such was the Right Rev. Msgr. Patrick W. Tallon, who departed this life on January 15. Others have ably pictured and will yet picture the sterling qualities of the man and of the priest, faithful always, and in all and to all; they have recalled and will yet recall the staunchness of character of that man of strong sympathies who came forth "with the word duty seared into his soul." Suffice to us here to record the memory of his relation to the *Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis.*

He never made pretence to be an historian, not even a lover of history. He disliked self-display; yet how easily he could assimilate the facts and spirit of times long since gone by, he unwittingly manifested on occasions as, for instance, in his masterful sermon preached at the new Cathedral on the 6th of January, 1918, at the centennial of Bishop Du Bourg's coming to St. Louis. We cite this instance because, being the most recent and his last public appearance in the pulpit at a solemn function, it is still in the memory of all. But how often before had he not evinced, in more or less solemn occasions, that facility to marshal the facts of history and make them subserve the moral aims of the teacher of Christian truth? No one who is not a steady and loving worshipper at history's shrine can thus freely draw from its treasures. We know, indeed, that the best hours which Father Tallon spent in his library were the many devoted to tête-à-tête with the writers of history; a mere glance at their tomes on the library shelves revealed to the onlooker a habitual and thorough perusal of these volumes. Nor were Father Tallon's historical tastes confined to the far-away past of far-away lands and nations. As neither his physical appearance nor his mind bore any of the wrinkles which we usually associate with the Biblical threescore and ten years of age, his tenacious memory, stocked with a wealth of interesting reminiscences, could span back many years. He had known at first hand men and conditions now reputed to belong to another age, and he could revert to this past age without ever falling into the unamiable mood of the *laudator temporis acti.* He had been in sympathy with those men and conditions, but was as much in sympathy with the men and condition of this our time, with, however, a legitimate and most praiseworthy desire that the good accomplished at other times should survive, and that the men and conditions of those times, so fraught with precious lessons for ours, should

pass truly into the realm of history and not be buried into the sepulchre of oblivion.

Shall we wonder, then, that the very first word breathed anent the organization of a Catholic Historical Society should have touched a responsive chord in Msgr. Tallon's soul and at once should find in him a zealous apostle? Not only did he second with his habitual enthusiasm the motion which resulted in the foundation of the *Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis,* and become one of the charter members of the new-born society, but he evinced his unflagging interest in its work by every means at his command, especially in his capacity as Chairman of the Committee on Membership; and so long as his health permitted no one was ever more faithful in attending its meetings.

It was but meet and just, therefore, that the Executive Committee should, at its first meeting after his death, voice the wish that a formal tribute be paid by the society to his memory. We herewith subjoin the resolutions drawn up in pursuance of this wish, and approved unanimously at the following (March) meeting of the Historical Society:

WHEREAS, The Catholic Historical Society of St .Louis has been deprived by the decease of the Right Reverend Monsignor Patrick W. Tallon, of a charter member and an ardent promoter of the Society; and,

WHEREAS, The members of the Society, individually have lost by his death a genial companion and friend; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Society at its meeting this day, the Feast of St. Patrick, give this formal expression of its regret and the deep sorrow of its members for one who was in every way so worthy of their love and respect; one whose upright and noble life was a standard of emulation to all.

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be inscribed on the records of the Society and published in the next issue of the St. Louis Catholic Historical Review.

Rt. Reverend J. J. Tannrath,
Edward Brown,
Committee.

Another loss occurred since the writing of the Notes for our last issue must also be recorded here—we mean to speak of the disappearance of the *St. Louis Republic,* which passed out of existence on December 4, 1919, after a career of one hundred and twelve years. To remark that newspapers have rapidly won to themselves a place of prominence among history's richest sources of information, is in itself a trite enough statement; however, when a newspaper has for one hundred and twelve years been identified with a great American city like St. Louis, and recorded day by day the pulse of its life and varying moods and wonderful development, what a unique treasure to history must the files of such a newspaper be! We cannot do better than quote here in this connection some lines from the Editorial announcing to the surprised public of St. Louis the passing of the city's veteran newspaper:

One hundred and twelve years ago *the Republic* was born. There was a fringe of well-settled country along the Atlantic Coast. Villages were springing up in the wilderness that was to be the Middle West. the Louisiana Purchase had been negotiated five years before, while the West and Southwest were foreign soil.

The country was still finding itself, still learning how to make the Constitution work, still an experiment. The War of 1812 was yet to be fought, the Mexican War was not dreamed of, and while the seeds that made Civil War were sown, no premonition of the great event troubled the people.

Through those stirring times *The Republic*, under one name or another, chronicled the events that make the history of the United States, and continued to do so through the wonderful period of national growth that brought the United States up to the Great War the most powerful nation in the world.

And while *The Republic* consciously and purposefully recorded the story of the years, its very character and make-up unconsciously reflected the revolutionary processes which transformed the land from a country of agricultural pioneers to a complex organization bound together with railroads, steamships, telegraph and telephone lines. The isolated village of 1808 waited months and months for news that comes now in an hour. The horizon of the people who dwell in the Mississippi Valley was broadened in that time from the confines of the scattered communities where pioneering Americans lived until the great events of the whole world were carried to the homes of the people every day in *The Republic* and were matters of daily comment. To keep up with the widening field, the business of journalism itself was transformed. Dailies succeeded weeklies, the patient hand compositor laid down his "stick" and learned the typesetting machine, the little hand press became a roaring monster of steel driven by steam.

In view of such a long career, pity 'tis that nowhere, that we know of, is to be found a complete collection of the paper. All students of the past of St. Louis will long join in lamenting on this account the late birth of historical societies, and the fact that none of the city's early citizens had the foresight to anticipate the advent of these societies, and garner up for the benefit of unborn generations the daily records bought at the newspaper stand.

If the clergy of the Cathedral of St. Louis in early times did not think of preserving for us the paper which they read over their frugal cup of coffee in the morning, after their Mass and thanksgiving—were they, after all, as eager for the morning paper as we have become? We doubt it—, nevertheless, they were on the alert to let no record of the past, no matter what its apparent insignificance, go to the waste basket. As was remarked in the early pages of the REVIEW, Bishop Rosati, for one, had a genuine taste for history. He, it seems, succeeded in imparting the same taste to those who lived with him at the Cathedral residence. Here is an evidence of it. It is a copy of an old scrap of paper found in the Chancery Archives, which relates to the foundation of Carondelet, and gives a somewhat new version of the origin of the nickname, Vide-Poche, by which the village was often designated among the inhabitants of St. Louis. The handwriting is unknown; but on the back of the paper are, besides a note concerning which more anon, a few words by Bishop Rosati's own hand making it clear he preserved this seemingly worthless document, because it dealt with the "Memoirs of the Diocese."

Carondelet, Mo., êtabli 1767 par Mr. Deterchet Delor; cet endroit portoit d'abord le nom de la Prairie à Catalan, nom d'un chasseur, qui s'y étoit placê avec une petite cabanne pour la chasse; ensuite quelqu'un, en passant par cet endroit, avoit demandê quelque chose à manger, et n'ayant rien trouvé, l'appella du nom de Vuide poche, quel nom lui a resté, en depit du nom de Carondelet, d'apres le nom du gouverneur de la N. Orleans. Dans l'année, que l'ancienne Egl.

de S. Louis avoit été detruite, on a batie l'Eglise de Vuide poche, 1819[1], et les bancs, l'autel de l'ancienne Eglise de St. Louis out été transportés á Carondelet pour y être placé pour l'usage des habitants en 1820.

As may easily be seen, this document is far from being a model of correct French style, and bears unmistakable marks of foreign idiom and spelling. Here is a rendering in unpretentious English:

Carondelet, Mo., established in 1767 by Mr. Deterchet Delor[2]; the place at first bore the name of Prairie à Catalan, from a huntsman who had settled there in a little cabin for hunting; later on someone, passing through the place, asked for something to eat, and, finding nothing, called the spot Vide-Poche [Empty Pocket], which nickname has stuck to it, despite the name of Carondelet, from the Governor of New Orleans. In the year that the old church of St. Louis was torn down, the church of Vide-Poche was erected (1819), and the pews and the altar of the old church of St. Louis were carried to Carondelet, to be devoted to the use of the inhabitants, in 1820.

We mentioned above a note written in the same handwriting on the back of the paper. We submit it with pleasure to Father Lawrence J. Kenny, S.J., as supplementary evidence in favor of his able plea for "Missouri's Earliest Settlement," being at the mouth of the River des Pères (Vol. I, pp. 151-156):

1740. Il y a eu un établ. des Pr. Jes. tout prêt de Vuide poche, à la Rivière des Pères.

That is:

1740. There was an establishment of the Jesuit Fathers in the immediate vicinity of Vide-Poche, at the River des Pères.

Whatever may be the authority on which our unknown writer assigns the date 1740—he does not necessarily mean this to be the date of the inception of the establishment, and may refer to a time when it was still in existence—certain it is, at all events, that early in the last century the memory of the existence of this establishment was still preserved, and this undoubtedly by means of some documentary evidence.

In the same collection of papers relating to early times of Missouri's settlements, is a copy made by Father Edmund Saulnier, in 1836, of some old records bearing on these settlements. Whilst some of the statements contained in these (undated) records may not pass unchallenged and their chronology is often at fault, we intend to publish them at an early date.

We may be pardoned to give here, *ne pereat*, a little etymological note relating to the early river trade between St. Louis and New Orleans. Judge Wilson Primm, in his famous article on the "History of St. Louis," reprinted in the *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, Vol. IV, No. 2, mentions, among the dangers attending a trip from St. Louis to *the City* (New Orleans), or vice versa, about the time of the War of Independence, the circumstance that a numerous band of robbers, under the guidance of two men, named Culbert and Magilbray, had located themselves at a place called Cottonwood Creek, "La rivière

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[1] What follows was added by Father Saulnier and is clearly borrowed from some older document, the original of which the above is probably a transcript.

[2] Comp. Houck, *History of Missouri*, ii, 63.

aux Liards." From this haunt they sallied forth on the passing crafts, usually well laden with merchandise. The spot was, in after years, long known to the river men under the puzzling name of Dardanelle. Whence did this name derive? Not certainly from any old-world reminiscence, of which the Mississippi boatmen must have been quite innocent; still less from any real or fancied resemblance between the Mississippi River and the famous straits. But it was a spot where the river folks must be carefully on the lookout. *"Dors d'un oeil,"* that is, literally: "sleep only with one eye," or, more colloquially: "keep your eyes open," was the watchword. Passing from French lips to ears untrained to French sounds, "Dors d'un œil" was naturally enough transmuted into the higher sounding and more classical "Dardanelle."

We owe this interesting view of the origin of the name to Mr. Louis Fusz, who had it sometime in the fifties from the lips of his first employer in St. Louis, Pierre Chouteau Jr.; the tradition which, no doubt, Pierre Chouteau gathered from old river men in the family's employ, is quite trustworthy, and the explanation most likely to be true.

On the mission of Bishop Rosati to Haiti we need not reckon upon mere *on-dits* and oral tradition; written sources are neither hard nor far to seek. It was, therefore, with eager curiosity that we had, some time ago, taken up the long article on "The Church in the Island of San Domingo" (second installment), contributed by Mr. Peter Condon, A. M., for the *Historical Records and Studies* (Vol. XIII, May, 1919). Shall we say we experienced something like a mild shock when we learned that in January, 1842, Bishop Rosati went to Haiti on his way from Rome *to his newly erected diocese* of St. Louis (p. 49; italics ours)? Those who are aware that the diocese had then been more than fifteen years in existence will understand our surprise. True, the statement occurs in an incident clause of very secondary importance, and, on the score of this unhappy phrase, it were unjust to discredit the author's treatment of his special subject. Withal to us, of St. Louis, the one short paragraph devoted to this Dominican mission is insufficient to satisfy our legitimate curiosity about the work, even outside the Diocese, of our first Bishop. With the aid of a few letters of his to or from Haiti, the instructions which he received for this diplomatic mission and his report to the Holy See at his return, we shall, at some future date not far distant, endeavor to give in the REVIEW that page—almost the last—of the life of Bishop Rosati.

We must regard as a red-letter day December 30, 1919, which saw the birth of the *American Catholic Historical Association* at Cleveland, Ohio. For months, we should rather say for years, had Dr. Peter Guilday of the Catholic University of America, strenuously labored to bring about this happy consummation. Complete success has crowned his efforts. From far and near students of Catholic Church History had given their hearty adhesion to the movement, and many gathered for

the inaugural meeting. As a result, the *American Catholic Historical Association* is now a living organization, with body and soul, and no prophet nor prophet's son is needed to forecast that it has a long and bright and active future before it. Of this the names and qualifications of many of its members are a sure omen, and the assurance is still increased, if possible, when we look at the list of officers for this year: President, Dr. Laurence Flick, of Philadelphia; Vice Presidents, Rev. Richard Tierney, S.J., of New York City, editor of *America,* and Rev. Victor O'Daniel, O.P., S.T.M., associate editor of the *Catholic Historical Review,* Washington, D. C.; Secretary, Dr. Carlton J. H. Hayes, of Columbia University, New York City; Treasurer, Rt. Rev. Msgr. Thomas C. O'Reilly, D.D., L.L.D., Vicar General of Cleveland, O.; Archivist, Rev. Peter Guilday, Ph.D., of the Catholic University, Washington, D. C. The Executive Council of the Association is made up of the aforementioned officers, to whom are added Rev. Gilbert P. Jennings, L.L.D., pastor of St. Agnes' Church, Cleveland, O.; Rt. Rev. Msgr. Joseph F. Mooney, Vicar General of the Archdiocese of New York; Rev. C. L. Souvay, C.M., S.S.D., of Kenrick Seminary, St. Louis, Mo.; Rev. William Busch, of St. Paul Seminary, St Paul, Minn., and Rev. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., of Santa Barbara, Cal. At a conference held in Philadelphia on January 10-11, in preparation for the meeting of the Executive Council to be convened in New York City on February 28, it was thought advisable to make the Catholic University of America the permanent headquarters of the association.

How encouraging the prospects are may well be gauged from the fact that, at the time of that February meeting of the Executive Council, the founders of the association numbered eighty-five. There is no reason to doubt that the association *vires acquiret eundo,* and before the next general meeting, to be held at Washington, D. C., probably December 28-30, it will count its members by the hundreds. The plan is to arrange, in connection with that first annual meeting, three conferences: 1. Ancient Church History (Bishop Shahan, chairman); 2. Mediæval Church History (Rev. Paschal Robinson, O.F.M., chairman), and 3. Modern Church History, including American Church History (Dr. Thomas F. Meehan, chairman).

The importance of this new organization, to which must be added due appreciation for the honor conferred upon one of the members of our editing staff, dictates that we should keep our readers informed of the activities of the association. We are all the more prompted to do so, because of the problem, bound to arise sooner or later—rather sooner, if we read the signs of the times aright—of the relations of the new body with local Catholic Historical Societies such as ours.

To refer at any length in these pages to the epoch-making meeting of the American Hierarchy at Washington, D. C., last September were truly *Iliadem post Homerum scribere.* Neither is there any need of our reverting presently to the momentous Pastoral Letter of the Archbishops and Bishops of the United States in conference assembled to their clergy and faithful people. Both the meeting and the Pastoral

Letter undoubtedly constitute events of great magnitude in the history of the Church in America, and are destined to exert an immeasurable influence upon the shaping of our Catholic lives and activities hereafter. Still, at the same time they affect us only as an individual unit of no official character in the Church; they, therefore, considerably go beyond the bounds of our activity as a local historical Society. The Pastoral Letter itself, whilst containing an authoritative retrospect of the progress accomplished by the Church in this country, is not, and could not be, and indeed does not claim to be an historical paper, any more than the Conference of the Hierarchy was an Historical Society meeting. Obviously, their value and importance lie elsewhere. We are not, however, for all that, debarred from seeking in the masterful pages of the Pastoral light and guidance for the furtherance of our own aims; and availing ourselves of this freedom, we shall be pardoned to quote here a few lines which may well be considered a welcome confirmation of our own spirit and our own program.

". . . In the spiritual order there has been a steady advance. The issue between truth and error with regard to all that religion implies is now quite clearly drawn. As human devices, intended to replace the Gospel, have gradually broken down, Christianity, by contrast, appears distinct and firm in its true position. The Church indeed has suffered because it would not sanction the vagaries of thought and policy which were leading the world to disaster. And yet the very opposition which it encountered, an opposition which would have destroyed the work of man, has given the Church occasion for new manifestations of life. With larger freedom from external interference, it has developed more fully the power from on high with which the Holy Spirit endued it. Far from being weakened by the failure of outward support, its activity is seen as the expression of its inner vitality. Its vigor is shown by its ready adaptation to the varying conditions of the world, an adaptation which means no supine yielding and no surrender of principle, but rather the exertion of power in supplying as they arise, the needs of humanity. Because it maintains inviolate the deposit of Christian faith and the law of Christian morality, the Church can profit by every item of truth and every means for the betterment of man which genuine progress affords. It thrives wherever freedom really lives, and it furnishes the only basis on which freedom can be secure.

"The inner vitality of the Church has been shown and enhanced by the action of the Holy See in giving fresh impetus to the minds and hearts of the faithful; in stimulating philosophical, historical and biblical studies. . . At the same time the Sovereign Pontiffs have promoted the welfare of all mankind by insisting on the principles which should govern our social, industrial and political relations; by deepening respect for civil authority; by enjoining upon Catholics everywhere the duty of allegiance to the State and the discharge of patriotic obligation. They have condemned the errors which planned to betray humanity and to undermine our civilization . . ." (*Progress of the Church*, p. 7).

Again:

"The growth of the Church in America was fittingly brought to

view at the celebration, in 1889, of the first centenary of the Hierarchy. Within a hundred years the number of dioceses had risen from one to seventy-five. During the last three decades the same ratio of progress has been maintained, with the result that at present one-sixth of the citizens of the United States are members of the Catholic Church, in a hundred flourishing dioceses.

But what we regard as far more important is the growth and manifestation of an active religious spirit in every diocese and parish . . ." (*Ibid.*, p. 8).

". . . It is the Church not of one race or one nation, but of all those who truly believe in His name. The more you dwell upon its teaching, its practice and its history, the stronger will be your sense of unity with the multitude of believers throughout the world. You will clearly understand that the true interest of each part, of each diocese and parish, are the interests of the Church Universal" (*Ibid.*, p. 9).

It will, no doubt, be of interest to our readers that the National Catholic Welfare Council has issued an edition of this Pastoral Letter in pamphlet form (80 pages), which is for sale at ten cents a copy ($8.00 per hundred; and in case 500 or more copies are desired, $7.00 per hundred).

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL

The Library of the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis.

In the fall of 1918 the librarians of the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis made the first attempt to collect a library. The following circular was sent out:

St. Louis, December 4, 1918.

The undersigned, Librarians of the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis, make the following appeal on behalf of the Library of said Society:

The special object of this Library is to assemble, preserve and render accessible to members of the Society and other duly authorized persons, all available historical material, whether in manuscript or in print, bearing on the origin, development and present status of Catholic life, both in its lay and ecclesiastical aspects, in the region known as the Louisiana Purchase. With a view to build up as large a collection as possible of the material named, as also of such collateral material as may illustrate the special field of interest of the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis, the Librarians earnestly solicit from the Catholic clergy and laity, as also from the general public, contributions under the following heads:

1—Books and pamphlets on American history and biography, especially those bearing on Catholic institutions and persons, clerical and lay, within the limits of the Louisiana Purchase.

2—Files or single copies of old newspapers; files or single copies, whether back or current issues, of Catholic journals and weeklies; parish bulletins, calendars and other papers, (e. g., programs, circulars, etc.), whether of old or recent date. In this connection it is respectfuly urged upon the Reverend Pastors that they send regularly to the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis copies of their respective parish bulletins and other publications.

3—Letters, narratives, documents and other manuscript material regarding early Catholic settlers and settlements. In the case of family papers which the owners wish to retain in their possession, the privilege of being permitted to take copies of the same will be appreciated by the Librarians.

4—Engravings, portraits, medals, curios, and in fine, any object whatever, which, by the most liberal construction, may be regarded as illustrating the history of the Catholic Church in the territory comprised in the Louisiana Purchase.

All gifts and contributions will be credited to the donors and preserved in the Library or Archives of the Society for the use and benefit of the members and other duly authorized persons. Contributions to the Library and all correspondence relating thereto should be addressed to Reverend F. G. Holweck, 2653 Ohio Ave., St. Louis, Mo.

The Librarians of the St. Louis Catholic Historical Society take this occasion to bespeak the generous patronage of clergy and laity alike on behalf of the Society's official publication, which under the title "St. Louis Catholic Historical Review," made its initial appearance in October, 1918. The annual subscription for the Review, to be issued quarterly, is Two Dollars. Subscriptions will be gratefully received by any of the officers of the Society.

Rev. F. G. Holweck,
Rev. Charles L. Souvay, C.M., D.D.,
Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J.,
Librarians.

Since the Historical Society has no quarters of its own, the Pastor of St. Francis de Sales Church offered a room in his parochial residence where the library could be kept until better housing can be procured for it. The Rosati letters and other documents which are archdiocesan property, are kept at the chancery office, 207 Walnut Street, but the books, files, pamphlets, etc., which have been acquired since December, 1918, are preserved at 2653 Ohio Avenue. Since much of the material had been collected before the library was started, it is impossible to give the names of all the donors. We give them where it is possible. Our list is not complete; it will be finished and continued in later issues of this Review. Many thanks to those who have so liberally responded to our appeal. We hope that within a short time our modest library will be not without value to historians.

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DOCUMENTS FROM OUR ARCHIVES

Correspondence of Bishop Du Bourg with Propaganda

XVII.

BISHOP DU BOURG TO CARDINAL FONTANA,

Prefect of Propaganda[1].

Eminentissime Praefecte,

Ex literis Sacrae huius Congregationis ad me datis Junii 29 proxime elapsi, disco P. Augustinum Ercolani, nuper Evangelii praeconem in Wallachia et Byzantii, ad hanc dioecesim, Sacra approbante Congregatione transire. Miror tamen literas has per alium latorem mihi transmissas fuisse, et nec adventasse dictum Patrem, nec quidquam mihi de se scriptis significasse; quanquam, si me non fallunt quae de eo collegi testimonia, vix admirationi sit locus; audio enim a viris omni fide dignis, quibus notissimus Romae fuit, eum inconstantiori animo esse, aeque facilem in dimittendo proposito, ac ardentem in amplectendo; quod si ita sit, nihil profecto erit quod de eius amissione lugeam; vix siquidem alius est in toto christiano orbe terrarum tractus, ubi maiori prudentia animique firmitate sacerdotibus opus sit, quam ista vineae pars pusillitati meae commissa. Hinc est quod pro meipso primum dein pro collaboratoribus meis quotidie sapientiam a Deo efflagitem, ut nobiscum sit et nobiscum laboret, rogans ut, sicut licentioris vitae homines, ita et inconstantes et praecipites a dioecesis meae finibus arceat.

Ea occasione significavit mihi Eminentia Vestra Sacram Congregationem id in votis habere, ut, quandoquidem Patris huius adventu novum operarium acquisiturus eram, eius loco alium ex nostris missionariis, qui anglicam linguam didicerunt, Neo Eboracum mitterem, cuius episcopus propter inopiam sacerdotum, laborum mole obruitur. Quocirca advertere velim Eminentiam Vestram 1°. plurimos adhuc dioecesi meae deesse ut urgenti non paucarum partium necessitati fiat satis; 2°. paucissimos ex iis in anglica lingua jam satis profecisse ut Neo Eboraci accepti esse possint; 3°. penes me non esse quaemquam ex meis fratribus in alienam dioecesim mittere, nisi forte aliquis id expetat; 4°. Etsi potestas adesset, certe expectari non posse me velle, post tot susceptos labores, tot sumptus erogatos ad colligendam copiam fidelium co-

[1] Archives of Propaganda. *Scritture Referite nei Congressi.* America Centrale. Dal Canada all'Istmo di Panama. Codice No. 4, Dal 1818 a tto il 1820. Docum. No. 141.

adjutorum, ullum ex talibus ablegare. His adiicere possim, quod ita distractus sit Ecclesiae Neo Eboracensis status, adeo labefactata episcopalis auctoritas, ut vigentibus actualibus circumstantiis, nulli sacerdoti auctor esse velim ut ad eam se conferat.

Paucos infra menses animus mihi est unum e presbyteris meis Romam mittere, qui Eminentiam Vestram et Sacram Congregationem de statu meae dioeceseos oretenus docebit. At differre diutius non possum Eminentiam Vestram rogare ut duo matrimonia invalide contracta propter impedimentum affinitatis in primo gradu . . . curet in radice sanari . . .

S. Ludovici, in agro Missouriano, die Febr., 2, 1820.

Humillimus

Lud. Guil. Episc. Neo-Aurel.

Emin. mo. Card. Fontana, Praefecto S.C. de Propg. Fide—Romam.

TRANSLATION.

Your Eminence:—

A letter of Propaganda, in date of June 29 last[2], advises me that Father Augustine Ercolani[3], erstwhile employed in the missions of

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[2] This Letter is apparently lost.

[3] Augustine Mary Ercolani was an Augustinian monk, and had been a missionary in Bulgaria and Valachia, with headquarters, it appears, at Constantinople Whether he had not been employed in another missionary field before is not altogether clear. At any rate, for reasons unrecorded, he left the Order and the Eastern Missions and came back to Rome. Arrived in the Holy City, he reported to the Vicar General of the Augustinians, begging readmittance. Shortly afterwards, however, he seemed to be undecided whether he should remain in the Order, and asked to go to Monte Citorio. As the question of the American missions was almost constantly agitated in the Lazarist house, Father Ercolani conceived the project of turning towards the Western world; he was directed to Cardinal Quarantotti, who introduced him to the Secretary of Propaganda by the following letter (Archives of Prop., *Scritture Referite,* Codice 4, Docum. No. 107):

"February 25, 1819.

"Msgr. Pedicini, Secretary of Propaganda:

"Right Reverend Sir:—

"The bearer is Father Augustine Mary Ercolani, who comes from Constantinople. For reasons which he disclosed to me and which he will explain also to you orally, he wishes to be transferred from the Mission of Bulgaria and Valachia to that of America. For this purpose he will be introduced to His Eminence, Card. Fontana, Prefect, by the Vicar General of the Lazarists at Monte Citorio, who will join in asking to have him sent to aid his missionaries in America. I beg you, therefore, most earnestly to inform said Cardinal and interpose your good offices to the end that the intentions of this gentleman may be realized . . .

"John Bapt. Card. Quarantotti."

How Ercolani impressed the Secretary and the Prefect of Propaganda we do not know. At any rate, as he had been an Augustinian monk, it was most natural that further information should be sought for from the Superior of the Order. Here is the answer of the Augustinian Vicar General to the letter of enquiry of Msgr. Pedicini (*Ibid.,* Docum, 106):

"Right Reverend Monsignor:—

"When Father Augustine Ercolani reported to me to present his obedience he did not tell me that he had left the Missions of the Orient to pass over to that of America; but that he wanted to resume the habit of the Order and come

Valachia and Constantipole, is, with the approval of the S. Congregation, to come to this Diocese. I wonder, though, why the aforementioned letter came to me through another bearer, and why Father Ercolani has not come, and has not even written a line to me. However, if I am not misled by the information which I have received about him there is scarcely room for wonder. For I have been told by men absolutely trustworthy, who knew him well in Rome, that he is rather inconstant and as quick in relinquishing a project as he was in adopting it. If this be true, I have nothing to regret if I lose him; for I must say that there is scarcely any country in all Christendom where priests need

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back to the Community; and I replied that I was glad to admit him again. It is true that I could not give him room in this convent of St. Augustine . . .; and he showed himself satisfied of this arrangement. On his return from Gennazzano, where he went to make a pilgrimage to Our Lady of Good Counsel, he intimated that he was still in doubt as to coming back to the Order, and begged leave to go to the house of the Mission at Monte Citorio, to communicate certain messages which had been entrusted to him, and to be permitted to go to confession outside the Order. That is the last conversation which I had with him. He is a man of good morals, but hot-headed and very changeable in his resolutions, as is evidenced by his having in so short a space of time left successively two Missions. Besides, I doubt if he has the amount of prudence and knowledge that is required. . .

"St. Augustine's Monastery, March 12, 1819.

"Fr. Settimio Rotelli,
"Vic. Gen. of the Augustinians."

Unflattering as was this testimonial, Propaganda decided nevertheless to send Ercolani to Louisiana; and from a letter of Father Colucci, C.M., in date of July 23, 1819 (*Ibid.*, Docum. 104), we learn that the project was still standing, and that, together with the ex-Augustinian monk, Propaganda was to send D. Francis Jacobelli, Canon of the collegiate church of Vico in the Diocese of Alatri. The testimonial given about this priest is quite in contrast with that sent concerning Ercolani. Thus wrote Father Colucci to the Secretary of Propaganda:

"In compliance with the request wherewith His Eminence, the Cardinal Prefect, and Your Lordship have honored me, touching the gentleman whom it is question to send to America in company with Father Ercolani, it seems to me that I may say that D. Francis Jacobelli, Canon of the collegiate church of Vico, in the Diocese of Alatri, whilst he did us the favor of helping us to hear confessions in various missions we were giving in that Diocese, and lived with us, proved himself to be an ecclesiastic endowed with a fair modicum of knowledge, with solid judgment, with active, yet prudent and discreet zeal, with great courage in the face of obstacles, indefectible patience and great docility to the direction of others; we noticed, moreover, that the people esteem and appreciate his merit; and for this reason it is to be feared that his Bishop might make opposition to his departure. He is about forty years of age, and quite healthy and strong. When he first expressed his desire of embracing the career of the foreign missions, I wished, before proposing his name to our Superior, to consult on this subject my companions, who were more able than I to observe his conduct; all unanimously answered that he would prove a complete success. . .

"Colucci, C.M."

From Bishop Du Bourg's letter, we understand he was in possession of very much the same information in regard to Ercolani, as we have gleaned from the above-quoted documents, and we may with him conclude that the ex-Augustinian's failure to go to America was small loss to the Louisiana mission. That Jacobelli did not come seems to be regrettable; of the reasons which detained him in Europe, we have no other inkling but that which may be gathered from Colucci's letter.

more prudence and steadiness of mind than in this portion of the Lord's vineyard entrusted to the care of your humble servant. Hence, every day I pray God earnestly to grant, in the first place, to myself and also to my colaborers, the gift of wisdom, that He may abide and labor with us; beseeching Him to keep away from my Dioese not only persons of questionable morals, but also those that are inconstant and precipitate.

Your Eminence informed me, by the same occasion, that it was the wish of the S. Congregation that, as I was to get, by the coming of Father Ercolani, a new worker, I should, in exchange, send one of our English-speaking missionaries to New York, as the Bishop of that place is overburdened with work, owing to the paucity of priests. In this regard permit me to submit to Your Eminence the following considerations: 1. Many more priests are still needed in my Diocese in order to satisfy the wants of quite a number of places; 2. Very few are those who have become proficient enough in English to be suitable for New York; 3. I have no authority to mission to another Diocese any one of my brother-priests, unless he asks to be transferred; 4. Even if I *had* this authority, I could scarcely be expected to be willing, after all the labors undertaken, all the money expended in recruiting a number of faithful colaborers, to give away any of them. I might well add, too, that so distracted is the Church of New York, so weakened the authority of its Bishop that, in the present circumstances, I should never approve of any priest going there.

It is my intention to despatch to Rome within a few months one of my priests[4], who will make a verbal report of the state of my Diocese to Your Eminence and to the S. Congregation. However, I cannot wait any longer before asking Your Eminence to obtain the *Sanatio in radice* . . . of two marriages invalid on account of an impediment of affinity in the first degree . . .

St. Louis, Missouri, February 2, 1820.

✠ Louis, Wm., Bp. of New Orl.

To His Eminence, Cardinal Fontana, Prefect of the S. Congregation of Propaganda, Rome.

XVIII.

BISHOP DU BOURG TO CARDINAL FONTANA[1].

Eminentissime Praefecte:

Litterae Vestrae humanitatis plenae, quae nuper accepi, docent

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[4] The priest in question was to be the notorious *Count* Angelo Inglesi, who since his arrival in St. Louis in September, 1819, had, by his suave manners, absolutely fascinated everybody, and Bishop Du Bourg more than everyone else. The Bishop intended to ordain him, as indeed he did, on March 20. We intend to publish in the near future a summary of what is known of this curious and enigmatic *Roman Count*. Cf. *Pastoral Blatt*, Febuary, 1918: Ein dunkles Blatt aus Du Bourg's Episkopat. A sketch of Rev. Angelo Inglesi, a Clerical Fraud; by Rev. F. G. Holweck; also *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, March, 1916, pp. 74-87.

[1] Archives of Propaganda. *Scritture Referite nei Congressi*. America Centrale. Dal Canada all'Istmo di Panama. *Codice* 4. Dal 1818 a tto il 1820. Docum. No. 144.

Sacrae isti Congregationi non arrisisse quas ipsi direxeram preces de assignando mihi in Coadjutorem Revdo. Patre Antonio a Sedella, benigniusque me invitant ut alium Sacerdotem ad tantum opus proponam, qui, si fieri potest, meipso senior non sit.

Fateor hac clausula me valde coarctari, Tres enim dumtaxat habeo quos hujusmodi ministerio aptos judicaverim. Primus est Rev. D.nus Ludovicus Sibourd, Vicarius meus Generalis, qui in summa rerum angustia per sex et amplius annos, Novae Aureliae prudenter ita administravit, ut omnium in se, etiam hostium, animos conciliaverit. Sed is sex circiter annos meipso provectior est, licet adhuc veges et me multo robustior.—Alter est Rev. D.nus Bertrandus Martial, Burdigalensis sacerdos, duobus abhinc annis in istam Dioecesim advectus, morum comitate, ingenii solertia, sinceraque pietate, mihi imprimis plebique carissimus, cui potissimum debetur Novae Aureliae ad meliorem frugem reditus. Hic novem annis, ut puto, me minor existit.—Tertius est Rev. D. Josephus Rosati, Neapolitanus, Cong.is Miss.is sacerdos, triginta ad summum annos natus, vir modis pene omnibus absolutus. Cum vero Rev. D. Martial nuper ad Collegii, pro Christiana et literaria liberorum institutione in Inferiori Louisiana; Rev. autem D. Rosati ad ecclesiastici Seminarii, in hac Superiori parte, fundationem, me auctore, manum admoverint, opera profecto ne dicam utilissima, sed inter omnia maxime necessaria, quae ipsis discedentibus, ad terram prosterni necesse est, unum tantummodo superest, qui sine gravissimo incommodo mihi in Coadjutorem adjungi queat, nempe praefatus Rev. D.nus Ludovicus Sibourd. Nec vero obstare videtur quod paucis annis me antecellat; tum quia, quantum aetate, tantum viribus et virtute praestat; tum praesertim quia, cum praecipua Coadjutoris eligendi ratio sit, ut paulatim incolarum in inferiori Louisiana mentes episcopali gubernationi assuescant, plurimum refert, ut ipse eligatur, cui jam quadam consuetudine devincti sunt.

Generalem Dioecesis meae status rationem in decursu labentis anni per unum e Sacerdotibus meis ad Sacram istam Cong.em transmittere cogitans, hoc unum, utpote urgentissimum negotium, impraesentiarum ipsi submitto, rogans ut, si bene videbitur, quamprimum Rev.di D.ni Lud.ci Sibourd Episcopalis institutio, sub titulo in partibus, cum jure ad banc Dioccesim consecrari valeat, ad me dirigatur per manus Rev. mi D.ni Archiepiscopi Burdigalensis, Interim D.O.M. pro sospitate . . . me profiteor . . . ✠ L. Guil., Ep. Neo-Aurel.

S.ti Ludovici (Missouri)
die 4a. Martii 1820.

TRANSLATION.

Your Eminence:—

Your so amiably condescending letter, which I received some time ago[2], advises me that the S. Congregation of Propaganda did not con-

[2] This cannot be the letter of December 11, 1819, which we published in our last issue (Vol. I, p. 310), as no mention is made there of Father de Sedella. A number of the Letters of Propaganda to Bishop Du Bourg have not been found so far.

[1] This cannot be the letter of December 11, 1819, which we published in our last issue (Vol. I, p. 310), as no mention is made there of Father de Smedt's ordination.

sider favorably the request which I had addressed to it to appoint for my Coadjutor the Rev. Father Anthony de Sedella, and most kindly invites me to propose for this office some other priest, not older than I, if possible.

I must confess that this latter qualification restricts considerably my choice. For I have only three priests whom I should consider fit for this office. The first is the Rev. Louis Sibourd, my Vicar General, who, amidst very difficult circumstances, for six years and more has administered the Church of New Orleans with so much prudence that he has won the sympathy of all, even the refractory. But he is six years or so older than myself, although he is still quite robust and more vigorous than I. The second is the Rev. Bertrand Martial, a priest from Bordeaux, who came to this Diocese two years ago; his suavity of manners, his remarkable mind and his genuine piety have endeared him at once both to the people and to myself; to his exertions is due the return of New Orleans to better sentiments. He is, I think, nine years my junior. The third is the Rev. Joseph Rosati, from Naples[3], priest of the Congregation of the Mission, thirty years of age at most[4], but a man accomplished in every way. Now as the Rev. B. Martial and the Rev. J. Rosati have undertaken under my auspices, the one the foundation of a college for the religious and literary education of boys in Lower Louisiana, and the other that of an Ecclesiastical Seminary in Upper Louisiana, these works which are, I shall not say very useful, but really necessary above all others, will fatally crumble down if these two gentlemen are taken away. There remains, therefore, but one candidate to whom the Coadjutorship may be given without grave inconvenience, namely, the Rev. Louis Sibourd. The fact that he is a few years my senior does not seem really to be in the way: first, because his vigor and his virtue are in proportion to his years; secondly and mainly, because, as the principal reason for giving me a Coadjutor is that the minds in Lower Louisiana may gradually grow reconciled with the government of the Bishop, it is of the utmost importance to select a man with whom they are already quite accustomed.

As I am thinking of sending, through one of my priests[5], the general report of my Diocese for the past year to the S. Congregation, I submit to it presently but this one affair, which indeed is the most pressing; and beg that the same Congregation, if it so please, forward me without delay, in care of the Most Rev. Archbishop of Bordeaux, the appointment of the Rev. Louis Sibourd to a Bishopric *in partibus*, and with right of succession to this Diocese, adding the proper dispensation, so that he may be consecrated by only one Bishop. Meanwhile I pray God to preserve in good health . . . and subscribe myself . . .

✠ L. Wm., Bp. of N. O.

St. Louis, Mo., March 4, 1820.

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[3] Not from the city, but the kingdom of Naples.

[4] Joseph Rosati was born on January 13, 1789; he was then thirty-one years old.

[5] See above, Note3, on Letter XVII.

XIX.

BISHOP DU BOURG TO CARDINAL LITTA[1].

St. Louis le 5 Avril 1820.

Eminence:

Recevez mes très humbles et très affectueux remerciemens pour l'intérêt que vous avez daigné pendre au cruel embarras où je m'étois mis dans l'affaire de mon Coadjuteur . . .

J'ai réitéré ma demande en faveur de Mr. L. Sibourd dont l'âge ne m'est pas bien connu, mais que je suppose être d'environ soixante ans; celui de l'autre que j'avais proposé est de 72. Si cette circonstance formoit une difficulté, j'avoue que je ne saurois comment la lever; je n'ai dans mon Diocèse que lui qui convienne aujourd 'hui à cette place; les autres Prêtres sont ou plus vieux ou très jeunes à l'exception de MM. Andreis, Rosati et Martial. Les deux premiers sont trop nécessaires à l'établissement de leur Compagnie, et le dernier à la formation d'un Collège important qu'il vient de commencer daus la basse Louisiane, pour en être détachés . . .

La division du Diocèse est encore, dans mon oipnion, et dans celle de plusieurs de mes plus sages coopérateurs une mesure prématurée; 1° Tant qu'un certain homme existera, la situation d'un Ev. titulaire à la Nouvelle Orléans seroit extrêmement désagréable. 2° La haute et la basse Louisiane sont et seront encore pendant quelques années très nécessaires l'une à l'autre , , , 3° L'Etat du Missouri est encore si nouveau, qu'il offriroit très peu de chose à faire à un Evêque; n'ayant que 7 on 8 postes qui puissent faire subsister modiquement un Prêtre. Dans un pareil état de choses, il me semble, Eminence, qu'il vaut mieux laisser le Diocèse dans son intégrité, en donnant à l'Evêque un Coadjuteur avec lequel il puisse partager ses secours et ses travaux.

. . . . .

. . . Mr. Rossetti et sa petite compagnie sont occupés à accélérer les travaux de mon Séminaire. . . .

✠ Lud. Guil. Ev. de la Louis.ne.

TRANSLATION.

St. Louis, April 5, 1820.

My Lord Cardinal:

Deign Your Eminence accept the most humble and affectionate thanks for the interest which you have so kindly taken in the painful embarrassment wherein I was intricated in the matter of the Coadjutorship. . .

I . . . have reiterated my petition in favor of the Rev. L. Sibourd, whose age I do not know exactly, but suppose to be about sixty; the other man I had ventured to propose[2] is seventy-two years old. If this circumstance were to be considered an obstacle, I confess

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[1] Archives of Propaganda. *Scritture Referite nei Congressi.* America Centrale. Dal Canada all'Istmo di Panama. *Codice* 7. Dal 1821 a tto il 1822.

[2] Father Anthony de Sedella, O.M.C.

my inability to find a way out; for I have no one else in the Diocese who would do, the other priests being either older or very young, except the Revs. De Andreis, Rosati and Martial. The first two are so indispensable for the establishment of their community, and the other to the foundation of an important College, which he has just started in Lower Louisiana, that they cannot be taken away. . . .

According to my opinion and the opinion of several of my wisest colaborers, the division of the Diocese appears as yet premature: 1. As long as a certain man[3] is living, the situation of a titulary Bishop in New Orleans is to be extremely unpleasant; 2. Upper and Lower Louisiana are, and will for yet some years to come be very necessary to each other. . . 3. The State of Missouri is still so young that it would afford very little work for a Bishop to do, as there are only seven or eight places which can afford to maintain—and that poorly enough—a priest. Owing to these conditions, it seems to me, Your Eminence, that it is better to leave the Diocese as it is, giving, however, to the Bishop a Coadjutor with whom he may share his income and his work. . . . . . Father Rossetti and his little band[4] are working to help hastening the building of my Seminary. . .

✠ L. Wm., Bp. of Louisiana.

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[3] No doubt, Father de Sedella.

[4] Father John Mary Rossetti was a Milanese priest, who had gathered around him a little band of clerics and pious young laymen to whom he was a kind of Superior. At the time of Bishop Du Bourg's journey through Milan, in the early months of 1816, Father Rossetti was so deeply touched by the prelate's description of the sorrowful plight of the Church of Louisiana, so moved by his earnest appeal for laborers to work in that forsaken portion of the Lord's vineyard, that he forthwith proffered his services and those of the sodality under his direction. On further consideration, however, it was arranged by common consent that the Bishop would take immediately along only one of the young clerics, Joseph Tichitoli, and that Father Rossetti would hold the rest in reserve to start later, promising to keep always on hand in the meantime the funds necessary for the journey. They had to wait, until, early in 1818, preparations were made at Monte Citorio for another expedition, made up of Father Francis Cellini, Messrs. Philip Borgna and Joseph Potini, clerics, and Brother Bettelani, of the Congregation of the Mission. The two bands met at Genoa. Father Rossetti had with him two priests. Fathers Charles Mariani and Marcellus Borella; a cleric, Mr. John Rosti, and five young laymen: John Bosoni, Peter Vergani, Angelo Mascaroni, Joseph Pifferi and Vincent Turatti. They all sailed from Leghorn on July 4, 1818, and landed at Philadelphia October 1st. The Lazarists of the band set out at once on their westward journey, and arrived at the Barrens on the 5th of January, 1819. Rossetti and his companions remained in Philadelphia awaiting orders. They reached the Barrens January 4, 1820, almost a year to the day after the arrival of their former travelling companions.

XX.

PROPAGANDA TO BISHOP DU BOURG[1].

N. 14[2].

Illme ac Rme Dne.

Licet Amplitudo Tua florente adhuc aetate, ac valetudine utatur, perspectis tamen rationum momentis, quae adducta sunt, Sacra Congregatio Coadjutorem tibi assignare non recusabit, qui in amplissima ista Dioecesi, praesertim vero in inferiore illius parte, tibi praesidio sit, ac adjumento. Verum D. Sibourd, quem novissime ad hujusmodi munus proposuiti, nimis aetate provectus videtur; aliunde vero qua ille prudentia, quo studio, quaque doctrina sit praeditus plane ignoramus. Quare cupio, ut de illius meritis, et qualitatibus plene nos doceas, antequam de ipsius deputatione ratio habeatur. P. Augustinus Ercolani, qui isthuc sese conferre decreverat, a suscepto consilio recessit. Presbyterum, quem Roman mittere statuisti, ut Nos de istius Ecclesiae statu, ac necessitatibus instruat, libenter expectabimus, quidque ad ejusdem Ecelesiae utilitatem S. Congregatio conferre poterit studiose praestabit. Interim tibi petitas duas dispensationes adjicio, Deumque precor, ut A. T. diutissime servet ac sospitet. Amplitudinis Tuae,

Romae ex Aedibus S. Congnis. de Prop.da Fide
die 26. Augusti 1820.

Uti Frater Studiossissimus,
✠ Julius M. Card.lis de Somalia Pro-Praefectus.
C. M. Pedicini, Sec.ius.

Rmo. D. Lud. Guill. Du Bourg,
Epo. Neo Aurelianensi in America (S. Ludovicum).

TRANSLATION[3].

Right Reverend Sir:

Although Your Lordship is still young in years[4] and enjoying good health, in view of the importance of the reasons which you advance, the S. Congregation will not refuse to give you a Coadjutor to assist and aid you in the administration of your vast Diocese, particularly the southern part of it. However, the Rev. Sibourd, whom you lately proposed for this office[5], appears to be too old[6]; moreover, what are his prudence, his

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[1] Original in Archives of the St. Louis Chancery.

[2] With the exception of the Propaganda Letter No. 10, published in our last issue (Vol. I, p. 310), the earlier letters of Propaganda to Bishop Du Bourg seem to be lost.

[3] This letter, as is evident from its contents, is an answer to Bishop Du Bourg's own letter of February 2 (cf. above, XVII.).

[4] Bishop Du Bourg was then in his fifty-fifth year, being born on February 13, 1766.

[5] See Letters XIV, of June 25, 1819 (Vol. I, pp. 303 and foll.); XV, of the same date (*Ibid.*, pp. 308 and foll.); XVI, of December 11, 1819 (*Ibid.*, pp. 310-311), XVIII, of March 4, and XIX, of April 5, 1820 (in this issue).

[6] It will be remembered that in the letter XVIII (above), Bishop Du Bourg stated that Father Sibourd was "six years or so" older than himself; and to Cardinal Litta (Letter XIX), he declared "not to know exactly Father Sibourd's age, which he supposed to be about sixty."

zeal, and his knowledge, we are completely ignorant of. Hence, I wish you to give us full information touching his merit and qualifications, before we can consider the question of his appointment.

Father Augustine Ercolani[7], who had determined to pass over to America has now changed his mind.

We will gladly await the coming of the priest whom you intend to send to Rome to make known to us the condition of your church and its needs[8]; and whatever help it is in the power of this S. Congregation to afford for the good of that Diocese will certainly be extended. Meanwhile you will find herewith enclosed the two dispensations which you asked for; and I pray God to keep Your Lordship yet many years and in good health.

Your Lordship's Most Devoted Brother,

✠ Julius M. Card. de Somalia, Pro-Prefect.

C. M. Pedicini, Secretary.

Rome, Palace of the S. Congregation of Propaganda, August 26, 1820.

To the Right Rev. Louis Wm. Du Bourg, Bishop of New Orleans in America. St. Louis.

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[7] See above Letter XVII, Note 3.

[8] See above Letter XVII, Note 4.

ST. LOUIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

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Established February 7th, 1917

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EARLY MISSIONARY EFFORTS
AMONG THE INDIANS
IN THE DIOCESE OF ST. LOUIS

The missionary spirit has always and everywhere been a distinctive mark of the Catholic Church. The injunction of her Divine Founder and Master, "Go and teach all nations," never ceased ringing in the ears of her ministers and ever found a ready response in the hearts of her people. The history of the development of the Church is largely the history of her missionary labors. It was, therefore, to be expected that the planting and the growth of the Church in the Mississippi Valley should be closely identified with many generous efforts to gain for the religion of Christ the various savage tribes called Indians, then inhabiting the vast tracts of land bordering on the mighty Mississippi, and its tributary rivers and streams. And, indeed, here as elsewhere the Catholic missionary followed in the wake of the explorer, or, rather, the first explorer was also the first missionary, the intrepid Father Pierre Marquette of the Society of Jesus. After the pathfinder came band on band of zealous messengers of the Gospel, whose chief concern it was to win the poor savages to the religion of the cross. The Jesuits, whilst there were Jesuits, were most prominent in this religious movement, and their establishments dotted the land from far away Canada, along the shores of the great lakes, down the course of the Illinois River, and on the banks of the River of the Immaculate Conception, as Father Marquette called the Mississippi, down as far as the Gulf of Mexico. Noteworthy above others were the original Kaskaskia's Mission on Lake Pimeteoui, then Fort St. Louis,[1] the home of Father Allouez and Gravier on the Illinois River, and lastly the new Kaskaskia Mission, of which the Jesuit Relations give us such glowing pictures of Christian faith and piety, together with its dependencies, Fort Chartres, Prairie du Rocher and Ste. Genevieve. The Fathers of the Foreign Mission from Montreal had established their center at Cahokia with the Commission to evangelize the immense tract watered by the Missouri and its tributary streams, "the most beautiful region in the world," as Father Vivier calls it in 1750. Further down the Mississippi there were a number of stations conducted by Jesuits or Capuchins. Of course, these missionary centers were not always of the same relative importance, increasing or de-

[1] It would appear that Fort St. Louis and Starved Rock are the same place. The mission called St. Louis took its name from the *Fort* St. Louis, and was probably at the great village, which village was just below Starved Rock. Starved Rock is the place where the Illinois made their last stand against the Pottawotomies.

creasing frequently in accordance with the frequent shifting of the Indian population. An approximately correct idea can be gained for the years 1722-1728 from a Memoir[2] concerning the Church of Louisiana, dated November 21, 1728, found in the archives of the Ministry of Marine of France. We will give the leading parts of this lengthy document in a literal translation of the French original, connecting them by a resumé of the less important matters. "By ordinance of the Commissioners of the Council of May 16, 1722, and with the consent of the Bishop of Quebec, the Province of Louisiana was divided into three religious jurisdictions," apportioned to three missionary orders, each to have at its head a Grand Vicar of the Bishop of Quebec.

The first included all the country which is found in ascending the river St. Louis (Mississippi) from the sea (the Gulf of Mexico) to the height of the entry of the river Ouabache (Ohio) into the river St. Louis; and all that part to the west of this river in the said extent of country. The churches and missions in this jurisdiction were to be filled by the Capuchins and their Superior was to be always Grand Vicar of the Bishop of Quebec, in the department, and to reside in New Orleans.

The second jurisdiction was to extend over all the country which is found in the upper part of the province above the river Ouabache, and was to be in control of the Jesuits, whose Superior residing at the Illinois, was to be always Grand Vicar to the Bishop of Quebec in this part.

The third jurisdiction was to comprise all the country east of the river (Mississippi) from the Gulf to the Ohio, and was to be given to the Carmelites, whose Superior was likewise Grand Vicar, and ordinarily established at Mobile.[2]

The Capuchins at once took possession of their district; the Jesuits had been established in theirs for upwards of fifty years; the Carmelites were, indeed, at Mobile, but as the Bishop of Quebec seemed dissatisfied with their management, their jurisdiction was by episcopal order united to that of the Capuchins. Whereupon the Carmelites withdrew to France. Now there were but two jurisdictions: the old Illinois country under the Jesuits, and the remainder of Upper Louisiana, together with the entire extent of Lower Louisiana under the care of the Capuchins.

In the month of December, 1723, continues our memoir, the company (of the Indies), judging that the Capuchins would not be able to furnish enough clergymen to supply all the cures and missions in a region so vast . . . fixed the boundary of their jurisdiction at Natchez, leaving them all the country below this post, both to the east and to the west, and giving the remainder to the Jesuits, who, in this department had for fellow-laborers two priests of the Foreign Missions.

This arrangement alarmed the Capuchins; they demanded a guarantee that no further encroachments would be made on their sphere of activity. The guarantee was given by the Council and confirmed by Royal Patent on July 15, 1725.

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[2] Memoir concerning the Church of Louisiana (1722-1728), dated November 21, 1728. Cf. Martin T. J. Griffin. *The American Catholic Historical Researches.* XXII. No. 2.

But the Capuchins, as the Memoir continues, had more zeal than ability to furnish men. The Province of Champagne, from which those of Louisiana came, is small and unfruitful of subjects. The company then seeing that they were not providing as many clergymen as were needed to fill the ecclesiastical posts of this district, and knowing, moreover, that they were little fitted for missions among savages, decided on a new partition which, being accommodated to the character and the particular talents of the two orders, should fix unalterably their relations from this time forward. They decided to establish the Capuchins in all the French posts, and to charge the Jesuits with the spiritual management of the savages, under the will and pleasure of the Bishop of Quebec, who had warmly approved this arrangement.

In consequence the Council made an agreement on February 20, 1726, with the Jesuit Fathers by which they engaged to furnish missionaries not only in all places of their district, but also at the homes of the savage nations . . . in the territory conceded to the Capuchins.

The Superior of the Jesuits was to reside in New Orleans, on condition, however, that there should not be any ecclesiastical functions in New Orleans without the consent of the Capuchins. "In the month of December, 1726, there departed from France the number of Jesuits necessary to supply the missions which they had agreed to establish, and they were immediately assigned to their stations. The presence in one city of two Grand Vicars with divided authority was to bring on a serious disturbance of ecclesiastical peace; yet the work of the Indian Mission entered upon a new era of prosperity for at least thirty-six years. The names of all the missionaries then laboring in Louisiana, both Capuchins and Jesuits, were given at the end of the Memoir.

Capuchins: Pere Raphael, V. G. of the Bishop of Quebec, and Curé of the City of New Orleans; P. Hyacinthe, Vicar, and Pere Cecile, both at New Orleans. P. Theodore with the Chapitoulas; P. Philippe at Village Allemand, in the German Village; P. Gaspard at Balize; P. Mathias at Mobile; P. Maximin with the Natchitaches; P. Philibert with the Natchez; P. Victorin, Recollect, joined to the Capuchins with the Apalaches.

Jesuits: Pere Petit, Superior at New Orleans; P. Poisson and P. D'Outreleau, both with the Arkansas; P. Tartarin and P. Boulenger, both with the Kaskaskias; P. Guimerean with the Metchigamias; P. Souel with the Yasous; P. Baudouin with the Chicasaws; P. Guenne with the Alabamas.

Pere Petit, adds the Memoir, had been with the Choctaws. There will be a new missionary to the Castonitas. Messrs. Thaumur and Mercier, priests of the Foreign Missions, are with the Jesuits serving the Cahokias and Tamarois.

The golden age of the Illinois Missions, however, was then already on the decline, chiefly on account of the Indians' indulgence in strong drink and the consequent licentiousness. This decline was to assume alarming proportions about 1750, when Father Vivier, S.J., could write of Kaskaskia:

This station contains more than six hundred Illinois, all baptized, with the exception of five or six; but the "fire water" which is sold them by the French,

and especially by the soldiers, in spite of the reiterated prohibition on the part of the King, and that which is sometimes distributed to them, under pretext of maintaining them in our interest, has ruined the mission and caused the greater part of the converts to abandon our holy religion. The Indians, and particularly the Illinois, who at other times, are the gentlest and most tractable of men, become, when intoxicated, frantic and brutally ferocious. Then they attack each other with knives, inflicting terrible wounds. The greatest good we do among them is the administration of baptism to children who are at the point of death.[3]

It was a sad state of affairs, so different than that described by Penicaut in 1711,[4] not to mention the detailed accounts of the Jesuit Relations. But the end was to come in a manner no one could have expected, by the suppression of the Order, which had been the life of these missions. At one fell swoop in 1764 all the Jesuit missioners were recalled by the Council of the Indies, and, with one exception, deported to France. The Society of Jesus was dissolved, as far as France was concerned; but Providence watched over an Order that was to take up again the work of Christianizing and civilizing the Indians of the Mississippi Valley and to carry it beyond the Mississippi, yes, beyond the plains and the valleys' natural bulwarks, the Rocky Mountains.

I. The First Moving of the Spirit.

It is my purpose to sketch the missionary efforts among the Indians in the Old Diocese of St. Louis. Now the Diocese of St. Louis is first mentioned as a probable or desirable foundation in the letter of Bishop Flaget, dated June 26, 1816. Writing to Archbishop Neale of Baltimore, the Bishop of Bardstown says, among other things:

> According to your request, I candidly pass my opinion about the erection of a new See at St. Louis: I firmly believe that the place is of the utmost importance for the good of religion, not only on account of the many Catholics that live there now, of those that will immediately emigrate thither as soon as they hear that there is a Catholic bishop, but much more so on account of the many nations of Indians that have never heard of the Christian faith. The bishop that is to be sent thither must be accompanied by a good number of priests, and zealous ones, because the country is almost destitute of them. . . If the Holy Father was to send a Jesuit as a bishop and give him five or six companions, I do not entertain the least doubt but in less than twenty years St. Louis would be the most flourishing diocese of all those that are in the United States.[5]

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[3] Cf. Letter of Father Vivier, S.J., to a Father of Society of Jesus, dated at Illinois, the 17th of November, 1750. *American Catholic Historical Researches*, vol. XI, No. 4.

[4] Cf. *American Catholic Historical Researches*, vol. VII, No. 2, for a brief extract from Penicants Journal of the Kaskaskias' Mission, to conditions obtaining then: We can give but one remark concerning the spiritual condition of the mission in 1711: "By far the greater number of the Illinois are Catholic Christians. . . . The church (a very large one" is kept very clean inside. There are three chapels, the large one for the choir and two side chapels. There is also a tower, and in it is a bell. The people attend very regularly at High Mass and Vespers. The Jesuit Fathers have translated for them the Psalms and hymns from the Latin into their own language.
The Illinois, both at Mass and at Vespers, sing a couplet alternately with the French, who keep to the original language. For example, the Illinois sing a couplet of a Psalm or hymn in their own tongue, and the French sing the succeeding couplet in Latin. and so on; and all in the same tone in which it is sung in Europe by Catholic Christians."

[5] Bishop Benedict Joseph Flaget's Letter to Archbishop Neale, June 26, 1816. From the Archives, Baltimore. Cf. Printed in *American Catholic Historical Researches*, vol. XIX, No. 3.

This was written in 1816, on June 26. About three and a half months previous to this Bishop Flaget had written about this matter in a somewhat veiled manner, probably acting for Bishop Du Bourg of New Orleans, then in the first flush of apostolical zeal, seeking laborers and soliciting means in Rome, the Italian States, France and Belgium, for his boundless diocese of Louisiana. There was a gentle hint on this communication addressed to the clergy and laity of the Missouri Missions, that Ste. Genevieve might be chosen as the episcopal seat instead of St. Louis, especially as St. Louis now boasted of having a theater, probably the first theater on the west side of the Mississippi. The good bishop expressed the hope "that the citizens of St. Louis would come to their senses, and that they would not cast aside, out of love for vanity and falsehood, the incalculable benefits which will infallibly result from the presence of a bishop in their city."[6] By a strange chain of circumstances Bishop Du Bourg himself was led, we may say, forced, to come for the first years of his episcopacy to St. Louis instead of New Orleans, and to found here those institutions which he had originally intended for the South. It is also noteworthy, though in a much lower degree, that Bishop Flaget, who had opposed the choice of St. Louis on account of its theater, had as companion on the steamer Piqua that carried him and Bishop Du Bourg down the Ohio and up the Mississippi to St. Louis, a band of strolling players. But the reception extended to the new Bishop was a most hearty one in the French style. A great parade of the inhabitants was held. Two carriages brought the prelates from the landing to the church, four of the most prominent men of the town, Messrs. Didier, Pratte, Sarpy and Belcour, carried the canopy under which the Bishops walked to the altar: St.. Louis was a diocese in fact, though not in name, and now began the work of christianizing the Indians in dead earnest.[7]

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[6] Bishop Flaget Circular Letter to the Priests of Upper Louisiana, March 3, 1816, in *American Catholic Historical Researches*, vol. XXI, No. 4.
Also in Dr. Charles Souvay's article "Rosati's Election to the Coadjutorship of New Orleans," in *Catholic Historical Review* (Washington), vol. III, pp. 5 and 6.

[7] Of this important historical event we catch a passing glance in an intimate letter of Mrs. Anne Lucas Hunt, written on the very day of the occurrences to her father, J. B. C. Lucas, at Washington, D. C., dated St. Louis, January 4th and 5th, 1818: "The steamboat arrived here yesterday and brought a company of players who will perform in the old theater this winter.
The Bishops (Du Bourg and Flaget) are to be here at 12 o'clock to-day and will be received with great parade in the church by the inhabitants of this place. Mr. Hunt found Messrs. Didier, Belcour, Sarpy (who gave him this information) in grand council at the church door; the whole town is in an uproar about it, and one-half on the river shore in anxious expectation. . . . Ann L. Hunt." On the following day Mrs. Hunt wrote a postscript which, as usual is the best part of her letter: "As my letter is not yet sealed I will give you a description of the installation of Bishop Du Bourg. Two carriages took them both from the landing to the presbytery; four priests attended them thence to the church, besides twelve little boys, who walked in procession before the two Bishops, who were under the dais (canopy), which was supported by Messrs. Didier, Pratte, Sarpy and Belcour. Our old church was handsomely decorated and a crimson throne erected, to which Bishop Flaget led our Bishop, and, having seated him, left him and returned to the altar, from whence he addressed our Bishop very handsomely. But I thought the answer was the best of the two. Bishop Du Bourg is certanly more eloquent than the other; at all events, he speaks more handsomely. The church was never so crowded since I have been here, nor will those four walls ever see such another day as this. All the people appear to be much pleased with their new acquisition. May it continue so, is the wish of your affectionate daughter,
Ann L. Hunt."

This was written in 1816, on June 26. About three and a half months previous to this Bishop Flaget had written about this matter in a somewhat veiled manner, probably acting for Bishop Du Bourg of New Orleans, then in the first flush of apostolical zeal, seeking laborers and soliciting means in Rome, the Italian States, France and Belgium, for his boundless diocese of Louisiana. There was a gentle hint on this communication addressed to the clergy and laity of the Missouri Missions, that Ste. Genevieve might be chosen as the episcopal seat instead of St. Louis, especially as St. Louis now boasted of having a theater, probably the first theater on the west side of the Mississippi. The good bishop expressed the hope "that the citizens of St. Louis would come to their senses, and that they would not cast aside, out of love for vanity and falsehood, the incalculable benefits which will infallibly result from the presence of a Bishop in their city."* By a strange chain of circumstances Bishop Du Bourg himself was led, we may say, forced, to come for the first years of his episcopacy to St. Louis instead of New Orleans, and to found here those institutions which he had originally intended for the South. It is also noteworthy, though in a much lower degree, that Bishop Flaget, who had opposed the choice of St. Louis on account of its theater, had as companion on the steamer Piqua that carried him and Bishop Du Bourg down the Ohio and up the Mississippi to St. Louis, a band of strolling players. But the reception extended to the new Bishop was a most hearty one in the French style. A great parade of the inhabitants was held. Two carriages brought the prelates from the landing to the church, four of the most prominent men of the town, Messrs. Didier, Pratte, Sarpy and Belcour, carried the canopy under which the Bishops walked to the altar: St. Louis was a diocese in fact, though not in name, and now began the work of christianizing the Indians in dead earnest.†

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Also in Dr. Charles Souvay's article "Rosati's Election to the Coadjutorship of New Orleans," in *Catholic Historical Review* (Washington), vol. III, pp. 5 and 6.

† Of this important historical event we catch a passing glance in an intimate letter of Mrs. Anne Lucas Hunt, written on the very days of the occurrences to her father, J. B. C. Lucas, at Washington, D. C., dated St. Louis, January 4th and 5th, 1818: "The steamboat arrived here yesterday and brought a company of players who will perform in the old theater this winter.

"The Bishops (Du Bourg and Flaget) are to be here at 12 o'clock to-day and will be received with great parade in the church by the inhabitants of this place. Mr. Hunt found Messrs. Didier, Belcour, Sarpy (who gave him this information) in grand council at the church door; the whole town is in an uproar about it, and one-half on the river shore in anxious expectation. . . . . Ann L. Hunt." On the following day Mrs. Hunt wrote a postscript which, as usual is the best part of her letter: "As my letter is not yet sealed I will give you a description of the installation of Bishop Du Bourg. Two carriages took them both from the landing to the presbytery; four priests attended them thence to the church, besides twelve little boys, who walked in procession before the two Bishops, who were under the dais (canopy), which was supported by Messrs. Didier, Pratte, Sarpy and Belcour. Our old church was handsomely decorated and a crimson throne erected, to which Bishop Flaget led our Bishop, and, having seated him, left him and returned to the altar, from whence he addressed our Bishop very handsomely. But I thought the answer was the best of the two. Bishop Du Bourg is certainly more eloquent than the other; at all events, he speaks more handsomely. The church was never so crowded since I have been here, nor will those four walls ever see such another day as this. All the people appear to be much pleased with their new acquisition. May it continue so, is the wish of your affectionate daughter, Ann L. Hunt."

The Indians of the Western plains were not altogether unknown at the time. French traders and trappers had visited the tribes in all directions. And Indian delegations had frequently been seen in the streets of St. Louis. As early as 1750 Father Vivier wrote:

> Among the tribes in Missouri there are some who seem most favorably disposed for the reception of the Gospel; for example, the Panismahas. One of our priests wrote one day to a Frenchman who was trading with these Indians, and begged him in his letter to baptize those of their children whom he found to be at the point of death. The chief of the village, seeing the letter, asked: what is the news? "None," answered the Frenchman. "What!" said the Indian, "because we are red men may we not learn the news?" "It is from the Black Chief," replied the Frenchman. "He has written advising me to baptize the children who are dying, so that they may go to the Great Spirit." The Indian chief, perfectly satisfied, said to him: "Do not put yourself to any trouble in this matter. I will take upon myself the task of giving you notice whenever there shall be a child in danger." On assembling his people, he said "What do you think of this Black Chief? We have never seen him; we have never done him any service; he dwells far from us towards the rising sun, and yet he thinks of our village. He wishes to do us good, and when our children come to die, he wishes to send them to the Great Spirit. The Black Chief must be very good.[8]

Such and similar occurrences, breathing forth the true charity of Christ that must warm every true heart, carried the fame of the Black Chiefs, or Black Robes, as the missionaries were called by the Indians, from tribe to tribe, from nation to nation, and awakened in their hearts the desire of having one of their kind among them. In the course of our sketch we shall learn of many an Indian delegation coming to St. Louis to obtain, if possible, a missionary for their people who still preserved the memory of some Black Gown now long in his grave, but who had done a kindness to their fathers long ago, or who had instructed them in their childhood, and perhaps baptized them in some mission chapel that afterwards fell in ruins. A few days after his arrival in St. Louis Bishop Du Bourg wrote to a friend in France who had expressed a fear that the bishop's supporters might injure the interests of France by working for distant lands: "The good which they do here will return to them a hundredfold" and then continues:

> "Turn your eyes on hundreds of Indian tribes that seem but to wait for instruction in order to embrace the faith. How touched you would be if you could be witness of the frequent deputations which I receive from them, the religious respect which they testify to me, and the urgent prayers which they address to me, to be their father, to visit them, and to give them men of God."[9]

Among the numerous companions of Bishop Du Bourg, the saintly Father Felix De Andreis of the Congregation of the Missions, was the first one to conceive the idea of a missionary life among the Indians.

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[8] Jesuit Mission to the Illinois, 1750, in *American Catholic Historical Researches*, XI, 4.

[9] *Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi.* 1, 1. In quoting the Annales we have found great help in the excellent translation made of many letters by Naina dos Santos, and published in *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, vol. XIV No. 2, pp. 140-216.

Even before he set foot upon the land to be hallowed by his labors, whilst preparing himself for his life-work under the roof of St. Thomas' Seminary at Bardstown, he gave strong expression to his desires and hopes. Writing to the Vicar General of the Congregation of the Missions at Rome, under date of January 5, 1817, Father De Andreis says:

"I feel strongly impelled to devote myself, in a particular manner, to the conversion of the Indian tribes who live beyond the Mississippi. Here (in Kentucky) no trace of them remains, while, on the contrary, the Mississippi, which serves as a boundary to the United States, and separates them from the immense widerness, which extends even to the Pacific Coast, flows by St. Louis, and makes of it the central point of all these savage nations. Among these, so far, the light of the gospel has never penetrated, though they seem well disposed to receive it. Therefore, I intend, when our seminary is well established, to leave Father Rosati at its head, and to wend my way, in *Nomine Domini*, along the banks of the Mississippi and Missouri, preaching the gospel to these poor people. Before I leave St. Louis I will have the Catechism translated into their language. This I can do with the assistance of some Indians who come from time to time to St. Louis, and persons of the place who are pretty well acquainted with their language. I have received from men of experience much information, both with regard to the difficulties to be encountered and the manner of overcoming them, and, with the help of God, the undertaking seems as easy as if I already witnessed its execution. I shall have much to suffer, but of this I do not think, nor will I allow my mind to rest on it one moment. Too much already have I thought about myself, and I am ashamed to have done so; but in future, nothing but God and the interests of His glory shall occupy my attention. I see clearly that He is very merciful in my regard, for I should be an infidel did I not trust in Him and follow solely the impulse of His spirit.

"To tell the truth, the Indians are uncivilized, ferocious, inconstant and haughty. They habitually lead a very austere life, and sometimes spend several days without taking any nourishment; but then, if they chance to kill a buffalo or a deer in their hunt, they will eat it all at once, almost raw. They wear very little clothes, and torment their bodies to please the 'Great Spirit.' The old people, with the women and children, remain in the wigwams, but the others are nearly always away hunting beasts, whose skins they prepare very skillfully, and exchange them with the Americans for provisions and strong liquors. They are exceedingly fond of liquor, so much so that this propensity constitutes one of the principal obstacles with which the missionary has to contend, in the work of their conversion." [10]

One year later, about forty days after his arrival in St. Louis, February 24, 1818, Father De Andreis writes, among other details concerning the new mission, the following account of the unfolding of his plans in regard to the Indians. The letter is addressed to Father Sicardi in Rome:

"Let us now proceed to the numerous Indian tribes. There are among them fifty different nations; they acknowledge one only God, whom, in their language, they call Chissemenetu, which means 'Father of Life'; to him they address their prayers and offer the first fumes of their pipe. To please this god, they treat themselves most cruelly. Indeed, their whole religion consists in these practices, some of which are too horrible to relate. They live like the very animals of which they are constantly in pursuit. Their chase provides them with food and scanty clothing (for they go almost naked), and enables

[10] Rosati's *Life of Felix De Andreis*, pp. 157 and 158.

them to trade with the white people, who, in exchange for furs and venison, give them powder, spirits, paint to decorate their bodies and silver rings for their ears and nostrils. Their aspect is frightful, and one feels inclined to doubt if their reasoning powers be fully developed. I have seen several, and have conversed wtih them by means of an interpreter. In general, they regard priests with great respect, calling them Mecate-o-coriatte, which means Black Gown. They also call them "Fathers of Prayer." Some few among them are Catholics, and, in spite of the efforts made by Protestant missionaries to imbue them with false doctine, they constantly refuse to adopt it, objecting that the true "Fathers of Prayer" have no wives and children like the Protestant ministers, but that they devote themselves wholly to God and the salvation of souls. Notwithstanding the difficulties attending the work of their conversion, I am convinced that, when the first obstacles are overcome, it will be almost easy. The chief impediment is the language, which is not the same among the various tribes, though the dialects are very much alike, and the Indians of different nations understand one another. With the assistance of an interpreter, I have made some attempts to arrange their principal language according to grammatical rule. It is a difficult undertaking, as my interpreter, knowing nothing of such laws, cannot translate word for word, nor supply me with equivalent expressions for every idea. However, I have begun a small dictionary ,and made some translations. Their scarcity of ideas renders their language poor in words. They are constantly obliged to express themselves with the aid of circuumlocution, especially on the subject of religion."

In December, 1818, Father De Andreis returns to the subject in a letter to Father Baccari, the Vicar General of the Congregation in Rome:

"As to the savages, it is rather a more difficult task. These poor creatures seem incapable of forming any idea of spiritual and divine things. They know that there is a God, and they begin all their employments by an act of worship (a fact which should make many Christians blush with shame!) When they come to trade with the white people, they begin to smoke, and directing the first cloud on high, they say: 'Anaregare kill chakanda,' which means: 'May this ascend to the Divinity.' But these notions only concern the present life. They believe that God has given them a religion different from ours, and if they are told of a future life they understand nothing about it. With patience and time, however, something will be made of them."[12]

Always hopeful amid a thousand discouragements, and consumed with the zeal for the Kingdom of God, Father De Andreis seemed to be on the point of attaining his purpose. In 1820 Bishop Du Bourg was preparing to visit "those immense forests," and Father De Andreis was invited to accompany him.

"Alleluia! Deo Gratias!" he wrote from the Barrens. "At length we are to commence a mission among the savages. I am to have the happiness of accompanying the Bishop to visit these unfortunate people!"

But these wishes were, as Father Rosati wrote, the last sparks of that flame of charity which burned within his heart, for he was soon to depart for heaven, for which he constantly sighed, that he might be united forever with his God. Like St. Vincent, who was not able

[11] Rosati's *Life of Felix De Andreis*, pp. 179 and 180.

[12] Rosati's *Life of Felix De Andreis*, p. 193.

before his death to behold the establishment of his missionaries in the Island of Madagascar, for which he so ardently longed, and had made so many sacrifices; like St. Francis Xavier, who had to stop on the threshold of China without entering the kingdom, because God called him to Himself; so was Father De Andreis to see the Indian tribes, and to approach them, without having it in his power to liberate them from the hands of their ignorance. God destined others, after his death, to undertake this work.

II. The First Attempts.

But what the saintly Dr. Andreis had dreamed of and longed and prayed for was soon to be attempted. On October 21, 1822, John M. Odin, then only in deacon's order, wrote from the Barrens to a friend, Mr. C., in regard to the earliest effort made from St. Louis for the conversion of the Indian tribes of the West:

> We have the consolation of seeing a mission opened, or at least, begun, among the savages. Father Lacroix, chaplain to the Ladies of the Sacred Heart of Florissant, near St. Louis, has made two journeys to the great Osages. He was cordially received, and conceived great hopes of seeing the faith prosper among this tribe. Forty persons, children and old people, received the waters of baptism.
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> The second visit was short. He preached, however, before the entire tribe and the chiefs, answering, said that they were happy to hear the word of the Great Spirit. He pushed on further, also, along the banks of the Missouri, a hundred leagues beyond the nation of the Osages, among a great number of other savages. The fever, from which he suffered almost constantly, during this second mission, prevented him from prolonging his sojourn, and obliged him also to abandon his intention of building a church in this part of the country. The poor savages exist in great numbers.[14]

How this missionary undertaking came about is well explained by Father Michaud, who wrote the following account to the Vicar General of Chambèry in 1823:

> In 1820 a number of chiefs of the Osage nation came to St. Louis by the order of the Indian agent. Sans-Nerf (principal chief of this nation) was at their head. They all visited our Bishop, whom they call the 'Chief of the Black Robes.' As they have a high opinion of him, and as respect for priests seems natural to them, since they know by tradition that 'Black Robes' visited their forefathers, they came in full dress. Their copper-colored bodies were coated with grease, their faces and arms were striped in different colors, white lead, vermillion, verdigris and other colors formed a great variety of furrows, all starting at the nose. Their hair was arranged in tufts. Bracelets, ear-rings, rings in their noses and lips completed their head-dress. Their shoes are made of buckskin which they ornament with different designs in feathers of various colors; hanging from their robes are little pieces of tin, shaped like small pipes. These are to them the most beautiful ornaments. Their great object is to make a noise when they walk or dance. Their heads are ornamented with a sort of crown in which are mixed up birds' heads, bears' claws and little stag horns. A woolen robe hung over the shoulders covers nearly all the rest of the body; and

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[13] Rosati's *Life of Felix De Andreis*, p. 205.

[14] *Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi*, I, 2.

again, to this robe are fastened the tails of different animals, etc. Such is the attire in which the chiefs of the Osages paid their respects to the Bishop of Louisiana. He has in his room a handsome ivory crucifix, a small picture of St. Thomas and a few other paintings. The sight of the crucifix struck them with astonishment. They gazed at it, their expression wondering and softened. The Bishop profited by this occasion to announce to them Jesus Christ. 'Behold' (said he to them through the interpreter who accompanied them), 'behold the Son of the Master of Life, who came down from heaven to earth, who died for us, as much for the redskins as for the white skins. It was to gain our happiness that He suffered so much and that He shed all His blood. It is He,' added the Bishop, 'who has sent me here to make known to you His will.'

It is impossible, the Bishop said, to describe the attention that all these poor savages paid to him, and the emotion which they experienced when the interpreter repeated to them th words of the Bishop. They raised their eyes and their hands to heaven and then to the crucifix. All the spectators were moved by the scene. Before taking leave of the Bishop, Sans-Nerf said to him, through the interpreter, that if he wished to come and visit them in their homes he would be well received, that he could do a great deal of good, and that he could pour waters on many heads. The Bishop promised to do so, and presented each one with a little crucifix and also a medal which he hung around their necks by a ribbon, admonishing them to guard them carefully. They promised him to do so, and have kept their word.[15]

From a letter of John Odin, deacon, we add to Father Michaud's account the following anecdote:

Some time ago a great number of savages were in St. Louis. One of them was taken on some errand to a house where the Bishop happened to be. The moment he perceived the Bishop, he ran to him, seized his hand and kissed it with every demonstration of friendship. Having departed without remembering to go through the same ceremony, he recalled his mistake, only when already at some distance from the house. He turned back immediately, running all the way, and uttering loud cries, kissed the Bishop's hand and departed once more.[16]

Bishop Du Bourg, enthusiastic as he was, and of a romantic turn of mind, at once decided to assist the Osages himself, and De Andreis was to accompany him. But De Andreis died, and Bishop Du Bourg had so many calls on his time and talent, and cherished as many grand dreams that he soon decided to entrust the Osage Mission to one of his most excellent priests, Father Charles de La Croix,[17] as we have already stated in the words of the deacon, Odin. But the beginnings of a great undertaking, be they ever so humble, deserve to be remembered in all their details. We will, therefore, give entire the second part of Father Michaud's letter, which treats more fully of the events that transpired in the first Osage Mission:

In 1821 Father Lacroix set out to open the mission to the savages. On the occasion of his first visit, as they were about to depart on a hunting expedition, he could only see one village. He was very well received and baptized a great many children. As he had promised to visit all the villages of that nation of Indians, he was obliged to return last summer. He left Florissant, which is

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[15] *Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi*, I, 5.

[16] *Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi*, I, 2.

[17] An excellent Sketch of the Life and Labors of Father Charles de la Croix from the pen of our of our indefatigable colaborer, Father F. G. Holweck may be found in the *St. Louis Pastoral Blatt*, vol. 53, No. 7 (July, 1919).

situated five leagues from St. Louis, on the 22d of July. After traveling twelve days on horseback across prairies, broken by forests and streams, he reached the first village which he had already visited in the spring. They were delighted to see him again. He was accompanied by several persons who intended to trade with the savages. All the warriors came to meet them.

"They were conducted, with great honor, to the head chief and invited to feasts, prepared by the savages, and so were kept going until evening, from cabin to cabin. At these repasts they were presented with a wooden dish, filled with boiled maize or buffalo meat (boeuf sauvage), but each dish had to be duly tasted.

The head chief and six of his principal warriors offered to accompany the missionary in his visit to the other villages. Ten days were passed thus, and the missionary was received everywhere with the same eagerness. At one of these villages more than a hundred warriors, covered from head to foot with their handsomest ornaments, came quite a distance to meet him. They rode finely trained horses. The occupations of the men are war and hunting. The women are very hard working. They it is who build the cabins, and who carry loads of firewood on their backs. The quantity they take at one time is astonishing. The whole nation is clothed, decently at least. Everyone is covered with a robe.

Polygamy is practiced among them, for it is the custom that when a savage demands a girl in marriage and is accepted, not only she, but all her sisters also belong to him and are looked upon as his wives. They pride themselves greatly upon having several wives. Another great obstacle to their civilization lies in their strong distaste for the cultivation of the soil and for all kinds of work. They care for nothing but war and hunting.

One day the missionary celebrated the Holy Sacrifice. All the chiefs were present and also as many savages as the place would hold. He has told me that he was greatly moved by the respectful attention which they showed, and the exactitude with which they rose and knelt, raising their arms and eyes to heaven. After Mass he distributed to all the chiefs a number of crosses, fastened to ribbons, which he threw around their necks. He also baptized several children.

For several years Protestant missionaries, sent out and well paid by the American government, had been settled among these savages, and had built up establishments where they cared for the children of this nation for a certain time. Buy they were not successful, and nearly a year ago the Indians took away all their children, saying that they had realized that they were not Black Robes, as they had thought they were at first.

The soil of this portion of Missouri is very fertile, and there are prairies six or seven leagues in extent. In summer the heat is excessive. It was during this journey that the missionary was attacked by burning fever, which forced him to leave the Osages. He was obliged to travel twelve days on horseback, sleeping at night in the woods, not coming across a single miserable cabin. This is how they go about arranging their camp. Having chosen the most suitable place, they unload and unharness the horses, which they let run loose in the woods that they may pasture during the night. They build a hut with the branches of trees, and having gathered wood they light a big fire. Over this they boil a piece of young buck placed on a stick planted before the fire, the meat being turned from time to time. This fire serves also to drive away bears and other wild beasts. After their repast, they roll themselves up in a buffalo skin and fatigue renders this poor bed very comfortable."[18]

III. Help From Unexpected Quarters.

Father Michaud makes mention of several Protestant missionaries, sent out and well paid by the American Government, as settled among the savage Osage Indians. This fact brings before us the policy obtaining under the Presidency of James Monroe in regard to measures to be used for civilizing the savages. It was "the era of good

[18] *Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi*, I, 5.

feeling," and even the Indians were to share in its blessings. An assured appropriation of $10,000.00 had been made by Congress for the education of the government's wards. As Father Gabriel Richard,[19] member of Congress from Michigan, wrote to Bishop Edward Fenwick of Cincinnati in 1823:

> The President and Mr. Calhoun, the Secretary of the War Department, have expressed their willingness to aid in a particular manner those who will undertake the difficult task of civilizing and christianizing the Indians. I have enclosed to you two circular letters, which Mr. Calhoun gave me, expressly to send to you. The laws allow the President to spend yearly $10.000.00 for the purpose of aiding the schools that are or may be established for the instruction of young Indians. You will see that the whole is not to be done by the Government, a beginning must be made by the benevolence of some charitable persons. You will find by the enclosed papers that the Government is disposed to pay two-thirds of the expense of the necessary buildings. . . . In addition to this, Mr. Calhoun, the Secretary of War, told me yesterday that the Government, besides paying two-thirds of the expense for the buildings, will give $20 for every Indian child instructed, and for the number of thirty children $300.00."[20]

Of course, Bishop Du Bourg was at once made aware of this government offer and acted upon it, although we did not find anything more than an allusion to it in his own writings. We copy the letters from Bishop Fenwick's account of the "Progress of the Catholic Religion in the Western States of North America." The first circular of the War Department reads as follows:

> DEPARTMENT OF WAR, *Sept.* 3, 1819.
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> Sir—In order to render the sum of ten thousand dollars annually appropriated at the last session of Congress for the civilization of the Indians, as extensively beneficial as possible, the President is of opinion that it ought to be applied in co-operation with the exertions of benevolent associations and individuals who may choose to devote their time and means to effect the object contemplated by the act of Congress. But it will be indispensable, in order to apply any portion of the sum appropriated in the manner proposed that the plan of education, in addition to reading, writing and arithmetic, should, in the instruction of the boys, extend to the practical knowledge of the mode of agriculture, and of such of the mechanic arts as are suited to the condition of the Indians; and in that of the girls, to spinning, weaving, and sewing. It is also indispensable that the establishment should be fixed within the limits of those Indian nations who border on our settlements. Such associations or individuals who are already actually engaged in educating the Indians, and who may desire the co-operation of the government, will report to the Department of War, to be laid before the President, the location of the institutions under their superintendence; their funds; the number and kind of teachers; the number of youths of both sexes; the objects which are actually embraced in their plan of education; and the extent of the aid which they require; and such institutions as are

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[19] Father Gabriel Richard, one of the most versatile and energetic priests of the times. Besides his labors and hardships in the immediate service of Christ as a faithful priest, Father Richard was a prime mover in a number of important undertakings in the cause of civilization. He was one of the founders and first professors of the University of Michigan; then the publisher and editor of the first paper ever published in that State; and he enjoys the distinction, some think not a very enviable one, of being the only Catholic priest who was sent to Congress. Father Gabriel Richards' congressional laurels very probably prevented his receiving the mitre.

[20] The whole correspondence may be read in *American Catholic Historical Researches*, vol. X, No 4, pp. 154-159, under the caption: An Account of the Progress of the Catholic Religion in the Western States of North America, London 1824. Ohio Mission.

formed, but have not gone into actual operation will report the extent of their funds; the places at which they intend to make their establishments; the whole number of youths of both sexes which they intend to educate; the number and kind of teachers to be employed; the plan of education to be adopted; and the extent of the aid required.

This information will be necessary to enable the President to determine whether the appropriation of Congress ought to be applied in co-operation with the institutions which may request it, and to make a just distribution of the appropriation.[21]

Additional regulations were issued by Secretary Calhoun on February 29, 1820, from which we will transcribe the main points of interest:

The position selected for this establishment (of schools for the education of Indian children), with an estimate of the costs, is to be submitted to the Secretary of War, to be laid before the President.

Government will, if it has the means, and approves the arrangement, pay two-thirds of the expense of erecting the necessary buildings. The President of the United States will contribute out of the annual appropriation to each institution which may be approved by him, a sum proportionate to the number of pupils belonging to each, regard being had to the necessary expense of the establishment and the degree of success which has attended it.

A report will be annually made for each establishment on the 1st of October. . . . It is considered to be the duty of all persons who may be employed or attached to any institution, not only to set a good example of sobriety, industry and honesty, but, as far as practicable, to impress on the minds of the Indians the friendly and benevolent views of the government towards them, and the advantage to them in yielding to the policy of the government and of co-operating with it in such measures as it may deem necessary for their civilization and happiness. A contrary course of conduct cannot fail to incur the displeasure of the government, as it is impossible that the object which it has in view, can be effected, and peace be habitually preserved, if the distrust of the Indians, as to its benevolent views should be excited.

(*Signed*) J. C. CALHOUN,[22]

Department of War, February 29, 1820.

Bishop Du Bourg was not slow in making use of this offer: In fact, he obtained more than was here promised. We again quote our deacon, John M. Odin, who from his position at the Barrens was well informed on what was transpiring in ecclesiastical circles. The letter is addressed to Director of the Seminary at Lyons, March 20, 1822:

"Bishop Du Bourg, en route for Baltimore, stopped at Washington to confer with the President of the United States, concerning the mission to the savages which he is planning to establish. The question was carried to the Senate, and although nearly all the members were Protestants, they resolved to grant a sum of money for the furtherance of this project. They promised, moreover, to pay a small pension to the missionaries ,and to furnish them with the necessary agricultural implements. The savages themselves show the most favorable dispositions."[23]

From this it appears that a special appropriation was made for the specially difficult Western missions.

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[21] Cf. Note 20.

[22] Ibidem.

[23] *Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi*, I, 5.

Bishop Du Bourg himself writes on this subject to his brother in Bordeaux March 17, 1823:

> Providence deigns to grant a success to this negotion, far in excess of my hopes. The government bestows upon me two hundred dollars a year for each missionary and that for four or five men, and it promises to increase the number gradually, and I am sure that it will do so. For an enterprise such as this, it was essential that I should have men especially called to this work, and I had almost renounced the hope of ever obtaining such, when God, in His infinite goodness, has brought about one of these incidents which He alone can foresee and direct the results.[24]

The question of means was now settled, at least sufficiently to warrant further steps. But where shall the men be found best fitted for the arduous undertaking? Naturally, his thoughts often dwelt on the former glories of Jesuits in the neighboring Illinois. If he could obtain some members of the re-established Order, all would be well. But the prospects of such a piece of good fortune seemed very remote indeed. Lazarists he had in his diocese, but they were needed for the seminary and for the old parishes and missions. Secular priests, though willing, were not specially adapted for the work.

In a letter to his brother, dated January 30, 1826, Bishop Du Bourg sums up the results of his anxious meditations on this subject:

> I had long been convinced that nothing could be accomplished here without the religious orders. A man living isolated from his kind grows weary of the apparent uselessness of his efforts. The intense heat exhausts his strength and checks his ardor. Too often he loses his life, or in the fear of losing it he abandons his post. He is fortunate indeed, if he does not prove the truth of those words of the Holy Ghost: "Woe to him who is alone!" and from a being, full of vigor and activity he becomes a good-for-nothing, and the scorn of his fellowmen. There is not the same danger for the religious community. Union makes strength of all kinds. Their members are constantly renewed and increased, hence they are able to provide for their own losses.
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> It is to this end that I have worked from the very beginning, to secure the help of the Order of Saint Vincent de Paul, and that I have made every effort to induce the Jesuits to come here, the former Order for the seminary, the latter for the Missouri missions, and more especially, for work among the Indians. The expense of all this has been great, but I am far from regretting it.[25]

As early as February 24, 1921, Bishop Du Bourg wrote to the Prefect of the Propaganda, Cardinal Fontana, asking His assistance in gaining the Jesuits for the work of converting the Indians, who, as he states, are very numerous in the upper part of his diocese. He was greatly aided by the Holy Father, who wrote to the Superior General with a view to endorse his wishes. But up to that date all efforts had proved unsuccessful.

"However," concludes Bishop Du Bourg, "I understand that the Superiors of the Society are now showing more willingness to undertake the work. I have accordingly recommended to Father Inglesi to make use of every resource his intelligence and zeal could muster, in order to bring this project to maturity. I beg

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[24] *Annales de l'Association de la Propation de la Foi*, I, 5.

[25] *Annales de l'Association de la Propaganda de la Foi*, II, p. 394.

likewise Your Eminence to second his efforts. There is particularly one of the Fathers of the Society, *De Barat* by name, now in the Little Seminary of Bordeau, whom I know to be most anxious to come here; his piety, knowledge and zeal are beyond par. I beg most earnestly the Vicar General to give him to me, and beseech to this end the aid of Your Eminence's most powerful influence. With him some of the younger French Jesuits will be glad to come, and also others, of riper years, from among those who came lately from Russia to France. Five, or six at most, would be sufficient, if to them were added two or thrre from Maryland—a thing most desirable, on account of their knowledge of English, and also because as they are well provided financially, they could supply the want of their brothers. With this help, the Gospel cannot fail to make headway among the numberless nations on both sides of the Mississippi and the Missouri.

Bishop Du Bourg's efforts in this regard were soon to be crowned with perfect success. There was at White Marsh, near Baltimore, a Novitiate of Jesuits; the Master of novices was Father Charles Van Quickenborne, a native of Ghent. The novices were Jodocus Van Ashe, Peter J. Verhaegen, John Elet, Smedts, Peter J. De Smet, Felix L. Verreyt and De Maillet. These young Belgians had been induced by the untiring zeal of Father Charles Nerinkx to go to America with him and to join the Society of Jesus.[26] They were accepted at Georgetown by the Provincial Father Anthony Kohlman, and began their novitiate on the 6th of October, 1821. In September, 1823, Bishop Du Bourg came to Georgetown to request from the Provincial a colony of Jesuits for the Indian Missions. Father Van Quickenborne and Father Timmermans, with the novices Van Asshe, De Smet, Verhaegen, Verreyt, Smeds, Elet and Brothers Peter De Meyer and Henry Rychmans, offered themselves for the enterprise. They left White Marsh about the middle of April, 1823, procured wagons for their luggage, crossed the Alleghany Mountains, reaching Wheeling after a journey of two weeks. Here the travellers procured two flatboats,, which they lashed together, and floated down the river to Louisville, where they met their beloved Father Nerinkx; thence they went down the Ohio as far as Shawneetown, and journeyed across the broad expanse of Illinois to St. Louis, which they reached May 30, 1823. That same evening Father Van Quickenborne rode on horseback to Florissant, accompanied by Father De La Croix. Here the Novitiate of St. Stanislaus[27] was founded by the advent of the pilgrims from White Marsh in Maryland. A letter written by Bishop Du Bourg to his brother at Bourdeaux, March 17, 1823, throws an interesting sidelight on this providential occurrence:

The Jesuits of whom I speak (says he) had their institution in Maryland, and finding themselves excessively embarrassed for lack of accommodation,

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[26] Maes, *Life of Rev. Charles Nerinckx*, pp. 332-347. Howlett, *Life of Rev. Charles Nerinckx*, pp. 356-359.

[27] Florissant, or St. Ferdinand, is one of the very lodest religious centers in the State of Missouri. Originally settled by the French under the Spanish Regime about 1790, it became a dependency of the Canonical Parish of St. Louis under P. Bernard de Limpach; later on it had pastors of its own. From 1809-1810 it was the home of the Trappists under Abbot Urban Guillet, and for the next ten years remained in charge of the Father Prior, Maria Joseph Dunand. The farm on which the Jesuit establishment of St. Stanislaus was erected, was originally called the Bishop's Farm, now the Priest's Farm. The building put up by Father Dunand before 1820 is still in use.

were on the point of disbanding their novitiate, when I obtained this pecuniary encouragement from the government. They have seized this opportunity and have offered to transport the whole novitiate, master and novices, into Upper Louisiana and form there a preparatory school for Indian missionaries. If I had had my choice, I could not have desired anything better. Seven young men, all Flemings, full of talent and of the spirit of Saint Francis Xavier, advanced in their studies, about twenty-two to twenty-seven years of age, with their two excellent masters and some brothers; this is what Providence at last grants to my prayers.

Near the spot where the Missouri empties into the Mississippi, outside the village of Florissant, already so happy as to possess the principal institution of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, I have a good yielding farm, excellent soil, which, if well cultivated (which it is not at present), could easily provide sustenance for twenty persons at least, so far as the important question of nourishment is concerned. True, there is only a small house on the place, but in this country a big cabin of rough wood, such as will be suitable for the apostles of the savages, is quickly built. It is there that I will locate this novitiate, which will be, for all time, a seminary especially intended to form missionaries for the Indians, and for the civilized and ever-growing population of Missouri. As soon as the actual subjects are ready, we will commence the mission in good earnest. In the meantime, I propose to receive in the seminary a half-dozen Indian children from the different tribes, in order to familiarize my young missionaries with their habits and language, and to prepare the Indians to serve as guides, interpreters and aides to the missionaries when they are sent to the scattered tribes [28]

On August 6th, 1823, Bishop Du Bourg resumes the subject so dear to his heart:

. . . The acquisition which I have made of Jesuits for Missouri causes me to feel singularly peaceful about these distant parts. These good fathers are in possession of my farm at Florissant. To reach it they walked more than four hundred miles, of which two hundred miles were through inundated country, where the water was often up to their waists; and far from murmuring, they blessed God for granting them such an Apostolic beginning. They were very agreeably surprised, not expecting to find such a pretty place; for it is my policy to speak only of the drawbacks to those whom I invite to share my labors. The superintendent of Indian affairs, upon whom depends much of the success of our missions to the savages, received them with an interest both kind and active, and shows himself in an especial way, their protector. Moreover, the Fathers, including their novices, are well calculated to inspire confidence. An unlimited devotedness, which is proof against the greatest dangers and privations, is associated in them with rare goodness and talents of a high order. They complain of nothing, they are satisfied with everything. Living in the closest quarters in a little house, sleeping on skins for want of mattresses, living on corn and pork, they are happier than the rich on their down beds, surrounded by luxury, because they know happiness far more exquisite, and are not hampered by self-indulgence. It is my duty, however, to try to procure for them, at least the necessaries of life, and also the means of exercising their zeal and extending their field of labor. It is in this that I hope to be seconded by the Association for the Propagation of the Faith.[29]

Once more Bishop Du Bourg pours out the joy and gratitude of his heart in a letter from New Orleans, dated August 20, 1823:

In the midst of these trying cares (the seminary, the Cathedral, the religious houses and schools, and the demands of New Orleans), my thoughts were

[28] *Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi*, I, 5.
[29] *Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi*, I, 5.

ceaselessly and irresistibly drawn towards the totally abandoned missions of the natives. I needed for their re-establishment a band of apostolic men, men fearless of all sorts of privations and suffering. God has deigned to give me men such as these, in that society, as famous for its brilliant success as for its overwhelming reverses to which He grants a new birth, in these days, for the consolation of religion. A detachment of the Society of Jesus, animated by the spirit of Xavier and Regis, arrived some months ago in the state of Missouri. In order to draw them to me I could not refrain from buying a small cultivated domain, which might furnish them at least with the most pressing necessities of life. This establishment which has cost me about thirty thousand francs, is intended for a preparatory school for missionaries to the savages and also to the civilized peoples along the great Missouri River, the numbers of which are increasing with marvelous rapidity. It includes at the present two Fathers, seven fervent scholastics, all of whom are old enough to be ordained; three Brothers, and a few negro farm hands. The American government has promised me some small help, but it will be quite insufficient for their needs. To those chief institutions, already established, may be added a Cathedral, a farm and a bishop's mansion, at St. Louis, several new churches in the state of Missouri, two houses of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart already in running order, a third one in process of construction, and one of the Sisters of the Cross for the education of girls, and finally, two colleges for boys, for which I have had to make advances, or sacrifices, more or less great, without, in the meantime, having any sources of revenue other than the funds of divine Providence, and the hope of the yearly help which the Association for the Propagation of the Faith promises me.[30]

Good results came in due time. The Bishop writes on June 24, 1824:

. . . The Jesuits of Missouri have at last opened their college for the little Indians. They have only six or eight for whom the government allows them eight hundred dollars. They will take the college of St. Louis; in this way they will insure its stability. The poor Fathers are in great need."

And again January 31, 1826:

You can see by the letters of Father Van Quickenborne the progress made by the Jesuits in a very short time ,and with very small means. I have been unable to assist them as substantially as I would have liked, having still something to pay on the establishment which I have given them. As soon as this debt is discharged, if our brothers in Europe continue to help us as liberally as heretofore, I intend to spend a quarter, perhaps a third of these donations to aid the Fathers in their important work. They will also need more subjects, for the field which I have assigned to them is immense, but I believe that all will come in good time.[31]

Father Van Quickenborne now drew up, at the suggestion of the government, his plan for the improvement of the Indians. It was as follows:

1. Our little Indian seminary should continue to support the present number of boys from eight to twelve years of age, while the Ladies of the Sacred Heart in our neighborhood should bring up about as many girls of the same tribe. They should be taken young, from eight to twelve, to habitate them more easily to the customs and industry of civil life, and impress more deeply on their hearts the principles of religion.

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2. After five or six years' education, it would be good that each youth should choose a wife among the pupils of the Sacred Heart before returning to his tribe.

3. Within two or three years two missionaries should go to reside in that nation to gain their confidence and esteem, and gradually persuade a number to settle together on a tract to be set apart by government. Agricultural implements and other necessary tools for the new establishment to be furnished.

4. As soon as his new town was formed some of the couples formed in our establishments should be sent there with one of the said missionaries, who should be immediately replaced, so that two should always be left with the body of the tribe till it was gradually absorbed in the civilized colony.

5. Our missionaries should then pass to another tribe and proceed successively with each in the same manner as the first.

6. As the number of missionaries and our resources increases, the civilization of two or more tribes might be undertaken at once.

The expense of carrying out this plan might be estimated thus:

Support of 16 to 24 children in the two establishments	$1900
Three missionaries	600
Total	$2500[32]

"Such was the great scheme projected by the Jesuits of the West, never indeed to be realized, but, as their history shows, one which would have approached, if it did not obtain, complete success."

IV. Missionary Efforts Under Bishop Rosati.

But whilst the Jesuit Fathers were slowly maturing their great missionary plans, the Lazarists, and even the secular clergy were called upon to take part in actual work of Christianizing the Indians. Joseph Rosati, the Superior of the Vincentians in America, was, on March 25, 1824, consecrated Bishop of Tenagra, and entrusted with the care of the Church in Upper Louisiana, that is Missouri, Arkansas, the Northwestern Territory, the vast Indian Territory, and the best part of Illinois. One of the new bishop's first acts (August 24, 1824), was to send Father John M. Odin, a newly ordained member of his Order, together with the deacon, John Timon,[33] on a missionary trip through Arkansas and Texas. It was on the 8th day of September, 1824, that the youthful messengers of God's Kingdom started out from the Barrens on horseback. From New Madrid, where they made their first stop, they penetrated through swamps and sparsely settled regions to the Arkansas River, near Little Rock. From there they rode down to Pine Bluff, and reached at last the ancient settlement so often

[32] Document in the Archives of the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis.

[33] John M. Odin, C.M., born at Ambierle, in France, February 25, 1801, became a member of the Vincentian Order, was raised to the priesthood in 1824; after Rosati's elevation to the episcopate Odin became President of the Barrens; made Bishop of Claudiopolis and Vicar Apostolic of Texas in 1841; promoted to Archipiscopal See of New Orleans February 15, 1861. Died Ascension Day, May 25, 1870, in his native city. John Timon, C.M., born in Conewago, Pennsylvania, of Irish parentage, on February 12, 1797. Came to St. Louis and entered the Seminary of St. Mary's in April, 1823; ordained in 1825. Was a noted controversialist. Was appointed Visitor of the Lazarists in 1835, and Bishop of Buffalo, on September 5, 1847. He died on April 16, 1867.

mentioned in our early annals, the Post of Arkansas[34] at the confluence of the Arkansas River and the Mississippi. Here they visited the village of the Quapaw Indians. Father Odin celebrated the divine sacrifice on an altar erected at the entrance to the wigwam of the Chief Sarrasin

> Now will I die happy, exclaimed the aged chief, who had seen the days of the early Jesuit missionaries at Arkansas Post, "now will I die happy, as I have seen my father, the Black Gown of France.[35]

Though all were pagans, they yet preserved an affectionate remembrance of the religion that had been preached to their fathers and then destroyed by evil-minded men. Owing to sickness and impassable roads the missionaries returned to the Barrens.

As early as 1823 a missionary center for the Indians of the North was planned at Prairie du Chien, at the mouth of the Wisconsin River. But the lack of priests, and later on, the widespread disturbances among the Indians, precluded the possibility of success.[36]

The Jesuits, as a matter of course, did not content themselves with their Indian schools at Florissant, but bravely launched out upon the deep to save what could be saved by individual endeavor. "To carry out his plans," says Shea, Van Quickenborne, in August, 1827, visited the old Osage Village, near Harmony, and in the house of the Presbyterian missionary, baptized ten, heard confession and said Mass, for many of the tribe were Catholics (since Father De La Croix's days). He then visited the villages on the Neosho, where, to the joy of the Indians, he spent two weeks and baptized seven of the tribe."[37] But a number of other important works awaited the zealous Father's care and labor, among them the formation of the great Western Institution of Learning, the St. Louis University, in 1828. The Church at St. Charles as well as the convent of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart at St. Charles were built by him. Yet the Indian missions were always present in his mind.

Another effort to bring the Indian nation into the pale of the Church was to be made by one of the secular clergy, the Reverend Anthony Lutz. It was early in May, 1827, that a delegation of the heathen Kanzas[38] Indians with their chief, White Plume, came to Gov-

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[34] The Poste of Arkansas is one of the earliest settlements in the entire Mississippi Valley. Its religious history, however, was not always an edifying one, as Father F. G. Holweck has shown in his highly interesting sketch in the *St. Louis Pastoral-Blatt*,

Even in the earlier days of the old Jesuit missions the Poste bore a bad name for irreligion of the inhabitants. The last Jesuit priest withdrew from the place about 1760, "until they were disposed to respect religion there." Cf. *Illinois Historical Collection*, vol. I, p. 84.

[35] J. G. Shea, *History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes*, p. 454.

[36] Cf. *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, vol. II, p. 190, s. s.

[37] Shea *l. c.* p. 457.

[38] The first mention of the Kansas or Kanzas tribe of Indians is that in Don Juan de Oñate's Account of his Expedition to the Great Plains in search of the elusive city of Quiviras, in 1601:

"Proceeding on the day of the glorious levite and martyr, San Lorenzo," Oñate's narrative states, "God was pleased that we should begin to see those monstrous cattle

ernor William Clark,[39] the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the West, residing at St. Louis, for the purpose of obtaining Catholic missionaries. A Protestant preacher, who offered his services, was quickly rejected by the savages. General Clark sent the delegation to the Cathedral. Here Father Lutz heard of their wishes, and immediately decided to undertake the mission, if Bishop Rosati would consent. The Bishop was absent from St. Louis at the time, but when he returned, about September, Father Lutz gave him no rest, begging, opportune, importune, that the Kanzas mission be assigned to him. General Clark seconded the petition of Father Lutz, and as he was the most influential personage at the time in St. Louis, Bishop Rosati gave his consent, though somewhat reluctantly, partly on account of the youth and inexperience of the missionary, partly on account of the dearth of priests necessary for the care of the ever-growing Catholic population. The appointment was dated from the Barrens, July 23, 1828.

As you have manifested to us from the very first day of your coming to St. Louis your ardent desire of devoting yourself to the salvation of the indigenous tribes that wander through the forests of this vast diocese; and as Divine Providence seems now to open a way to the conversion of the nation called the Kansas, we, in accordance with your fervent wish, and knowing you well qualified as to the science, prudence and doctrine necessary for this undertaking, send you as messenger of the Gospel to the aforementioned people and appoint you as missionary of that and of the neighboring tribes, giving you the necessary faculties. *arbitrio nostro valituras.* In the meantime, we humbly pray the Supreme Pastor of Souls that He maydeign to accompany you on your journey with His all-powerful grace, sustain you in your undertaking and give abundant fruit to your labors.[40]

Father Lutz was only 26 years old when he set out for the land of the Kansas. Father Saulnier in his letter to Bishop Rosati expressed grave doubts as to the young man's qualifications. Not very robust physically, of a lively disposition, impatient of contradiction, and lacking in perseverance, Father Lutz, indeed, was not the man to make an ideal missionary among savages; yet, though his zeal outran his discretion, he certainly deserves credit for his good will and for the results obtained. On July 30, 1828, the young and enthusiastic

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called *cibola* (buffalo). Although they were fleet of foot, on this day four or five of the bulls were killed, which caused great rejoicing. On the following day, we saw great droves of bulls and cows, and from there on the multitude which we saw was so great that it might be considered a falsehood by one who had not seen them . . .; and they were so tame that nearly always, unless they were frightened or chased, they remained quiet and did not flee."

Marching onward, the Spaniards came to the temporary villages of the roving Escanjaques (Escansaques) or Kansas Indians. "They were not a people that sowed or reaped, but lived solely on cattle (buffalo) meat," Oñate reports. "They were ruled by chiefs, and like communities that are freed from subjection to any lord, they obeyed their chiefs but little. They had large quantities of hides which, wrapped about their bodies, served as clothing; but the weather being hot, all the men went about nearly naked, the women being clothed from the waist down. Men and women alike used bows and arrows, with which they were very dexterous."

Cf. Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., in *Franciscan Herald, March,* 1920.

[39] Governor William Clark, the companion of Meriwether Lewis on the celebrated Journey of Exploration to the Rocky Mountains, 1804-1816. Brother of George Rogers Clarke, of Kaskaskia fame, and Superintendent of Indian Affairs until his death, which occurred in St. Louis September 1, 1838.

[40] Archives of Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis.

apostle of the Kanzas started, in company of the Indian Agent, Baronet Vasquez, and several others, for his destination near the mouth of the Kansas River. Baronet Vasquez was a Catholic. The great influence of this gentleman with the Indians seemed to insure the success of Father Lutz's mission. But before the end of the journey, early in August, Baronet Vasquez died and the good Father had to convey the sad news to the family of the departed. The Chouteaus had a great trading establishment on the Kansas River.[41] They, too, were Catholics and most of their employes also. Father Lutz speaks of the morals of these frontiersmen in rather harsh terms.[42] Of the savages his opinion was even worse, so much so that he declined for the present to confer baptism on any adult among them, saying "that they must first be made human beings, the members of Christ's body." As far as we know, Father Lutz sent three letters from the Kansas mission to Bishop Rosati. The first of these seems to be lost. It contained an account of the death of the Indian Agent, Baronet Vasquez. The opening sentence of the second letter, dated September 28, 1828, alludes to this unfortunate circumstance. Father Lutz's Latin letters are rather verbose, probably owing to the fact that elegant Latinity seemed most desirable in communications addressed to such an elegant Latinist as the Bishop of St. Louis certainly was. We would prefer the rugged English of a Lefevere. Yet this letter is of utmost importance and interest, and has never, as far as we are aware, been published except in the *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, Vol. II, September 18, 1829, in a somewhat abbreviated French translation. Our readers, we hope, will be pleased to have "the earliest record extant of the exercise of the Catholic ministry along the Kansas River," as Father Garraghan calls it, in a completed form: Absolute completeness even this version cannot claim, but the omissions we made are only of trivial matters or of more complimentary phrases, and are everywhere indicated by three dots.

Territory of the Kansas Indians, on the river of the same name, Sept. 28, 1828.

Right Reverend Father, Most Illustrious Prelate:

In my first letter, sent to Your Paternity at the end of August, I gave you the news of our agent's, Mr. Vasquez' death, and at the same time I explained to you the singular condition in which Divine Providence has placed me, happily or unhappily, I cannot decide; you may judge for yourself. This one thing, however, seems certain, that I have earned many things to the advantage of my soul, which, if Mr. Vasquez had lived, I should have experienced not at all or very late. The name of the Lord be blessed. Through the death of this one man my affairs had assumed such a hopeless aspect that it became necessary for me to cast myself entirely into the arms of the all-controlling Father, just as a child casts itself upon the bosom of its mother; a course exactly befitting one

[41] "The Chouteaus," as Father Garraghan states in his beautiful booklet, 'Catholic Beginnings of Kansas City,' "were the most prominent of the early Indian traders in the region around the mouth of the Kaw," p. 47, giving as references in regard to the various Chouteau trading houses an article in *Kansas Historical Collection*, No. 9, pp. 573-574.

[42] The letters of Father Lutz from the country of the Kansas contain a few scathing denunciations of treacherous, lying and stealing white trash he met on his excursions. Of the Chouteaus themselves he speaks in the highest terms of respect.

who has accepted the Lord as his inheritance and the chalice of salvation, and now realizes that he has come to that part of his grand office to be the messenger of Christ the Lord, sent out by Him into the wide world, without scrip or staff. But these usual accompaniments of the lives of Christ's missionaries, have been sufficiently dwelt upon in my first letter; if perhaps more than proper, I would ask your pardon for the beginner, who at that time had not learned to bear the glorious cross of Christ in silence, without the noise of many words, but is now learning, through the grace of God, to think little of all these things, however burdensome they be, as long as Christ is preached to the poor. May the Lord preserve this good will and greatly strengthen it. Now I will briefly explain what has been done so far, what must yet be done, and why I have not sent a letter ere this, all which matters I know you wish to know.

You Grace must realize that, owing to the great distance between the settlements here, it is very difficult to send letters from this country. The agent's house, where I fixed my residence, is on the banks of the Kansas River sixty-five miles from the former home of the late Mr. Vasquez.[43] The little towns, however, which supply mailing facilities, are more than fifteen miles away. Therefore, when we wish this thing to be done, we have either to take our letters there ourselves or send them by a trusted mssenger. One of these towns is named Liberty, the other Independence. The latter town is situated on our side of the Missouri River, the former on the opposite side. . . The town of Liberty I was not as yet able to visit, but in a little while I can and must do so, as I am resolved to see the entire surrounding region. Independence I have visited but once, and at times I have sent messengers there for my mail, if there was any. Camp Leavenworth, which is 35 miles from our home, has no service of public conveyances, so that its inhabitants are forced to send their mail to Liberty, a distance of 36 miles. Considering these facts, you will certainly not blame me if you should fail to receive a letter from me. . . In regard to this preliminary visit to the country of the Indians, it must be confessed that it was altogether necessary. I myself feel deeply its various advantages. I will relate them briefly: It is there I began to learn the very alphabet of apostolical life, to accustom the body to its hardships, and to put a correct estimate on the greatness as well as the excellence of my office; then to know the Indian ways of living, their mode of feeling and their superstitions, the various conditions of these regions and the distance between places; to understand the characters of the various persons with whom I certainly or probably may have to live, to decide what persons should be consulted, what persons avoided by me, who of them are of good will, who of evil disposition. I also learned the pecularities of the Kansas dialect, wherein it seemed different from our idioms, and what special difficulties it offered; lastly, I was helped to decide where the missioners' residence should be established, what provisions could be made for their sustenance, and what matters we should lay before the civil authoritis. I hope and wish that an occasion may be offered when I can speak to you about these matters. Now permit me to recount in detail how my time in these parts was passed. I departed from St. Louis on July 30th; on August 12th I arrived at the former home of Mr. Vasquez, the Indian agent, where I remained five days before starting for the Kansas River; on August 19th I reached the house erected by the government on the banks of the Kansas River. On August 20 I had the first interview with the chief of the Kansas nation; on August 24, I, together with an interpreter, visited the family of the chief and other families, sixteen in number, living only about two miles from our stopping place; and this I did several times. On September 17th I obtained my fervent wish of organizing a meeting with the barbarians. On September 18th, I set out for Camp Leavenworth, where I remained six days, certaainly longer than I had intended. On October 1st I will return to the home of Mrs. Vasquez, as I find no means of subsistence here, and the Kansas tribe, with the exception of three families, has already gone on its hunting excursion. These things, here mentioned in a general way, you may be pleased to read at greater length. The house of the agent, Vasquez, on the

[43] Baronet Vasquez, son of Benito Vasquez, of St. Louis, was of Spanish extraction.

banks of the Missouri River, was heretofore considered the meeting place of the Indians, but now, after his death, the visits of the Indians are becoming less frequent, the house of the new agent having been established elsewhere, I believe on the Kansas River. The widow Vasquez still resides at the old house. She is a matron of great piety. She has a small family, but a well-educated one; she takes good care of me, almost as if I were one of the children of the household, providing me with the necessaries of life on my journey; she shines forth with good example in frequenting the sacraments and practicing devotion; and she edifies her family with her virtues. Not so the other Catholics, alas! that live in the neighborhood. They are "slothful bellies," not much different from the Cretans, addicted to drink and much talking, ignorant. to pass over in silence the rest of their vices. I except two or three persons from this charge. Some of them live with Indian concubines, refusing the grace which is offered to them by my ministry. Only two could I prevail upon to dismiss their concubines and contract in legitimate marriages. The third one tried to deceive me, but in vain. . .

I leave this corner of the earth with no small regret, but I feel a stronger impulse towards the Barbarians, and I desire to arrive among them as early as possible, as it is to be feared that, through a longer delay I might find the chief of the nation (Nombe-ware,[44] i. e., the Furious, or Moushouska, White Plume), no longer among the living. Having been ailing for a long time he began to carry things to extremes, and that is a two-fold manner. Indignant at the evils that had befallen him, White Plume, armed with a pistol, rushed forth and threatening death to God, directed a shot towards heaven, exclaiming, "Oh, would that I had destroyed thee this time for having sent so many evils to my family and to my whole nation!" (During the past year about 180 of the Kansas tribe, together with the chief's principal wife, two sons and many other members of his family, were taken by death). As White Plume's illness became worse, he repented of his word and deed and earnestly asked forgivenesss from Heaven. But God delayed hearing the prayer of the sick man and willed that the barbarian should begin to improve in health only two days before my advent. White Plume was hardly notified of my coming when he gathered all his strength and had himself placed on a horse, in order to welcome the Taborco[45] (the name by which he always addressed me). I was greatly surprised at seeing him enter my room, especially as rumors were current that he had died. I ran to meet him, and as he seemed to stagger, I supported him with my hand, offered him a chair and pressed his proffered hand. He that was wont to speak with stentorian voice now gave forth such a gentle whisper that the meaning of his words could hardly be gathered by the interpreters: "O, my Father, you are welcome. At last you are here whom I have so long desired. I am happy; but I would rejoice still more if I could celebrate your coming in perfect health. May the Great Healer (Washkanta) ,I pray, restore my health. It is my intention to assist you in all things that you wish to do among the Kansas. My only son (the others had all died), I will send to be educated by you as soon as you have a home. In the same way all the chiefs of our nation in my obedience shall act towards you. How long will you stay with us? When will you have a house? Remember this: Do not have your house too far away from mine. The nearer it is the more it will please me, so that I may consult with you in the government of the

[44] White Plume, or the Furious, it will be remembered, had been in St. Louis early in May, 1827, to ask for a missionary for his people. In St. Louis he met a number of the clergy, probably also Father de la Croix, the future missionary to the Osages. Washington Irving, in his "Adventures of Captain Bonnville, U. S. A., in the Rocky Mountains and the Far West," gives a pleasant account of the old chief in 1832; when White Plume gave proofs of having acquired some of the lights of civilization from his proximity to the whites, as was evinced in his knowledge of driving a bargain. He required hard cash in return for some corn with which he supplied the worthy captain, and left the latter at a loss which most do admire, his native chivalry as a brave, or his acquired adroitness as a trader." Irving, Captain Bonnville, ch. II. From the same account it appears that the Kansas had begun to raise corn, but had not left off their hunting excursions. White Plume was still inhabiting the great stone house on the Kansas River, "a palace without a wigwam within," as Irving says. The Kansas were still at war with the Pawnees.

[45] The Tabosco is the Kansas word for Black Gown, or Black Robe, meaning the Catholic priest. "Washkanta," also Wakonda, is the Great Spirit.

Kansas. I am not able to talk with you very long to-day, my voice having become so weakened; but I am expecting our hunters, who will bring me buffalo meat, with which I can regain strength." Knowing full well what authority this great chief wielded among his people and how necessary it was for the prosperous course of my undertaking, I determined to leave no stone unmoved in order to restore his health. I wanted to give him medicine, to keep him in my house and to take watchful care of the sick man, but prudence objected to all those things; if he should die using my medicines this whole wild and superstitious nation would blame me. The two interpreters, who stood by, seemed to hint at the same thing. I, therefore, superseded the medicine with a goblet of rich wine. After drinking which the chief said that it had warmed his stomach, and begged earnestly that after a few days I should send him another specimen of the same medicine. This I readily promised to do.

Returning home he sent ten messengers, men and women, in various directions, to meet the hunters and to announce the coming of Tabosco. They smoked in honor of Tabosco on the whole journey, they sang and shouted for joy. At last the inhabitants of the four villages arrived from their long journey and brought heaps of buffalo meat. White Plume overflows with vigor, enjoying as perfect health as he did when he was most robust. Two chiefs brought me a very large portion of buffalo meat, and they stood wondering at me eating of it, although it was not cooked. "Behold," one said, "Tabosco has no aversion to us. He is not squeamish and delicate, as the Fathers of the Osages," meaning thereby the Protestant missionaries). "Do you not see in his eyes how he loves us, how affable he is," said one to another in a low voice. They desired to spend the night in my bedroom, and I readily obliged them. Like two satellites they enclosed me, lying on the floor in the middle of my room, one on my right side, the other on my left. With great big eyes they looked at me performing my morning prayers. They hardly dared to breathe. Having returned home the next day, White Plume visited me once more. But he now spoke in loud tones, talking much of his joy and that of the entire tribe and asking many questions. He enquired attentively of Tabosco, what is the purpose of his mission, what are the causes which led him to stay with them four months of this year, what education he would give the children, and what obedience would be required. At last I suggested that I desired very much he should, as opportunity offered, convoke the other Kansas, to whom I could then explain the things I had at heart. He answered that this could hardly be done before the middle of September, because not all would be back from their hunting excursion before that time. It would seem more satisfactory, he said, to select the time when they would come together for the government's annual distribution of gifts. I acquiesced and dismissed the man. I then began to cut the timbers and to adorn the chapel. When I had finished this work I took care to examine the country and to consider what I must build if I should happen to come to reside here. White Plume now visited me for the third time: "Write," he said, "to Red Hair (General W. Clark),[46] that as Vasquez is dead, he should send us another agent who will properly attend to our affairs. We do not want an American. We ask for a Frenchman, certainly none other than Cyprian or Francis Chouteau. The five other chiefs of the Kansas are likewise in favor of these two. Sign my name and the names of these, and urge at the same time your own undertaking, so that you can more easily and more quickly come to stay with us. I have great hopes that our nation will, by your help, be shortly changed for the better."

I wrote immediately commending their request and my own to the governor and, impatient of delay, I expected the new agent from day to day. And, behold, there arrived Mr. Dunnay McNair,[47] a youth of about twenty years sent by

[46] In 1832 a brother of the General Clark of Columbia River fame was Indian Agent among the Kansas, as successor to Vasquez and Dunnay McNair. Cf. *Bonneville's Adventures*, ch. II.

[47] Dunning McNair, son of the first Governor of Missouri, Alexander McNair, was a Catholic, although his father probably never became affiliated with the church. Cf. Edward Brown's Sketch of the Life of Alexander McNair, in *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, vol. I, p. 231 s. s.

Governor Clark, who has no little confidence in the young man. He is to take the place of the agent with the Kansas. Governor Clark, having been advised by me of the death of Mr. Vasquez, had immediately appointed him, not having as yet received my first letter. The young man is a Catholic of good morals, and endowed with sufficient knowledge, sincere and prudent, a friend and defender of religion, most attentitve to his work, and friendly to me. We do not yet know whether he will be agent with full power or not. He helps me very much by his authority and his kindness. He frequently says that nothing is to be despaired of (*nil desperandum*), under the auspices of Governor Clark, who really takes great interest in the success of the mission, and he assures me that the sale of thirty-six sections of land will certainly be held in the month of October or November, and then our work could be begun. The vice-agent requested White Plume to call an assembly of the Indians, telling them that he wished to explain some matters to them in council. The messengers go out and call together the warriors of four of the villages. The third day after the call had gone out about two hundred and forty Indians from the surrounding country come there and listen to what the vice-agent might proclaim. For the whole day the Kansas remain in session. The medals are distributed and the laws and the treaties are explained, the thieves are whipped, and the cultivation of the land is urgently recommended, and the permanent location in one village is demanded. The Tabosco is presented to them. The annual distribution is promised when the Kansas shall assemble at Fort Leavenworth, and many other things are approved. The barbarians agreed with almost everything except the plan of permanently locating in one village, and abandoning their hunting life. Rumors, clamors and complaints arose, but in vain. With all my strength I urged the necessity of the matter contained in the first point (uniting the tribe in one village), and I argued against the foolish and destructive plan adopted by them, to remove their home a hundred and fifty miles from our house. (This, a large party among them had decided on, against the wishes of White Plume, at the very time that they returned from their hunting grounds, and had seen for the first time the elegant place offering such various conveniences). They now understand how proper and useful it would be to unite in one village, where all their tents should be fixed. The place selected at a distance of about one day's journey, was approved by all with the exception of a few stiff-necked people, who, however, have to follow the crowd. After having visited, as I hope to do, the four villages, I will examine the proposed location and describe it in my next letter. The agent now having finished what he wished to propose, I arose and demanded in a loud voice that all should remain the next day also, as I had some things to announce to them. The next day at 8 o'clock all were gathered in the chapel, which is as large as the study hall in St. Louis College. They all assembled at the ringing of the bell. Those present were the new agent, two interpreters, three other Catholics; a large altar, beautifully ornamented, the picture of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the middle of the altar, on the right side a large crucifix, on the left a picture of the sorrowful Virgin of the same size. The Tabosco, clad in his sacred vestments, gravely walked from his chamber and entered the chapel. All genuflect, the *Veni Creator* with the oration is intoned. High Mass is sung. At the consecration all are commanded to bend the knee, there is deep silence. After the Mass all sit down. Tabosco stands at the epistle side and preaches. After every sentence the barbarians exclaim "How!" That is, "Good!" It would take too long to repeat word for word what I said; let it suffice that I preached on the purpose of my coming and mission, on the desire of my heart to procure the salvation of all the Kansas, on the One God and His attributes, making no mention, for the present, of the Trinity, on God the Creator and Giver of all good, on the human soul being immortal, on God the Judge and Rewarder, on the eternal fire, and the joys of Heaven, on sin and the sins in particular, to which the Kansas are specially addicted, or the necessity of hearing Tabosco's preaching, on the obedience due to him, on Christ the Lord crucified, on the gratitude to God, who is now offering to them his

grace in abundance; lastly, on the education of their children, to be undertaken by us, on the raising of the Holy Cross among them, and on the visits to be made to the four villages, and the children to be baptized. These are in brief the things which I had explained to them in our first meeting. The ceremony concluded with the canticle *'Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel'* and the 'Our Father' and the 'Hail Mary.' The Canticle pleased them very much. Their tears flowed in the presence of the Crucified Lord. They repeated to one another what they had heard, one the things concerning heaven, the other the things concerning hell, another the sufferings of Christ. "Ah," exclaimed White Plume, "how I was enlightened to-day!" "Wazzeche, wazzeche," that is, how good to have a Tabosco! others exclaimed. But I sigh; give me souls, O Jesus; may thy kingdom come. As regards the baptism of the infants, it is very much desired by the Kansas. This reason, besides others, moved me to promise then in public not to return to St. Louis before I had baptized all the little ones; especially as so many of them have died since the time I came here. Indeed, an old man, when dying, asked day and night, to see the Tabosco, in order to receive baptism. He was deprived of baptism by a sad circumstance and died, leaving to his relatives his anxieties about their future state and the punishments to be undergone by them unless they were willing to receive the salutary waters. Certainly, a firm faith in this sacrament, forcing others also to believe in it. At the time when this Indian called me I was detained at Fort Leavenworth. After the death of the old man the family asked me what I thought concerning his doom. Having given the proper answer I sent the greatly relieved inquirers home.

Perhaps Your Paternity will ask, why I have not already made my home in the country of the barbarians. This I had certainly wished to do and already fixed the day on which I should undertake the journey with an interpreter, but the contrary seemed to be more advisable on account of the celebration of certain feasts, which occupy the barbarians for the space of two weeks, and which are the occasion of great tumult, drunkenness and strife. I preferred to postpone the visit rather than expose my dignity to insult. I take great care to preserve the authority of my person, never tolerating even the least thing contrary to the respect due to me. In the beginning some loose women of the barbarians began to uncover their bodies immodestly in my presence, to whom I said indignantly that they should cover themselves or go away. On another occasion, when I happened to see some immodest women lying on the floor of our house, surpassing the former ones in looseness, I took to flight and requested the interpreter to report the matter to White Plume, which, having been done, I never had another similar experience.

Two warriors have been assigned to me, to be at my service, but only when I am exercising my religious functions. It is their office to preserve order and silence whilst I say Mass or preach, to accompany me and to close the door, and call the people to church by ringing the bell. This is considered a great honor and much desired by many. Having explained to them their duties, I promised to give each one a little cross when I should return from St. Louis. The name of the one is "Tatsche Sagai" (Wild Wind): of the other, "Nikananseware" (Exterminator of Men). Let me add a few words on the location of the buildings erected by the government on the banks of the Kansas River. Fancy a valley, half a league wide and long, with five large houses, of which one is for the agent of the nation, the second for the interpreter, the third for the blacksmith, the fourth for the farming expert, the fifth, built of stone, is for White Plume. The first four follow one another in a straight line, the fifth is two miles farther on. As to the mission house, I intend to build it where the air is purer, if this be agreeable to the Governor and to the other members of the mission. The soil is most fertile; there are many forest patches all around, but not too many; but the salubrity of the air is not the same everywhere. Every newcomer is forced to pay tribute to the bilious fevers and chills obtaining here. In all these parts around the Missouri and Kansas Rivers there is nothing more usual than that the new settler is attacked by fevers, headaches and pains of the stomach. I for myself had the bilious fever five days; after that I felt well and had an insatiable appetite. The air at Camp Leavenworth is even worse.

Just now there are at least one hundred persons there on the sick list. I went there with the vice-agent (McNair), the interpreter, and 108 of the Indians, to attend the annual distribution of gifts to the tribesmen. At first I felt very well; on the third day I myself and Mr. McNair had to fight against an attack of chills and fever for the space of four days. Here I heard the confessions of two soldiers, one an Irishman and the other a Frenchman; I baptized six infants and comforted the sick. I will go there once more in the beginning of November, to baptize a number of the infants of the officers and to perform the other religious functions. I was received with the highest honors by the officers, who invited me to their mess, and in the evening entertained me with military music. I have distributed various books, of which I have a great number, treating of the Truth of the Catholic Faith. There is a murderer in the prison, soon to suffer the death penalty. I will try to convert the doomed man and to prepare him for death. I have baptized at other places and at different times 28 infants, and shall baptize many more.

Of the other Indian nations I have visited only the Shawneons, who seem to be more intent on acquiring temporal goods than those that will last forever. Their time seems not yet come. Nevertheless, I will try again and see if an opening can be made there. It would, indeed, be gratifying if I could win to Christ this tribe, living along our way in elegant houses. An invitation to visit the Iowa tribe, about 60 miles from our house, was extended to me by their agent, General Us, who also promised to do what he could to provide shelter and food for me, if I should decide to take up my abode with his nation. The next neighbors of the Iowas are the Ottawas, who use about the same language. This journey cannot possibly be made, that is, at present, because the agent is now absent from home, to return to those tribes only about the middle of November. The gifts you intended for White Plume I have delivered and thereby given great pleasure to the chief. The barbarity and superstition of the Kansas tribe is too great to find ready belief. Therefore, I am in no hurry to admit any adult to holy baptism. They must first be made human beings, then members of Christ's body. . . .

To-morrow I will go to the home of Mrs. Baronette Vasquez to prepare her several daughters for First Holy Communion and instruct the faithful in the duties of Christian life. . . .

I kiss your paternal hand, the hand of our Common Father. Your most obedient son,

JOSEPH ANTHONY LUTZ,
Missionary Priest with the Kanzas.

This letter held out great hopes for the imminent conversion of the Kansas Indians; yet the work seemed beyond the power and endurance of our man. Father Lutz, White Plume's Tabosco, never returned to the promising field. On November 12, 1828, he wrote his last letter *Ex Agro Kanzas Rivi* to his beloved bishop. It contains only a few points of minor interest. The reasons for his premature return to St. Louis are an early and probably very severe winter, and the hopelessness of achieving any good in the unknown and pathless country. The Kanzas had promised to return home by the end of October, and had even now, November 12, given no sign of fulfilling their promise," thus making it doubtful whether the Tabosco could administer baptism to all their children before his departure for St. Louis." It seemed they were purposely delaying their home-coming. It would, therefore, be their own fault if their children should not receive the sacrament of regeneration. As to the mission-cross, I will in any case, erect and bless it, if not solemnly, then privately, in the presence of some of the Kansas.

The last month he had spent at the home of Mrs. Vasquez, teach-

ing, preaching, baptizing, hearing confessions and saying Mass. "Visiting the town of Liberty, he found but one Catholic in the whole place, the wife of Dr. Curtiss, a native of St. Louis." His attempts to visit Fort Leavenworth once more was frustrated by his guide, who left him, *media in via*, so that he had to return home. Messrs. Francis, Cyprian and Frederick Chouteau were putting up a grand building on the Kansas River, which would serve as the Emporium, or trading post, for all the Shawneons and Kansas. "Francis Chouteau treats me very kindly and promises me his continued support," Father Lutz concludes his last letter from the Kansas River. His missionary attempt was but a faint promise of the greater things to come.[48]

V. Jesuit Missions in the Indian Territory.

The ancient glories of the Jesuit Missions of the Illinois were to be renewed in a measure beyond the great river, far to the west; but the rise and progress of this new effort is intimately connected with certain dishonorable dealings of our government, State and national, in regard to the nations that once possessed the land from ocean to ocean. Treaty upon treaty was made and broken with disastrous consequences, until the Indian has almost vanished from the face of the earth. "A Century of Dishonor" is the title of the book that treats of our broken faith with the Indians. It is a sad story, but well worth our attention. As we proceed in our sketch we will meet with a few examples of our burning shame.

"The government of the United States," says an elegant writer, probably Father O'Hanlon, in the November number, 1843, of the *Catholic Cabinet* of St. Louis., "having deemed it good policy to concentrate the aborigines of the country, commonly called Indians, assigned for this purpose a territory, beyond which, within a distance of 1500 miles, no suitable habitation for white men can be made. This Indian territory is bounded by the States of Missouri and Arkansas towards the east, by the so-called American desert on the west; by Texas on the south, and by the Missouri and Platte rivers to the north. It has been assigned as the permanent abode of the various Indian tribes scattered throughout the Union. The Pawnees, Omahas, Kanzas, Osages and Missourians roamed at large over the lands of this territory, before this plan was adopted by our government, which as a necessary consequence of the new appropriation, was obliged to confine them within certain limits; and to persuade them to cede part of their lands to their red brethren east of the Mississippi. In consequence of this arrangement the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cherokees, Creeks, Seminoles, Senecas, Pottowatomies, Ottawas, Chippewas, Otoes, Miamis, Shawanees, Delawares, Kickapoos, Iowas, and Foxes, emigrated—some by force, others by persuasion, but all most unwillingly from the various States of the Union to the respective portions of the territory assigned to them by the U. S. Government. The original inhabitants of this territory are called the indigenous tribes, and are savage and wretched to the extreme; the emigrant tribes are more or less civilized, according to the different relations they have had with the settlers of the States. The whole number of the Indians of this territory amounts to about 80,000 souls. With regard to their numbers, it may be observed that they appear gradually to decrease, owing to their inordinate mode of living, their vicious habits, the unsuitableness of the soil, the change of air by emigration, etc. So that they may be said, in the language of the Prophet Osee, "to disappear as early dew that passeth away—as the dust that is driven with a whirlwind out of the floor—and as the smoke out of the chimney (c. 13, v. 3).

[48] Archives of the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis.

It is true that the emigrant tribes have some civilization; but, generally speaking, with all the vices of the white men, they have brought few or none of their virtues over to the Indian wilds.

Many efforts at converting these unhappy children of the wilderness had been made, as we have seen, and were being made by the representatives of various Christian denominations; but these divisions and consequent dissensions proved the chief stumbling block to their success. Our author continues:

The state of our Holy Religion is truly deplorable among these unhappy people. Almost all the tribes are in favor of Catholic missioners, and feel a kind of natural aversion to Protestant preachers. And yet, in the absence of the former the latter are almost everywhere to be found; and the whole territory has about 30 Protestant missionary establishments. But every plantation not made by the hand of the Father shall be rooted out. Vain are the efforts of these unsent apostles to make proselytes among the Indians. They may, indeed, scatter hundreds of Bibles among the savages; but these are neither prized nor understood. The principle that faith is to be conceived by the Bible—and by the Bible alone—proves quite incomprehensible to the illiterate and savage mind; and the consequence is that all the Protestant congregations of the Indian territory do not amount to 500 souls.

While a few of the Indians, whose devotion is bought and paid for, like any other marketable commodity, are nominal adherents to Protestantism; while thousands daily worship their Manitos and indulge in all the execesses of unbridled licentiousness; the voice of the Catholic Church is almost unheard, except on the banks of Sugar Creek, tributary stream of the north fork of the Osage River. We would, however, willingly indulge the hope that within a few years a line of Catholic Missions may be established from the Missouri River down to Texas—a plan by no means difficult of execution, and one which would be of incalculable advantage to religion. The field is large and the harvest promising, but the laborers are by far too few.[50]

These fond hopes, held out in 1843, were not realized, owing to the rapid changes in the political and social conditions of these regions, as well as to the vices and weaknesses of the Indians themselves. Yet great efforts were made by the Church and untold good was accomplished in behalf of the Indians, as our author shows:

Twenty years ago the zealous Bishop of Upper and Lower Louisiana, Louis William Valentine Du Bourg, directed the views of his ever active zeal towards the unfortunate Indians, especially the Osages. With the co-operation of the Rev. Charles Van Quickenborne, then Superior of the Jesuits of Missouri, two schools were opened for Indian youths in the township of Florissant, near St. Louis; the Indian boys were placed under the charge of the Jesuits, and the girls under that of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart. To enable them to succeed in this undertaking, the reverend gentlemen under whose care the schools were placed, applied to the government for a moderate annual income from the sum annually appropriated for the civilization of the Indians. This request was readily complied with, but the greatest obstacle to success was found to consist in the unwillingness of the Indian youth to quit their parents' home, their sports and their games, and to go to a distant place for the purpose of acquiring the learning which they so little valued. It was soon discovered that to establish missionary stations among the Indians in their own country would be a more successful and less difficult enterprise. In consequence, this having been deter-

[49] *Catholic Cabinet*, St. Louis, vol. I, p. 406.

[50] *Catholic Cabinet*, vol. I, p. 407.

mined on, the Rev. Charles de la Croix, then missioner in the State of Missouri, now a Canon Regular in Ghent, set out on a visit to the Osages—one of the most savage of the Indian tribes. His efforts were blessed with success, and records now before us prove that the number of children baptized by him on that occasion was very large and the number of marriages he blessed not inconsiderable. Shortly after he was followed by the Rev. C. Van Quickenborne, who also visited the Osage nation, and who was particularly successful in inducing the chiefs and headmen of the tribe to send their sons and daughters to St. Louis County. The schools, composed of Osage, Iowa and Iroquois youths, flourished for a few years, but were finally broken up, in consequence of the complaints of their parents, on seeing their children separated from them by such a distance, as also of the disinclination of the young Indians to bend under the yoke of discipline.[51]

The first idea of Father Van Quickenborne to convert the tribes by separating the children from the parents during the most pliant years of their lives and instructing them in the practice of the true religion and in the ways of civilized life, having proved impracticable, at least on a larger scale, the old Jesuit plan of establishing missionary centers among the Indians, with churches, schools, and a kind of paternal authority, even in civil matters, was taken up and carried forward with gratifying results. We will quote the final chapter of the account as contained in the *Catholic Cabinet*:

In 1835 the Rev. Father Van Quickenborne paid a missionary visit to the Miamis, on the north fork of the Osage River. They are the small remnants of four once powerful nations, the Kaskaskias, the Peorias, the Weas and the Piankeshaws. He was received by them with great joy; and many of them, having been baptized in their infancy by the priests who attended the old French villages in Illinois, showed unfeigned readiness to enroll themselves anew under the standard of the cross. They seemed to be indifferently pleased with the Methodist station, established among them, and willingly promised to return to the faith of their fathers, among whom the Jesuit missionaries had so successfully labored during the early part of the last century. An old woman, whose gray hair and bent-up form showed that she had belonged to by-gone times, crawled up to the missionary, grasped his hand with a strong expression of exultation, and pronounced him to be a true black gown, sent to instruct her hapless and neglected nation. She had lived at least a score of winters longer than any other of her tribe, but yet she distinctly remembered to have been prepared for her first communion by one of the Jesuits who attended the flourishing mission of Kaskaskias. His name she could not bring to mind, but described his dress and features in a manner to show what a deep impression this recollection of her early youth continued to make on her mind. She also gave a description of the old church of Kaskaskia; recited her prayers and sang a Canticle in the language of the tribe. She told the missioner that her constant prayer had been that her tribe, now exiled and almost extinct, might have the happiness to see a true black gown among them. She congratulated those around her on the occasion and cried out, like Simeon, that her eyes had seen him now, and that she was ready to mix her bones with those of her fathers. Her death, which took place a few days after, was a great loss to the missioner. As she was the only person who knew the prayers in the Indian language, and the only one who appeared to have kept herself untainted by the general depravity of those by whom she was surrounded.

The few remaining Miamis have never had any permanent Catholic mission in their situation; yet they continue to be visited at time. Among them, however, in their original residence, near Chicago, Father Marquette, the first explorer of the Mississippi, labored as early as 1675. In 1836 the first Catholic

[51] *Catholic Cabinet*, vol. I, 407 and 408.

Missionary settlement was made among the Indians of this territory. The Rev. C. Van Quickenborne, of the Society of Jesus, with Father Hoeken and two lay brothers, opened a mission among the Kickapoos. Suitable buildings were erected, a neat chapel built, and the zeal of the missionaries was displayed in almost incessant labors by day and by night; but the soil proved for the time ungrateful [52]

Of these beginnings of Father Van Quickenborne's missionary labors among the Indians of Missouri and the Indian Territory, we will place before our readers the account given in 1840 by the Rev. P. J. Verhagen, S.J., Provincial of Missouri, to the Most Reverend Archbishop and Rt. Rev. Bishop in Provincial Council assembled:

The Indian missions having been entrusted to the care of this western portion of the Society of Jesus, by the prelates of the United States, we deem it a duty to lay before them some particulars respecting their establishment, progress and future prospects. No sooner was this wide field opened to our labors than the Rev. Father Van Quickenborne, of happy memory, with his characteristic zeal began to make preparations to open a mission among the nearest tribes. For this purpose, he visited several of the Atlantic cities, in order to procure the necessary funds. He succeeded, after great exertions, in collecting about fifteen hundred dollars. On the 20th day of May, 1836, he set out, in company with another Father and two lay brothers for the Indian country, and arrived at his destination among the Kickapoos, on the 1st of June of the same year. The agent of these Indians, not being, at first, favorably disposed, refused the requisite permission for building a house and when at length he consented, the season was so far advanced that all the funds at the disposal of the missioners were expended in raising a frame building 24x20 feet, and several months passed before it was ready for their accommodation. In the meantime they availed themselves of the kindness of a trader, who offered them his log cabin. When the new building was completed it served as a chapel, school and dwelling. About twenty children frequented the school—the chapel was well attended on Sundays —some few received into the church and many infants baptized. This first establishment has continued to progress, slowly indeed, but steadily, and affords a better prospect every year. The latest letters of the missioner give an account of twenty adult baptisms. If the success has not corresponded to the labors and expense, it is owing, first, to the presence and opposition of a Methodist minister who lives among them, to the vicinity of the whites, to the difficulties which was always attend the commencement of such establishments, for instance, the absence of all facilities for the acquirement of the language, etc.[53]

More explicit data as to the progress of the Kickapoo station, including the Kansas Mission near Chouteau's trading house, then the settlements of Plattsburg and Liberty, the mission among the Wyandotts, and lastly Fort Leavenworth, are given in Father Hoeken's Report for 1837. The mission among the Kickapos, to use the original spelling, was begun in the month of June, 1836. The church was blessed on Passion Sunday, and Father Van Quickenborne had hardly left the mission (July 20, 1837), when he died and was succeeded by Father Felix Verreidt. The mission among the Kansas, after the brief visit of Father Lutz, was founded about the same time as that among the Kickapoo. Plattsburg and Liberty date from November, 1837; the Wyandotte mission, as well as Fort Leavenworth from about the same time.

[52] *Catholic Cabinet*, vol. I, 408 and 409.

[53] Original in Archives of Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis.

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More explicit data as to the progress of the Kickapoo station, including the Kansas Mission near Choteau's trading house, then the settlements of Pittsburg and Liberty, the mission among the Wyandotts, and lastly Fort Leavenworth, are given in Father Hoecken's Report for 1837. The mission among the Kickapoos, to use the original spelling, was begun in the month of June, 1826. The church was blessed on Passion Sunday, and Father Van Quickenborne had hardly left the mission (July 20, 1827), when he died and was succeeded by Father Felix Verreidt. The mission among the Kansas, after the brief visit of Father Lutz, was founded about the same time as that among the Kickapoo. Pittsburg and Liberty date from November, 1837; the Wyandotte mission, as well as Fort Leavenworth from about the same time.

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[a] Catholic Cabinet, vol. I, 498 and 499.

[a] Original in Archives of Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis.

This account finds an interesting supplement in the report of Father H. G. Aelen, S.J., dated September 25, 1839:

On the 25th of September, 1839, he, as superior of the missions, writes from Sugar Creek concerning the Kickapoo station:

> The church, which is under the invocation of St. Francis Xavier, is regularly attended three times a month, the number of the faithful is about 20. There is an English school attached to this mission. The resident clergyman is Father A. Eisvogels, S.J., *Fort Leavenworth*. This station is regularly attended by the Rev. A. Eisvogels, S.J., once a month. The congregation is very flourishing, and a great deal of fruit has been reaped, especially of late, both among the soldiers and the workmen. The Rev. Eisvogels, S.J., visits also occasionally Liberty in Clay County and Plattsburg in Clinton County, Missouri.

After a brief account of the Pottawattomie Mission, which we shall quote later on, the Report of Father Aelen continues:

> *Ottawas Station.* A band of about 300 of this nation resides on the left bank of the "mer des cygnes," otherwise the Osage River. It is regularly visited every second month by the Rev. H. G. Aelen, S.J. (from the Pottawatomie Mission). The congregation, counting about 20 adults, is zealous, and the prospects for proselytes is very fair. Their language is mostly like that of the Pottawatomies.
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> *Miamis Station*, comprising the four combined nations, Peorias, Kaskaskias, Weas and Piankeshaws. This station on the left bank of the "Mer des Cygnes," in the Peorias village, has been formed in July last, i. e. 1838, and is attended every second month by the Rev. H. G. Aelen, S.J., who also attends three times a year the church at Westport and the missionary station of Independence, in Jackson County, Missouri.

Concerning the Miami Station, composed, as it was, of the Weas and Piankshaws, the Kaskaskias and Peorias, Shea says on the authority of the *Annales*, that originally Catholics of the Illinois Missions, many of them had become Protestants. The Wea and the Kaskaskia chiefs had, however, remained Catholic. When Father Quickenborne asked the assembled people whether they had become Protestants, all were silent, till a woman, with tears, acknowledged it, "believing it better to be something than to have no worship."[54] This visit of Father Van Quickenborne was his last work among the Indians. The great missionary retired to Portage des Sioux at the confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers, where he died August 17, 1837. The founder was now dead, but his good work of reclaiming and keeping the Indians for Christ went on without interruption, and with remarkable success.

It is the celebrated Pottawotomie Mission of whose origin and progress I must now give a brief account. The Pottawotomie Indians were a branch of the great Algonquin family, and, at the opening of our western history were in possession of the southern confines of Lake Michigan from Chicago on the west to South Bend on the east. Having come in contact with the Jesuit missionaries at an early date, many Catholics, sometimes entire bands, were numbered among them. Their mission of St. Joseph, near what is now South Bend, in Indiana, became famous as a center of religious influence. But the rapid spread of the

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[54] Report in Diocesan Chancery, St. Louis.

white population tolled the parting knell of this Indian mission, as well as of the great nation itself. The remnants only reached their new home in what was then called the Indian Territory, that is, all the Louisiana Purchase, with the exception of the States of Missouri, Arkansas and Louisiana. All Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas and the present Indian Territory, with Oklahoma, were considered unfit for white settlers, and therefore, given over to the Indians forever. Before 1838 two great bands of the Pottawotomies had been removed beyond the Mississippi and assigned new homes along the boundary of the State of Missouri, and here, as Father Verhaegen, S.J., the Provincial of the Jesuits informs the Fathers of the Provincial Council assembled at Baltimore, May 3, 1840:

A second mission (after the Kickapoo station) was established in 1838 among the Pottawotomies on the Missouri River, near Council Bluffs, about five hundred miles west of the Kickapoo station. Two Fathers and two lay brothers commenced this establishment on the 31st of May of the same year. On their arrival they received from the chief four log cabins for a school, dwelling and other purposes, and from the United States officer a block house (24 feet square), which serves as a chapel. One of the Fathers devotes four hours every day to the instruction of the children in the Christian doctrine; the other makes frequent excursions among the neighboring tribes, and according to his report, has baptized many children—nearly two hundred adults have been admitted to the holy communion—the practice of bigamy has been in a great measure removed, etc. The accounts from this station are of the most cheering character and describe in glowing terms the happy disposition of thousands of these poor children of the forest, particularly of the women and children.[55]

The "two Fathers" were the celebrated Peter De Smet and his companion, Felix Verreidt, one of the brothers was Andrew Mazelli, the other George Miles. These Prairie "Pottawotomies" were a mixture of various tribal remnants, the Pottawotomies predominating and giving their name to the entire people. One of their leaders was the celebrated half-breed chief, Billy Caldwell, from Chicago, who had helped to found the first church in that city under Father St. Cyr. The block house given to the missionaries by Colonel Kearney was originally built as a fort, but as the troops had departed there was no need of a fort, and so it was converted into a church, the only church in Council Bluffs for a number of years. It was still in existence in 1855. The mission was placed under the protection of the Blessed Virgin and St. Joseph. Yet, though promising good results, the Pottawotomie mission at Council Bluffs was not without its scandals:

From time to time the medicine men would excite greatest trouble. Polygamy, too, presented its fearful obstacle, requiring as it did, a restraint on the passions, to which these children of the wilderness were not accustomed; while intoxication, the deadly bane of the red man, at times converted their towns into images of hell.[56]

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[55] Archives of Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis.

[56] J. G. Shea, *American Catholic Missions*, p. 463. Cf. Francis Cassilly, S.J. Oldest Jesuit Mission in Council Bluffs. Reprint from the *Creighton Chronicle*, February, 1917.

The very year of the foundation of the Pottawotomie Mission near Council Bluffs was to witness the third great immigration of Pottawotomies, mostly Catholics, coming from the neighborhood of St. Joseph's, on the southern shore of Lake Michigan. Let us hear what Father Verhaegen has to say about this matter:

In the same year (1838), six hundred Catholic Pottawotomies from Indiana, who were accompanied, in their removal, by the late Rev. Fr. Petit, on reaching their destination, were transferred by him to the care of one of our Fathers. Their location is on the banks of Sugar Creek, about seventy miles southwest of the Kickapoos station. This is the most flourishing of all the Indian missions and realizes the accounts which we read of the missions of Paraguay. A letter of the missioner, received in January last, states that on Christmas one hundred and fifty approached the sacred table and all who could be spared from domestic duties assisted with great devotion at the three solemn Masses, the first at midnight, the second at daybreak and the third at 10:30. There is but one Father at present at the station, and as his presence is almost always required among his six hundred Catholics, he cannot make frequent excursions to the neighboring tribes. His catechists, however, perform this duty for him, and often return with several adults ready to receive baptism. The details of this mission would form a lengthy and interesting article, we cannot properly find place in a mere report.

What Father Verhaegen at the time failed to give we will endeavor to supply from the reports of his colaborers and other trustworthy documents, and, first of all, I shall quote the words of Fathers Charles Hoeken and H. Aelen, the founders of the mission. In his report from the Pottawotomies village, near the Osage River, dated May 14, 1839, Father Aelen writes. "If it please Your Grace, I would call this mission "Conceptio Beatae Mariae Virginis." On the 2nd day of October, 1838, the Reverend Father Hoeken came to the Osage River and was about to gather some bountiful fruit, when the Reverend Father Petit, of blessed memory, on the second day of November of the same year, arrived there with a large number of Catholic Indians. A temporary chapel was raised near the banks of the river, called Pottawotomie Creek. After the departure of Father Petit, Father Hoeken remained with these Indians for a time alone, until the Rev. Father P. Aelen joined him as his assistant, April 26th, 1839. On March 10th the entire multitude of the faithful removed to the river commonly called Sugar Creek, but renamed by us St. Mary's Creek, there to have their permanent home. A new church was erected in this place under the title "Conceptio Beatae Mariae Virginis." Father Hoeken adds a note to this report as follows:

The Indians under my care are of good disposition and fervent, some of them were confirmed by Bishop Brutê before their western migration. But as they come from Indiana they were never under the decrees of the Sacred Synod of Trent (i. e., the *ne Temere* decree), concerning marriages, consequently they are not subject to the proclamation of the banns. Besides, the Indian mode of contracting marriage is altogether different from that of other nations; and lastly they do not like to have their names proclaimed in church, because they are very much inclined to bashfulness, so much so that at times they can scarcely speak, so shamefaced they are.[57]

[57] Diocesan Archives of St. Louis.

But these Indians were not converts of recent date. Many of them had received baptism in the far-away mission of St. Joseph's, on Lake Michigan. They had been expelled from their native haunts by an act of governmental tyranny, and the account of their long and weary march from Indiana to the borders of Kansas is a little epic full of pathos and deep human interest. Father Benjamin-Maria Petit was the spiritual leader of these exiled people, their teacher, protector and comforter, and it was he that left us in his letters a beautiful record of their sad journey to the country beyond the Mississippi River. Father Petit was born at Rennes in France, April 8, 1811, attended the college of his native city for the study of law, and had already attained the position of advocate when, in 1835, Bishop Simon Bruté, of Vincennes, arrived at Renes and confirmed the hopeful young man in his determination to become a missionary in America. Arriving at Vincennes in 1836, the youthful Petit was raised to the priesthood in October, 1837. His first and only appointment was to the Indian mission in the region around South Bend, Indiana, where he remained until September, 1838. Hence, Father Petit accompanied the Pottawotomies on their exile to the Far West, and died on his homeward journey in St. Louis, February 10, 1839, not quite twenty-eight years old, but full of merit.

As the Pottowatomie mission of Sugar Creek, Indian Territory,[58] forms one of the glories of the diocese of St. Louis, and as Father Petit is not as well known among us as his heroic life deserves, I will translate the beautiful letters he wrote to Bishop Bruté concerning his stay with the Indians and their departure for the West. Speaking of his Christians at Chichipe-Outipe, near South Bend,[59] Father Petit writes:

Our common mode of life was as follows: The first bell rang at sunrise. Then you should have seen the Indians hurrying along the foot-path along the woods and from the shores of the lakes to our chapel on the hill. Then the second bell warned the belated ones to make speed. When they were all assembled, the catechist recounted the points of the previous instruction: Morning prayer, followed and holy Mass, during which hymns were sung by the congregation. My sermon was translated into the Pottawotomie dialect. After this

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[58] At the time of which we are writing the Indian Territory was much more extensive than what was commonly given as Indian Territory in our school days. "The Act of Congress of June 30, 1834, regulating trade and intercourse with the Indians, declares that 'all that part of the United States west of the Mississippi and not within the States of Missouri and Louisiana or the territory of Arkansas shall for the purposes of that Act be considered the Indian country.'" This vast region thus defined, formed part of the Louisiana Purchase from France in 1803. The mission of Sugar Creek (Kansas) as well as the mission at Council Bluffs (Iowa) was in the Indian Territory.

[59] St. Joseph's Mission at South Bend (Indiana), was founded by Father Claude Allouez, S.J., before 1711, for at that period Father John Chardon, S.J., became his successor. The nation of the Pottawotomies is noteworthy in our literary history as having given to Longfellow the matter of his Hiawatha. Their traditions were first recorded by Father De Smet in his Oregon Missions. The "Pontonatomies," as spelled by French writers, were mentioned from 1639. In 1641 they were at Sault Ste. Mary's, fleeing before the Sioux; in 1668 they were all on the Pottawotomie Islands in Green Bay. In 1721 the bulk of the nation was still on their islands; one band was at Detroit, another on the St. Joseph's River (South Bend Indiana). These latter are the people led to the West by Father Petit. Cf. *Wisconsin Historical Collection*, vol. III, p. 136. The letters of Father Benjamin Marie Petit to Bishop Bruté were published in volume VII, of The Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi for August. They were translated into German for Father Theodore Bruener's *Kirchen-Geschichte Quincy's*, 1887. The English translation was made for this article.

I heard confessions until evening. At sundown the whole congregation assembled for catechetical instruction and night prayer. Many of them had the practice of frequent communion, but since the death of Father Deseilles until my coming they had to be content with spiritual communion. I have already baptized eighteen converts and solemnized seven marriages. Their zeal for religion is most beautiful to witness. They will leave their homes to visit and instruct anyone, no matter how far away, of whom they have learned that he had desire to become a Christian. And with what affection they clung to me. "We were orphans," they said, "and we were lost in the night when you came among us, and now we live in light. You are a Father to us, and without your advice we will undertake nothing." I am very happy here, but there is one thing that disturbs my peace of mind. This mission is threatened with dissolution. The government intends to transport my Indians beyond the Mississippi. I am agitated between fear and hope. But my fears and hopes I lay in the hand of Providence.

On July 9th, 1838, Father Petit expresses his joy at finding himself able to understand and speak the language of his people; and at the end of his letter expresses a desire to be permitted to accompany them to their new destination. Since Easter, 1838, he had baptized one hundred and two Indian converts. At length the sad day of parting arrived. On September 14, 1838, Father Petit writes:

I have read my last Mass at Chicsipe-Ontipe. After Mass my dear little chapel was stripped of all its ornaments, and I gathered my children around me for the hour of departure. I shed tears, my Indians cried aloud; it was heart-rending. We, a dying mission, prayed for the prosperity of the other missions and sang:

"In thy protection do we trust.
O Virgin, meek and mild."

The leader's voice was broken with sobbing; but few could carry the song to its end. I had to leave. It is very sad for a missionary to witness the death of what he had loved. A few days later I learned that the Indians, in spite of their peaceful disposition, had been attacked and made prisoners of war. Under pretence of a council they had been brought together, when suddenly they were surrounded by the military, 800 in number, and put under restraint. The government at the same time extended an invitation to me to accompany them to their destination, as the separation from their priest was one of the reasons of their unwillingness to depart. I answered that I could do nothing without consent of my bishop, and that he had refused permission, in order to remove all suspicion, that the church authorities had consented to the harsh measures adopted by the government. But the dispensation of Providence is wonderful. Bishop Brutê was expected at Logansport on September 7th to dedicate the new church; and on the same day my Indian children were to camp near Logansport on their way to the Mississippi. On the morning of September 5th, the Bishop entered my room at South Bend and asked me to accompany him to Logansport. I was quiet as a man who does not move under an oppressive weight. We departed together. On the way we learned that the Indians, who were urged on to quicker movement at the point of the bayonet, had a number of sick people with them; several of them on the wagons having already died of heat and thirst. These reports were like a dagger piercing my heart. The Bishop now gave his consent that I join the Indians on their sad exodus; on condition, however, that I return as soon as another priest could be provided. I feared at first that I would not be permitted to enter the camp without special permission. All the Indians, however came out to receive my blessing. The Americans were surprised at this. "This man," said the General, "has greater influence here than I." I had free entrance everywhere. On the afternoon of September 9th Bishop Bruté came to the camp and confirmed twenty of my people. It was a beautiful day of triumph for the Catholic Faith. On the following day I brought my luggage from South Bend, and am now on the march to found a new mission for my barbarians 400 miles to the west.

Why the military acted so harshly in carrying out the sufficiently harsh measures of the government is not clear, except on the supposition that some of them were far more barbarous than the barbarians themselves, these gentle children of the one-time wilderness. But these Indians were Catholics and, therefore, their sufferings passed unnoticed by the great world. On November 13, 1837, Father Petit continues his report to Bishop Bruté. His letter is dated from

Osage River, Indiana County (*Kansas*): "On September 12 I returned to Logansport, having to catch up with the emigrants at Lafayette, but the march was accelerated so much that I did not see them, even from afar, until I came to Danville. They were marching along the right bank of the river, whilst the wagon train followed on the left bank. It was Sunday, September 16th. I had just arrived, when a Colonel rode up for the purpose of selecting the location for a camp. Shortly afterward I saw my Christians approaching through the heat of midday, amid a cloud of dust and surrounded by the soldiery, urging them on to renewed effort. Then came the wagon train with the numreous sick and the children and women heaped pellmell on the carts. The camp was about half an hour's walk from the city, and in a little more than that time I was with them. It was a heart-breaking spectacle. Sick and dying people everywhere; almost all the children were in a state of utter exhaustion and unconsciousness. The General expressed his pleasure at seeing me, and gallantly offered me a chair, the only one he had. This was the first night spent under a tent. Early next morning the Indians were placed in the wagons; all the others mounting their horses. Just before starting, Judge Polk, the commander-in-chief, came up and offered me a saddle horse which the government had hired from an Indian, but the Indian approached and said: "My Father, I give you the horse, saddled and bridled as it is." We then started for a new camp, when a longer rest was promised us. At my request the authorities set at liberty the six Indian chiefs, who had until now been treated as prisoners of war. The order of march was now as follows: The U. S. flag was carried at the head of the column by a dragoon, followed by some of the chief officers; then came the wagon train of the General Staff; then the wagons used by the Indian chiefs. After that came 250 to 300 horses, with men, women and children riding in single file after the manner of the Indians, under guard of dragoons and volunteers, who continually urged on the cavalcade with bitter words and taunts. Now came about 40 wagons with the luggage of the Indians, and the sick Indians crowded on top of the luggage. Here the poor creatures lay, continually shaken up, under a canvas cover that was intended to shelter them against the heat of the sun, but served only to deprive them of fresh air; literaly buried aive under the burning cover. A few of them died under the torment. We encamped about six miles from Danville. Then I had the happiness for two successive days to say holy Mass surrounded by my children. I administered the holy sacrament to several in preparation for death, and baptized a few infants, and when we left this camp after our two days' rest, we left behind six graves with crosses at their head. At Danville the General gave furlough to his little army, and departed. He had promised to do so immediately after my advent. Soon we found ourselves on the vast prairies of Illinois, moving from one camp to another under a broiling sun, against which there was no shelter; they are immeasurable like the ocean, and the eye wearies itself to discover a tree in its immensity. No drop of water is to be found there. The journey was a real torment for the poor sick, some of whom died almost every day from exhaustion and fatigue. But all this misery did not prevent us from reciting our night prayers in common, and the Americans, who were led by curiosity to visit us, were astonished to find so much piety among so many trials. It frequently happened that some fifteen to twenty Indians sat around a fire before a tent that was illumined by a single wax candle, singing hymns and reciting the rosary all night; it meant that one of their friends had died and his corpse lay now in the tent. Thus they showed him their love and honor. On the following morning a grave was dug, the sorrowing family, without a tear in

their eyes, however, remained at the place after the others had departed; the priest blessed the grave and cast the first shovelful of clay on the poor coffin; then a mound was raised over the dead and a little cross placed upon it. On some Sundays, when the lack of drinking water forced us to march on, a time of grace of two hours was granted to me, during which I might perform my religious duties. The Indians attended holy Mass, during which they sang their hymns so sweetly that all visitors were filled with wonderment. To my taste some of their songs had a very beautiful melody. I then preached a sermon on the Gospel, requested all to recite the Rosary on the way and gathered my belongings. The tents were struck, the horses were mounted, and on we marched to the next encampment. As a rule there was no marching on Sundays. The morning prayers and an instruction preceded the Mass. Vespers were chanted in the Indian tongue. Then came the Rosary and a brief sermon; the latter I sometimes preached in Indian without an interpreter. The respect shown me by Catholics along the way is above praise. . . .

I was again attacked by fever, about two or three days' journey this side of the Illinois River. Here an old Frenchman came to the camp and made me promise, with many importunities, to take a few days' rest at his home. The next morning he came with a wagon to convey me away, but I had to decline the invitation for fear I might not be able to catch up with my emigrants if I remained behind. When we arrived at Naples, where we crossed the Illinois River, a Protestant gentlemen who had been married to a Catholic Frenchwoman at Vincennes, and who had heard that there was a sick priest among the Indians, came to offer me his home for the time of my stay. I accepted this invitation ,and through the great care lavished upon me I got rid of the fever. At Naples I took the stage coach and hurried on to Quincy. There I found a German priest, Father Brickwedde,[60] and a German congregation, who all received me with indescribable affection. The same friendly treatment was accorded to me by some Catholic Americans and by a few of the most prominent Protestants of the city. When the Indians arrived at Quincy the inhabitants, who had seen other emigrating tribes pass through their city, could not contain their admiration of the modesty, the quiet and good behavior of our Christians. A Catholic lady, accompanied by a Protestant friend, made the sign of the cross. Immediately the Indian women ran up to her and grasped her hand and shook it most heartily. The Protestant lady tried also to make the sign of the cross, but made a poor showing at it. One of the Indian women approached her, saying, "You, nothing." And she was right. . . .

At Quincy the Indians crossed the Mississippi and wandered from camp to camp through Northern Missouri ever westward across the Missouri boundary to the headquarters of the Osage River, in the present State of Kansas, then but a part of the vast Indian Territory. Father Petit's letter comes to a conclusion:

One day's journey from the Osage River I was met by Father Hoeken, S.J. He speaks both the Pottawotomie and the Kickapoo languages. He told me of his purpose to leave the land of the Kickapoo and to take up his abode among my Christians. Thus Your Grace will see that your purpose as well as mine is attained. Your Grace sought nothing but the honor of God and the salvation of these poor Christians; I sought nothing else. Having departed on September 4th, we arrived November 4th. The number of our Indians at their departure amounted to 800; some have deserted and many died. I do not think there were, at our arrival, more than 650 souls.

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[60] A very sympathetic account of Father Florentin Augustin Brickwedde, the first pastor of Quincy, Ill., is to be found in *Pastoral-Blatt* of St. Louis, vol. 51, No. 7. Father Hilary Tucker in a letter dated Quincy, September 27, 1840, gives a brief account of another Pottawotomie migration to the Far West, passing through Quincy. There were 400 Indians, 300 of them Catholics, under the spiritual leadership of Father Bernier.

Father Petit fell sick once more; the effects of the fever and the terrible privations and hardships were partly counteracted by the tender care of Father Hoeken. On January 2, 1839, Father Petit started for Vincennes, but was again taken ill on the way, and died at St. Louis, a martyr to duty, as Bishop Bruté called him, cheered and comforted by the pious care of the Jesuit Fathers and the visits of Bishops Rosati and Loras. His death occurred on February 11, 1839.

As this long digression has at last brought us back to the place from which we started, that is, the Osage River or Sugar Creek, Mission, we will give a brief account of the success the Jesuit Fathers attained. The Kickapoo mission was, indeed, merged in the Pottowatomie Mission of St. Mary's, on Sugar Creek, directed at first by Father Hoecke, S.J. "Before long the mission, as Shea[61] informs us, contained more than 1200 Catholic Indians; and two schools in a flourishing condition gave every hope of the rising generation. The Fathers were aided in this mission by the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, who began a school at Sugar Creek about the same time." The report from Sugar Creek for 1839 was made by Father H. S. Aelen, S.J. On the distribution of the Catholic Indians he has the following information to give:

> The Pottawotomie Mission south of the Mer des Cygnes (Lake of the Swans) sometimes called Osage River. This mission extends itself to all the various bands of that nation, scattered all over their lands. Some of the faithful live on the right bank of the Mer des Cygnes; a considerable number on both banks of the so-called Pottawotomie Creek, and about 400 in a southward direction on the banks of the so-called Sugar Creek. Here is the residence of the attending clergyman, the Rev. H. G. Aelen, S.J., and a church under the invocation of the Bl. V. M. This mission is very flourishing, and no less than 60 adults have been baptized during the last eight months, or from the time that the nation has begun to settle on heir lands.[62]

From this flourishing center the Ottawas and Miamis were regularly visited by Father Aelen; the Kickapoo Station was for a time the residence of Father A. Eysvogels, S.J., who also visited Fort Leavenworth, and came, at times, to Liberty and Plattsburg. We regret very much that we cannot here give a full account of the Jesuit labors among the Indians of the old Indian Territory until its erection into a Vicariate under Bishop John B. Miege, S.J., in 1851, who, by the way, took up his residence at the Pottawotomie Mission.

The question may arise why these Indian missions were not as successful as similar efforts in South and Central America and in California. One reason is to be found in the frequent wanderings of these tribes; and their gradual extirpation through the greed of their white neighbors. Had the Jesuit missionaries of the West been allowed to pursue their plans without let or hindrance, or, better still, had they received the undivided support of the government in the work of Christianization, these numerous and once powerful tribes would now form

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[61] J. G. She *History of the Catholic Mission*, among the Indian Tribes, p. 464.

[62] Archives of St. Louis and Diocesan Chancery.

large and prosperous communities on our Western prairies. But Catholic efforts were not supported as they should have been, nay, were often antagonized by government under some specious plea or another. Our Catholic people, too, were not as earnest in this great work as might have been expected of them. Other interests seemed to be more urgent. Father Verhaegen, in his appeal to the Council, complains of this lack of means:

> The prospect of these different missions with respect to the salvation of souls is such as to animate the missioner with the greatest courage in the midst of privation and labor. But we cannot conceal fro mthe prelates of the Council, who have placed these missions under our care, that their successful continuance depends upon other encouragement or support than the sweat of the laborers. These missions have hitherto been kept up by remittances from Europe, namely, from the Association of France and from friends in Belgium and Holland, and also by a small annual allowance made by the government—the last, however, is not extended to the establishment at Council Bluffs. These resources are precarious, it may indeed be said, that they nearly failed during the last year. It then becomes a most important question, what shall be done for the continuance of the Indian missions? We leave to the wisdom of the Council to devise the means for the promotion of this great object. In conclusion we submit a statement of the expenses of one mission, that of Council Bluffs, since its commencement.[63]

Yet, in spite of all these difficulties, great good has been attained, especially at the mission on Sugar Creek, and then among the Indians of the Rocky Mountains, made famous to that heroic soul, Father Peter De Smet, S.J., of St. Louis, the founder of the Oregon Missions beyond the Rocky Mountains.

JOHN ROTHENSTEINER.

[63] Verhaegen, l. c.

NOTES ON
SISTER MARY THEONELLA HITE
AND HER FAMILY[1]

There are but few old Virginia families which for romantic interest surpass that of the Hites, the founder of which was Baron Hans Joist Heydt (as the name was originally spelled), an Alsatian noble who, to escape religious persecution, early in the eighteenth century fled to Holland, and there married Anna Maria Du Bois, daughter of a Huguenot refugee.

Baron Hans, having heard of the wonderful possibilities of the New World, fitted out two vessels, "The Swift" and "The Friendship," and with his own family and about forty other colonists set sail from Strassburg. He arrived in New York in 1710, and purchasing a large tract of land on the Schuylkill in Pennsylvania, there remained the patriarch of his little colony until in 1734, he acquired the original Van Mater tract of 40,000 acres in the Shenandoah Valley, Virginia, whither he removed. By an additional purchase of 100,000 acres, he became one of the largest landowners in all Virginia, second indeed only to the Fairfaxes, with whom, by the way, he was destined to be engaged in a long and costly litigation. He died about the year 1760, leaving a numerous progeny.

Of his sons, the eldest, Captain Jacob Hite, of New Hopewell, near Leetown, High Sheriff, Justice of Berkeley County and officer of County Militia, was engaged for some years in securing settlers in Europe for the lands owned by his father. For this purpose he made frequent trips to Ireland in his own vessel, and on one of these trips met and married in Dublin, Miss Catherine O'Bannon.

By this marriage he became the father of Colonel Thomas Hite (1750-1779); of John, whose daughter, Catherine, married Theodoric

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[1] St. Louis readers will find interest in these *Notes* when they remember that Sister Theonella was a relative of Mrs. Mary Ann Malvina (Hite) Boisliniere (1826-1902) wife of Dr. Louis Chêrot Boisliniere (1816-1896) of St. Louis, the parents of Marie Xavier Charlotte, wife of Laurence Vincent Cartan. Other convert relatives of this family well known to St. Louisans were: Mrs. Eleanora Nelson (Guest) Semmes (1820-1875) wife of Samuel Middleton Semmes (1811-1867), and daughter of Jonathan Guest and Mary Stoughton Hite Gantt, daughter of John Hite, and granddaughter of Captain Jacob Hite and Catherine O'Bannon, mentioned in the article. Mrs. Semmes was the sister of Commodore John Guest (1821-1879) of the U. S. Navy, who also entered the Church.

Lee, son of "Light Horse Harry" Lee; of Jacob O'Bannon, slain by the Indians in 1776; of Elizabeth, wife of Colonel Tavener Beale, Jr., (son by a previous marriage of Jacob Hite's second wife, Fanny (Madison Beale Hite, aunt of President Madison); and of Mary who married clergymen. On the death of his Irish-born wife, Captain Jacob Hite married Fanny (Madison) Beale (1726-1776) widow of Colonel Tavener Beale, Sr., aunt of President Madison.

Due to some disagreement with his family, Captain Jacob Hite early in the year 1776, leaving his son George at William and Mary College to finish his education, removed to South Carolina, where in July following, he with his wife and several children was slain by the Indians, they having being instigated to this atrocious act by British agents who resented his espousal of the cause of the Revolutionists. Two of his daughters, Frances Madison[2] and Eleanor, were taken captive by the Indians and carried to Florida. Frances Madison, in attempting to make her escape was tomahawked; her sister, Eleanor, was later ransomed by Captain Johnson of the British Army, but she lived only long enough to reach the settlement at Pensacola, where she died and lies buried.

George Hite (died 1817) who, as we have seen, was at the time of the massacre of his family a student at William and Mary College, after finishing his education, served as a Captain in the Revolution, and was afterward first clerk of Jefferson County. He married, in 1780, Deborah, daugtner of Colonel Robert Rutherford[3] (1728-1803) and Mary (Dobbin) Howe Rutherford[4] of "Flowing Spring," on the James River.

To Captain George and Deborah (Rutherford) Hite was born on February 17, 1793, a daughter whom they named Margaret. She was one of six children, one son and five daughters. Little is definitely known concerning her early life beyond the statement in the Gorgetown Convent Annals to the effect that "her parents took great pains to

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[2] She is often confused with her mother, notably by the author of "The Fate of Frances Madison," who there states that the wife of Jacob Hite was not slain by the Indians but taken captive and later ransomed. The confusion is due to the fact that the daughter bore the given names of her mother. Colonel Isaac Hite (her brother-in-law) distinctly states in his diary that Frances Madison Beale Hite was slain by the Indians along with her husband and several children in July, 1776.

[3] Colonel Robert Rutherford was a native of Scotland who settled on an estate which he namd "Flowing Spring," on the James River, Jefferson County, Virginia. He was a member of the House of Burgesses as early as 1758, and of the Continental Congress. He was an intimate friend of General Washington, who was wont to address him in letters as "My dear Robin."

[4] Widow of Viscount George Augustus Howe (1724-1758) who came to this country in command of a British regiment, was promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General and in 1758 served under Abercrombie at Ticonderoga where he met his death. He was the brother of Rt. Hon. Richard Earl Howe (1725-1799), Rear-Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of the British Naval Forces, and of Sir William Howe (1729-1814), successor to Gage as commander-in-chief of British military forces in America and who, in 1777, defeated Washington at the Battle of Brandywine.

bring up their children in the fear of God and to instill into their hearts upright principles; and the children seconded their parents' pious exertions."

In 1825, Margaret accompanied her brother, Robert, to Washington, where she made the acquaintance of a devout Catholic family (whose name has not come down to us), through whose exemplary life she at length became attracted to their religion. After much prayer and study she at last was given the great grace of conversion. Following her baptism in 1827, she entered the Visitation Convent at Georgetown. She pronounced her vows on the Feast of S. Jane Frances de Chantal, August 21, 1828, receiving the name of Sister Mary Theonella.

The Georgetown Annals speak of her characteristic virtues as having been "purity of intention and willing obedience," in her long and arduous service as Infirmarian, Dispensor and teacher of various classes. She yielded up her pure soul to God on December 27, 1845, after eighteen years in religion. The night before she died she said to those around her bedside, "Since I have known God, I have served Him in the best manner I know."

It is extremely interesting to trace the relationship existing between Sister Theonella and six of the Presidents of the United States. Her paternal grandmother, Frances (Madison) Beale Hite, was the daughter of Colonel Ambrose and Frances (Taylor) Madison, the grandparents of President James Madison. Now Frances (Taylor) Madison was in turn the daughter of Colonel James and Martha (Thompson) Taylor, the common ancestors of Presidents Madison, Taylor, Tyler, the two Harrisons, and of Mrs. Jefferson Davis. Again, Frances (Taylor) Madison was the sister of President Zachary Taylor's grandfather. To still further connect her with the Presidents, we have only to recall that Sister Theonella's half-brother, Colonel Thomas Hite, married Frances Madison Beale, daughter by a previous marriage of his stepmother, Frances Madison Beale Hite (President Madison's aunt); that her grand-uncle, Major Isaac Hite (1758-1836) married as his first wife, Eleanor Conway Madison (1783-1802) sister of President James Madison; that her grand-aunt, Elizabeth (Madison) Willis, (another aunt of President Madison,) married Richard Beale, brother of Colonel Travener Beale, Sr.; that her half-niece, Frances Hite (daughter of her half-brother, Colonel Thomas Hite) married Thomas Carver Willis, who were the grandparents of Nathaniel Willis who married Jennie, daughter of John Augustine Washington of Mount Vernon, and of Emma, wife of Bushrod Washington of Clamont Court, nephews of General George Washington.

Sister Theonella's only brother, Major Robert Hite, married Courtney Ann Briscoe, of a family closely allied to that of the two Presidents Harrison. Finally ,she was the aunt of George Flagg (son of her sister, Susan, and of John R. Flagg) husband of Elizabeth, daughter of Richard and Christine (Washington) Washington, granddaughter of Samuel Washington of Harewood, and the niece of General George Washington.

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Still another Catholic relative of Sister Theonella must be mentioned: Mrs. Sarah Pearce Vick, who bore a papal title. She was the wife of Henry William Vick, of Vicksburg, Miss., and the daughter of James Pearce and Anne Clark. Her grandparents were General Jonathan Clark (1750-1811) of the Continental Army, and Sarah Hite. Jonathan Clark was the brother of General George Rogers Clark (1752-1818) and of General William Clark (1770-1838), Governor of Missouri. Sarah Hite Clark was the daughter of Colonel Isaac Hite (1723-1795) of "Long Meadows," the son of Baron Hans Joist Hite, founder of the family in Virginia. Her brother, Major Isaac Hite (1758-1836) married as his first wife, Eleanor Conway Madison (1783-1802) sister of President James Madison. Mrs. Jonathan Clark's uncle, Captain Jacob Hite, was the grandfather of Sister Mary Theonella Hite.

Authorities: "Hite Family," in *"Colonial Families of the United States,"* by Mackenzie, Vol. I (1896), pp. 185-203; Va. Hist. Mag. Vol. LV., (1896); *"The Fate of Frances Madison,"* Va. Hist. Mag. Vol. IV, pp. 463-'4; *"Diary of Colonel Isaac Hite,"* William and Mary Quart., Vol. VIII., p. 123; *"Madison Family Record,"* William and Mary Quart., Vol. IX (1901), p. 39; *"Memorandum from Note-Book of Major Isaac Hite, Jr."* William and Mary Quart., Vo. X., (1902), pp. 120-'1; County Histories of Virginia and Kentucky; History of Jefferson County, Va., (1886); data from Georgetown Convent Annals through courtesy of Sister Superior.

SCANNELL O'NEILL.

DIARY OF THE JOURNEY OF THE SISTERS OF ST. JOSEPH TO TUCSON, ARIZ. (1870)

Early in the year 1870 Right Reverend J. B. Salpointe applied for the Sisters of St. Joseph for the missions in Arizona. Reverend Mother Saint-John Facemaz, then Superior General of the Congregation of Carondelet, hesitated some time before accepting the offer. She placed before the Sisters the dangers of the long journey, and finally, from among the many who volunteered she selected seven. During the spring of 1870 every preparation was made for the perilous undertaking, and the Sisters left Carondelet in the middle of April (1870), reaching Tucson May 26.

Reverend Mother and Dear Sisters:

Before leaving Carondelet I promised to write a *Journal* of our trip to Arizona. It seems to me that the fulfillment of this promise is almost out of date. You know we had scarcely time to brush the dust off our habits before opening school; consequently, I was obliged to defer writing the events of our trip until vacation, and I would not have the courage even now to commence it, were it not that Sister Euphrasia is reminding me continually. I have time now, it is true, but not capacity for such a task. Nevertheless, I shall do the best I can, relying on the kind indulgence of our good Sisters.

April 20, 1870. After bidding adieu to our good Sisters in Carondelet, we started on our long and perilous journey to Arizona. Our first two stations were St. Joseph's and St. Bridget's Asylums, St. Louis, Missouri, where we were cordially greeted by our good Sisters. We wished them good-bye, repaired to the Pacific Railroad depot, and took the train at 6 P. M. direct to Kansas City. Puff! puff! went the locomotive, and we were off really on our way to Arizona. As the Sisters travel this portion of our journey, I shall not describe it; but it is certainly true that none of them ever went over it with the sadness of heart which we experienced on that ever memorable night. We were going, but not to return in vacation to make the retreat with our dear Sisters. Mother Julia will not call on us when visiting her Province. It is quite probable that we may never again meet here below; and it is only when this thought occurs to me that I know how deeply I love them. Oh! the incomprehensible beauty of our holy Faith! How con-

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soling to know with an infallible certainty that we are accompishing the will of God, with an assured hope of being reunited in our Heavenly Country to those beloved ones whom we have left here below for the love of Jesus and the salvation of souls. With these and similar reflections we passed the first night until we reached Kansas City.

Thursday, April 21, 1870. We were kindly welcomed by our good Sisters, and had the pleasure of meeting there Mother Agatha, who had been sick, but was now better. We spent the day quite pleasantly. It soon became once more our duty to say good-bye; but we were much encouraged on hearing that Reverend Mother Saint John had concluded to accompany us as far as Omaha, Nebraska. We took the train at 7 P. M., and as the cars were new and clean and but moderately filled, we were comfortably seated. We changed during the night—and it was indeed a change in every respect, as the cars were filled with emigrants, crying children, etc. In this crowd we spent the remainder of our second night.

April 22, 1870. In the morning we refreshed ourselves with a nice cup of coffee, then proceeded on our journey. The weather was cool and pleasant. An Indian boy played the violin for the entertainment of the passengers. Reverend Mother treated us to apples and maple sugar, and presented us with little statues of our Blessed Mother as souvenirs; but in spite of all, there was a sad cloud hanging over us. It was not surprising, for we were to part from Reverend Mother in a few hours, and that, perhaps, forever in this world. As in similar difficulties, we had recourse to our good Father, St. Joseph. We were detained about two hours after time. We feared that the San Francisco train would wait for us, as we wished it to be gone; for then we could remain one day more with Reverend Mother. As we approached Omaha some of us were crying and others praying; but all were looking eagerly to see if the train was there. We did not wait long, as a messenger came with the welcome news that the train had just left. "Thanks be to God," escaped from each one's lips, and was in every heart. We then went to the Convent of the Sisters of Mercy, where we received a most cordial welcome from those good Sisters. We remained there until the next morning.

Saturday, April 23, 1870. After we had the consolation of hearing Mass and receiving the Bishop's blessing we went to the depot. Reverend Mother and Sister Lucina accompanied us. Reverend Mother procured our tickets, refreshments and other conveniences for the journey. The dreaded moment of parting had almost arrived. That moment we shall never forget! We were all seated in the cars when she came in with her little purchases, and at the same time to say "good-bye." We lost all self-control, and after she left us, wept bitterly, our eyes following her until she entered the carriage and drove out of sight. The Arizona missionaries had made their first great sacrifice in leaving their dear

Mother. The same day we passed through the beautiful valley of the La Platte, took supper at Clarks, 121 miles from Omaha. Sister Ambrosia and I went out to purchase some tea. We received it as an alms, and with it several mortifications. The cars were so crowded that night we were unable to sleep.

Sunday, April 24, 1870. We breakfasted at Sydney, 414 miles from Omaha. From this place onward the scenery was very interesting, and the conversation of our fellow-travellers amusing. In our car were four Protestant ministers with their ladies, on their way to China to convert those benighted idolators. There were almost as many religious denominations represented as were persons in the car. Whether owing to our presence or not, religion was the principal topic of conversation throughout the entire journey. Everyone maintained his own opinion, and proved it from the Bible, agreeing in one point that "Catholicity is abominable." When the controversy reached its highest point, an elderly respectable-looking gentleman came over to us and handed one of the Sisters a five-dollar bill, proffering his services to us as far as San Francisco. He stated that he was not a Catholic, but had great respect for the Sisters, as he knew them to be "angels of mercy," and that he regarded it a great privilege to serve them when it was in his power. One of the Sisters gave him a small medal of the Blessed Virgin. He hung it on his watch chain, and said that he would keep it as long as he lived. This afternoon we entered the Rocky range, passed through Sherman at an elevation of 8242 feet, the highest point on the line; also the highest point crossed by the railroad. It is a frightful and desolate region, nothing to be seen but snow-clad mountains of rock, whose summits appear to touch the clouds. The cars pass over frightful chasms. The rails are laid on logs resting on pillars whose only support are the craggy rocks beneath. Some of these chasms seem to be about the length of three city blocks. When we were going over these places everyone appeared to hold his breath, and it was only when we were safe on firm ground that conversation was resumed and comments made on the terrors and perils of the place. I chanced to be sleeping when crossing one of these places. Sister Martha woke me, telling me to "wake up and take note of this beautiful scenery." When I saw where we were, sleep forsook me immediately. I was really terrified. The Sisters enjoyed the scenery very much. This night, like the preceding one, we passed with little sleep.

Monday, April 25, 1870. We took breakfast at Green River, 845 miles from Omaha. At Byrne we met Sister Andrew's brother, Mr. Byrne, and delivered the little messages of his sister. At 5 o'clock we passed the "thousand-mile tree," so called from its being just 1000 miles from Omaha. It stands at the entrance to the "Devil's Gate," a very appropriately named place, with lofty mountains rising on each side of the track. The railroad winds through a narrow pass in the mountain, at the base of which the Weber River, an angry-looking

stream, dashes along with frightful impetuosity. We crossed it eight times within the space of a quarter of an hour. It is probably from this difficulty in crossing that it has received its name. We changed cars at Ogden, a Mormon town of about 6000 inhabitants. It lies between the Weber and Ogden Rivers, thirty-one miles north of Salt Lake City, 1032 miles from Omaha. Many of the Mormon houses are built like the tenement houses of the States; others are in groups of small houses in the yard. The Mormons are a degraded-looking set of people. Perhaps it is prejudice that makes me think so. Here we had the pleasure of meeting with kind friends in the persons of Mr. Doebeck and lady of San Francisco, who did everything they could to make us comfortable. About sunset we passed Salt Lake. The railroad runs along its margin. The city is a beautiful place. On the left are flower gardens, shade and fruit trees covered with dense foliage, which relieve the scene on the right—barren mountains and bleak rocks, presenting in all a lonely prospect.

Tuesday, April 26, 1870. Breakfast at Elco, 1307 miles from Omaha. The morning was warm and pleasant. There were a great many Indians at the depot. We threw them candy, and it was really amusing to see these poor old creatures grabbing for it in the dust. Mr. Doebeck occasionally sent us apples, oranges and candy. At noon we stopped at Battle Mountain, where we met Reverend Father Kelly, pastor of Austin, Nevada. He invited us to dinner, which, indeed, we needed badly; but Mother was afraid to leave the carpet bags, etc., so he had her dinner sent in. At supper Sister Martha was rather indisposed, and the good priest brought her supper to the car. He was extremely kind. When we retired at night the heat was as oppressive as that of a St. Louis July; the morning was as cold as a Canadian March. In several places the railroad is protected by sheds to prevent the snow from blocking the track.

Wednesday, April 27, 1870. About 6 o'clock we passed a place called Cape Horn. It is an ugly, dreary place. The railroad track runs alongside of a mountain that rises on the right and left. About five or six feet from the track there is a precipice said to be 300 feet deep, which extends about a mile along the railroad. On the opposite side of this precipice are mountains from whose sides issue several streams flowing into the chasm beneath, where, uniting, they rush along with awe-inspiring impetuosity. At 8 o'clock we reached the California gold diggings. They are subterranean, consequently we did not see them. We dined at Colfax with Reverend Father Kelly, who now took a fatherly care of us. We here parted from him, and in bidding us farewell, he presented us with a five-dollar gold piece, with strict injunctions to telegraph to him in case we needed any funds, as he would not fail to supply them. He gave us an introductory letter to Reverend Hugh Gallagher, San Francisco, who rendered us important services while we were there. Father Kelly said that he would apply for a colony of our Sisters for Salt Lake City, were it not that he purposed

leaving the mission to enter the Congregation of the Lazarists. He is the first pastor of the mission, and has been there fifteen years. At 7 o'clock P. M. we reached San Francisco. Mr. Doebeck saw us to the bus, and attended to our baggage, but, owing to some mistake in the address, we did not reach the hospital until 9 o'clock P. M. We presented a beautiful sight after our week's journey without arranging our toilet—the distance from Omaha to San Francisco being 1914 miles. We were received most cordially by the good Sisters of Mercy, who did all in their power to make us comfortable. We were sadly in need of rest, as we were completely dizzy from the motion of the cars.

April 28, 1870. Reverend Mother Gabriel took us to visit the Magdalen Asylum in the country. Mother was rather indisposed and did not accompany us. Sister Martha remained with her. The Sisters at the asylum were extremely kind to us. They wished to load us with provisions for our journey; but as we were inexperienced in these matters, we did not think we would need them, and accepted only a few knickknacks just to please them. We were heartily sorry when hungry in the desert that we had not accepted their offering. We shall ever feel grateful to those good Sisters who proved to us "friends in need," and lavished so much kindness on us.

Saturday, April 30, 1870. The good Sisters sent us to the boat in their carriage. We took passage on the steamer *Arizola*.. Captain Johnson, with his officers, treated us with every mark of respect and kindness. Mother was quite seasick and scarcely able to sit up until Monday. In the afternoon Sisters Euphrasia and Martha were seasick, but were well the next day.

Sunday, May 8, 1870. With the exception of these little occurrences we had a pleasant trip to San Diego, where we arrived on Tuesday morning, May 3. We stopped at a boarding house until Saturday, May 7, when we left in a private conveyance for Fort Yuma. The carriage was too small for all to ride inside, so one was obliged to ride outside with the driver. Sister Ambrosia volunteered to make the great act of mortification and humility. It is beyond description what we suffered in riding 200 miles in a country like this, without protection from the rays of a tropical sun. Yet, poor Sister did this! About 10 o'clock we passed a white post that marks the southwest boundary of the United States. We dropped a few tears at sight of it, then entered Lower California. At noon we halted and took lunch in a stable 12 miles from San Diego. Sister Maxima and I went in search of gold. Seeing quantities of it we proposed getting a sack and filling it. Just think a *sack* of gold! But we soon learned from experience that "all is not gold that glitters." We camped about sunset at the foot of a mountain, made some tea, and took our supper off a rock. All were cheerful. We wished Reverend Mother could see us at supper. After offering thanks to the Giver of all good, we retired to rest; Mother,

Sisters Euphrasia and Martha under the wagon, others in the wagon, where there was room for only two to lie down. Sister Euphrasia and I sat in a corner and tried to sleep. We had scarcely closed our eyes when the wolves began to howl around us. We were terribly frightened and recommended ourselves to the safekeeping of Him who guides the weary traveller on his way. We feared that they would consume our little store of provisions and thus let us perish in the wilderness; but the driver told us not to fear. During the night Sister Euphrasia was startled from her sleep by one of the horses licking her face. She screamed fearfully and we concluded that she was a prey to wolves. Next morning (May 9), Feast of the Patronage of our Holy Father, St. Joseph, we were determined to celebrate it in the best way we could. After offering up our prayers, we formed a procession, going in advance of the wagon, Mother walking in front with a Spanish lily in her hand. We followed in solemn order, imagining ourselves in Egypt with St. Joseph as leader. At noon we came to a cool, shady place, in which we rested. The ranchman (a person who keeps refreshments, stable-feed, etc., on the Western plains), invited us to dinner. He offered us a good meal of all we could desire. There were several ranchmen there from the neighboring stations, but no women. There are few women in this country. After dinner they became sociable. We retired to the stable, where our driver and only protector was, and they followed. Some of them proposed marriage to us, saying we would do better by accepting the offer than by going to Tucson, for we would be all massacred by the Indians. The simplicity and earnestness with which they spoke, put indignation out of the question, as it was evident that they meant no insult, but our good. They were all native Americans. For that afternoon we had amusement enough. We resumed our journey. That evening we camped in a very damp place, made some tea, the only beverage we had. We then offered up our evening prayers and retired to rest. Mother, Sister Ambrosia, Sister Maxima and I mounted a rock; the other three went to the wagon. The night was very cold. I believe there was frost. We had only one blanket between seven of us. Sister Martha and I had only light summer shawls. The others were fortunate enough to have brought their winter ones along. Yet, we all kept up good spirits, being convinced that we were doing the Divine will.

Monday, May 9, 1870. We spent the day climbing up and down hills. In the evening we reached the ever-memorable place, "Mountain Springs," the entrance to the American Desert. For several miles the road is up and down mountains. We were obliged to travel it on foot. At the highest point it is said to be 4000 feet above the level of the sea. We were compelled to stop here to breathe. Some of the Sisters laid down on the roadside, being unable to proceed farther. Besides this terrible fatigue, we suffered still more from thirst. Before proceeding further, I shall give you a brief description of the place. We were going south; before us lay the American Desert, forty miles long, 800

feet below the level of the sea. It is said to have once formed a portion of the ocean. It has every appearance of having been covered with water. On the right lies a great salt lake, supposed to have been a part of the ocean, which, being hemmed in by mountains, could not recede with the other water. On the left arise ugly mountains of volcanic rock and red sand. I wished Sister Euphrasia to make a sketch of it, but she said it was not necessary to do it then, as she would never forget its appearance. After a few moments' rest we commenced to descend. We were so much fatigued that it seemed as if our limbs were dislocated. We had yet two miles to descend on foot, the greater part being very steep. We joined hands, two by two, and ran as well as we could. It was certainly a novel sight to see the Sisters alone crossing that lonely mountain in the wilderness. The sides of the road were covered with teams of horses, oxen and cattle that had dropped dead trying to ascend. In one place we counted fourteen oxen which had apparently died at the same time. When Mother saw so many dead animals she wept, fearing we might share their fate. We reassembled at the foot of the mountain and paused to breathe. Everyone had something to remark about the place we had just passed. Sister Maxima said it was "the abomination of desolation." The carriage overtook us there, but we continued on foot, as it was yet too dangerous to ride, though we had quite a distance to go before we could take the conveyance. We travelled as fast as we could, in order to reach a ranch.

Before nightfall the travellers reached a ranch, where they were accommodated for the night, though with much discomfort to all.

May 10, 1870. We started this morning at 5 o'clock and entered the desert. It is a vast bed of sand. Travel over it is rendered dangerous on account of the sandstorms. We were told that about a month previous to our crossing there was found a government wagon loaded with firearms which had been forwarded several months before, and a stage coach with seven passengers all buried in the sand. The sand is a good conductor, consequently the heat is extreme. When the sun is at meridian height, the sand is hot enough to blister. In one place we passed a drove of horned cattle said to contain a thousand head. Everyone died of heat the same day. Another place we passed the remains of 1500 sheep, smothered in a sandstorm. In several places the sand is so deep that we were obliged to walk. We could get water only in one place, and when we did get it it was not only hot but so full of mineral that we suffered more after taking it than before. We travelled till noon, then rested until 4 P. M. Recommending our journey to our Heavenly Father, we travelled until midnight. It was then cool and pleasant; the sun shone brightly; we rode and walked alternately. We sang hymns all the time and imagined St. Joseph in our company, protecting us as he did the Infant Jesus and His Blessed Mother through the Egyptian Desert. Thus we felt no fear.

At midnight they reached a ranch where they were kindly received and accommodated until the following evening. They travelled during the night, and at 3 o'clock on the morning of May 12. reached another ranch. The proprietor offered them the use of the barroom, which they declined, preferring a large barn near by. There were 40 Indian men at this ranch, who treated the Sisters with great kindness and respect. Everything was done to make them comfortable until evening, when they resumed their journey.

Friday, May 13, 1870. About 7 o'clock A. M. we left Lower California and entered Arizona. We crossed the Colorado River about 9 o'clock on what they term here a towboat, which, however, is nothing but a raft. We were obliged to go over in a carriage, as they did not wish to cross over a second time. There were four spirited horses. Two men held them by the bridle; and as there was nothing on the opposite side to which the raft could be fastened, two men stood on the opposite bank, holding it with ropes. As the horses sprang forward, the raft floated back. At this, one of the horses fell on the raft, which is the only thing that saved us from a watery grave. The weight of the horse prevented the carriage from rolling into the river. There stood the carriage with the Sisters hanging over a depth of 17 feet of water. I saw the danger before it happened and jumped from the carriage. We barely escaped being drowned and ending our mission and finishing our crown before reaching Arizon. But our Lord did not wish it. We must labor longer and assist in cultivating this barren portion of His vineyard. At 10 o'clock we reached Arizona City, or Fort Yuma, where we received a most cordial welcome from good Father Francisco, V. G. of Tucson. We remained here three days, and had the inexpressible consolation of assisting at the Holy Sacrifice and receiving our dear Lord in Holy Communion, which imbued us with new strength and courage for the remainder of our journey. We had the pleasure of hearing a Spanish sermon for the first time. We were lodged with a good Mexican family. As some of our Sisters may be going here at some future day, a brief description of the place may not prove uninteresting. It is located at the junction of the Colorado and Gila Rivers, being much more conveniently situated than Tucson. It is said to be the hottest place in the United States, but has the advantage of having plenty of fresh water. Sandstorms are of frequent occurrence. The population, consisting of Mexicans and Americans, numbers about 4000, the latter having the majority. No schools have yet been established. They offered $200 per month if two of the Sisters would remain for a year, but were told by Father Francisco to first build a convent. The majority of the buildings are of adobe (sun-dried brick). Lumber is very scarce and difficult to procure. There is but one Catholic Church. The first pastor, who was one of the priests that accompanied the Bishop to Carondelet, was appointed last May. The soil is fertile, but, owing to continual drought, agriculture is confined to those parts where irrigation is practicable. There is an almost inexhaustible supply of firewood. The Indians in the vicinity are peaceable.

Tuesday, May 17, 1870. We left this place at sunrise and travelled till noon. The remainder of the journey was quite pleasant, as we had a comfortable, covered carriage, good Father Francisco to guard us, a plentiful supply of provisions, etc., and a cook to prepare our meals. From this time forward we had our regular meals—good ones, too—far better than we had expected in such a wilderness. We had a tent to sleep under, but as it was rather warm some of us slept in the wagon on the seats. We travelled until 10 o'clock P. M.

Wednesday, May 18, 1870. We started early in the morning and stopped at noon on the banks of the Gila. We travelled 200 miles along this stream, and took supper at a ranch, where we remained during the night.

Thursday, May 19, 1870. When we were about to resume our journey, Mother started in advance of us for a walk. On coming to a place where the roads crossed she took the wrong direction. After a short interval, not perceiving any trace of her, we became alarmed for her safety. Father and Sister Ambrosia immediately started in pursuit. When the driver descried her in the distance, he ran as fast as possible in order to overtake her; and she, on perceiving a man running after her, ran, too, with all her might. After her return, Father put her in penance by making her ride in his carriage. Sister Martha accompanied her. We rested from 12 M. till 3 P. M., and then continued our journey until 8 P. M.

May 20, 1870. At 6 A. M. we resumed our journey and came to a ranch about noon. The proprietor treated us very kindly and presented us with some canned fruit, and a new towel for our journey, which we resumed until 7 o'clock P. M., when we camped for the night, suffering much from the cold.

Saturday, May 21, 1870. We started on our way at 4 P. M. and passed many recently made graves of persons who had been killed by the Indians. One of these, we were informed, contained the remains of a father, mother and five children. These burial places looked so sadly neglected. The wolves had even made holes in them. The desolate, lonely places in which these poor creatures were laid to rest, and still more their melancholy and frightful death cast a damper over our spirits, as we had no certainty of not meeting the same fate. And yet, why should we be sad? Did we not risk our lives for the love of Jesus, and would it not be glorious to have the happiness of dying for Him? But poor nature is weak; and though in spirit we coveted the privilege of so glorious an end, yet our frail, earthly bodies shrank from so trying an ordeal. We passed at night the Indians' place of worship. It is a natural construction of huge, immovable rocks, on which they have cut the figures of their gods. They were various planets, different animals of the forest, and even reptiles. The figures appear to be well

made and are quite interesting to look at. Oh, how my heart burned to make them know the true and only God! We camped about 8 o'clock and took our supper by brush light, as usual.

Sunday, May 22, 1870. We had a lamb this morning for breakfast. We called it our Passover. After offering up our prayers and placing ourselves with confidence under the protection of Heaven we resumed our journey at rather an advanced hour of the day under the rays of a scorching sun, the average heat in the shade being 125 degrees. We reached a ranch at noon, and were accommodated with a room, where we enjoyed the luxury of a good wash and change of clothing. We dined at 3 o'clock, and after getting a supply of fresh water for the journey we started at 6 P. M. We entered the Arizona Desert, travelled all night, and were so much fatigued that almost everyone fell asleep, the driver permitting the horses to go at will. Father and his driver slept so soundly that Sister Martha was obliged to drive nearly all night. At 8 A. M. we refreshed ourselves with a cup of coffee, and journeyed on until 2:30 P. M., when we were out of the desert.

May 23, 1870. We took dinner at 5 P. M. and lodged at the house of a generous-hearted Irishman, Mr. Cosgrove. Whenever we had the good fortune to come across Irish or Mexicans we were sure of meeting with a cordial reception and of finding in them all the characteristics of true friends.

Tuesday, May 24, 1870. We started early, entering upon the most dangerous portion of our journey, as we were in danger of being attacked and massacred by the savages at any moment; but placing ourselves in the hands of Providence, to whom we had consecrated our lives, we courageously advanced, feeling assured that His all-seeing eye would protect His chosen ones from danger—at all events, that whatever would befall us would be in accordance with His most holy will. When we stopped at noon, there was no room for us in the inn, so that we had not even a tree to shelter us from the burning rays of a tropical sun. The ruins of some old buildings were near. Mother and Sister Martha went there to rest and fell asleep. A troop of nude Indians, who are peaceable, came in the meantime. They had the consideration to be quiet and let them sleep. Sister Martha was resting on an old cowhide. A warrior, perceiving her, stole softly up and sat down beside her. The rest of the Sisters were in the wagon, while I employed myself in washing some handkerchiefs and amused myself by taking notes for my *Journal*. Father and the boy prepared dinner, after which we resumed our journey. About 4 P. M. we passed the Valley of the Pima Indians. Their dwellings are constructed of straw and are shaped like a bird's nest, in an inverted position. They vary from four to five feet in height, and have a small hole as a place of entrance. Their costume consists of two pieces of calico or flannel extending to the knees, one piece hanging in front, the other behind.

The young squaws are clothed with the inner bark of trees in the same manner. The old ladies are not so modestly attired. They dress their hair with a mixture of mud and water, which has the double effect of destroying the vermin and keeping the hair in its place. They are a brave-looking tribe, very unlike the poor, timid Indians of the frontier. We camped at 9 o'clock. Whilst partaking of our evening refection sixteen soldiers rode up and informed us that they had been sent to escort some travellers, they knew not whom, and supposed we were the persons, as they saw no others. We conjectured that our good Father, St. Joseph, had sent them to our assistance, though at the time we were not aware of how much we stood in need of their escort. We might in all probability have been massacred by the savages had they not been our safeguard. The Indians are afraid to appear when they hear the soldiers, unless they are sufficiently strong in number to fight them. They continued with us for the remaining seventy-five miles of our journey.

May 25, 1870. While we were at breakfast this morning three of the citizens of Tucson who were a portion of the number appointed to meet us (the others having remained at the next station), rode up. We resumed our journey at 5 P. M. Some miners joined us in order to share our protection. The soldiers followed close in the rear. They had two mules to carry their baggage—one carried the blankets, the other the cooking utensils. We titled them respectively the "chamber-maid" and the "cook." The latter looked quite amusing with pots and pans hanging from each side. At noon we reached the station, where the remainder of the escort from Tucson was awaiting us—sixty-five miles from the city; but as they could speak neither French nor English we did not understand them. At 5 P. M. we set out again. Everyone was in fine spirits, especially the citizens. All passed off pleasantly until midnight, when a serious turn of mind and manner seemed to take possession of each and every one. We were then approaching Picacho Peak, where the Apaches are accustomed to attack travellers. A fearful massacre had been perpetrated there only a week previous. The road winds through a narrow pass in the mountain where the Indians conceal themselves and throw out their poisoned arrows at the passers-by. The place is literally filled with graves, sorrowful monuments of savage barbarity. Each one prepared his firearms, even good Father Francisco. The citizens pressed around our carriage. The soldiers rode about like bloodhounds in search of prey. In passing through the peak the horses began to neigh, which is a sure indication of the proximity of the savages. "The Indians! the Indians!" was echoed from every mouth. Whip and spurs were given to the horses. We went like lightning, the men yelling all the while like so many fiends in order to frighten the savages. The novelty of the scene kept us from being afraid. We travelled in this manner until 4 A. M.

Ascension Thursday, May 26, 1870. When we had passed unharmed through the most dangerous portion of our route, we returned

fervent, heartfelt thanks to our good God for our preservation. After refreshing ourselves with a cup of coffee, we continued our journey until within fifteen miles of Tucson, where we stopped for a short rest. The citizens wished us to remain there all night, as they wished us to enter Tucson in daylight, where a grand reception was in preparation. You see they were quite proud of us. After considerable reasoning they became very enthusiastic over the matter; but Father finally succeeded in obtaining their consent for us to enter that night. Four men went in advance with the joyful tidings of our arrival. We were expected at about 6 o'clock P. M., and were afterwards informed that the ladies and children had stationed themselves on the housetops, being too modest to mix in the crowd with men. At about three miles from the town we were met by the procession, which was headed by four priests on horseback; but as we came in sight they dismounted and ran rather than walked to meet us, the crowd in the meantime discharging firearms. Before we reached the city their number had increased to about 3000, some discharging firearms, others bearing lighted torches in their hands, all walking in order with heads uncovered. The city was illuminated, fireworks in full play. Balls of combustible matter were thrown in the streets through which we passed. At each explosion Sister Euphrasia made the sign of the cross. All the bells in the city were pealing forth their merriest strains. On reaching the convent we found our good Bishop in company with several ladies and gentlemen, awaiting our arrival. The crowd then fired a farewell salute and dispersed. We feel truly grateful to these good people for their kind reception, as it is a convincing testimony of their reverence for our holy Faith. After we had arranged our toilet the ladies ushered us into the refectory, where a nice supper had been prepared for us. They waited on us at supper, and endeavored to make everything as pleasant as possible. When we had finished our repast they departed, leaving us in quiet possession of our new home—"St. Joseph's Convent, Tucson, Arizona." Our first act was to return thanks to our glorious Patriarch, St. Joseph, for preserving us from the many and great dangers to which we had been exposed for love of Jesus and the salvation of souls. Our house is built of adobe or brick dried in the sun—simply mud—and consists of but one story. It adjoins the Cathedral, and one of the chapels thereof serves as our chapel.

Now that we are settled in our new home we trust our good Sisters will continue to pray for us, recommending the success of our mission, our schools and our own spiritual welfare to our dear Lord, to the end that we may labor earnestly to promote His greater glory, and have this alone in view in all our undertakings.

Dear Reverend Mother and Sisters in Christ,

SISTER MONICA OF THE SACRED HEART.[2]

September 17, 1870.

[2] Our readers may be interested to know that Sister Monica, the author of this *Diary*, is still alive and active; she now lives at the Nazareth House of the Community, Jefferson Barracks, St. Louis Co., Mo.

N. B.—The Bishop was never able to find out who had given the order for the soldiers to meet the Sisters. All that the Commandant of the fort could tell was that a very respectable, hasty messenger arrived at the fort, with a request that a detachment be sent immediately to escort some travellers through the dangerous passes.

Three years later, in 1873, Bishop Salpointe stopped at Carondelet on his way to Rome, and made arrangements for three more Sisters for the Arizona Mission. He returned from Rome in the fall, and met the Sisters who were to accompany him, in Kansas City. They left Kansas City December 1st, 1873, reached Denver where they remained until December 9. The Sisters were hospitably entertained by the Sisters of Loretto and the Bishop remained at the home of Bishop Machebeuf. From Denver they went by rail to Kit Carson, Colorado, where they were furnished with a covered wagon and horses for the remainder of the journey. They started for Trinidad by way of Raton Pass, got lost in a snowstorm, but had the good fortune to find a sheep ranch, where two shepherds gave up their hut to the travellers. On December 14 they resumed their journey, reached Trinidad in safety and spent several days with the Sisters of Charity. They arrived at Las Vegas in time to spend the Christmas holidays with the Sisters of Loretto. At Las Vegas the Bishop secured another team of horses, the Sisters of Loretto gave him an old coach for his own use, and, according to the written account, the travellers left Las Vegas "in style." They reached Tucson January 27, 1874.

ORIGIN OF THE CREOLES OF GERMAN DESCENT

J. Hanno Deiler in his book on *"The Settlement of the German Coast of Louisiana"* (Americana Germanica Press, Philadelphia, 1909) defines the term "Creole":

> Creoles are the descendants of the white people who emigrated from Europe to Louisiana during the colonial period, i. e. before 1803; and are properly only those born within the limits of the original territory of Louisiana.

In matters of descent not the language, but the blood is the vital matter, and the blood alone. We must therefore classify the Louisiana Creoles according to the blood of their progenitors and say: There are Creoles of French descent, Creoles of German descent, Creoles of Spanish descent, and still others, for instance, Creoles of Irish descent and Creoles of Scotch descent (H. Deiler ib. p. 116). The descendants of the founders of the "German Coast" and the descendants of all other Germans who came to Louisiana before the year 1803 are the "Creoles of German descent". The first Louisiana Creole was born in Mobile in 1704, the child of a French father, nationality of the mother unknown.

In 1717, under the leadership of the notorious Scottish speculator John Law and in connection with his bank in Paris, the Western Company was formed, called after 1719, "La Compagnie des Indes". This company had grants of land and was expected to realize immense sums by planting and commerce. It received the trade monopoly for twenty-five years, with the right to issue an unlimited number of shares of stock and the privilege not only of giving away land on conditions, but also of selling it outright. For these and other considerations the company obligated itself to bring into the colony during the life of its franchise at least 6,000 white people and 3,000 negroes.

In order to develop the supposedly inexhaustible mineral treasures of Louisiana and the fabulous wealth of its soil, large tracts of land, concessions, were given to such rich men in France as would obligate themselves to bring the necessary number of people from Europe to till the soil, and to work in the mines. One of the largest concessioners was John Law, the president of the company, who caused two concessions to be given to himself. The largest one was on the lower Arkansas River, on the peninsula formed by the Mississippi, White and Arkansas Rivers. His second concession was seven leagues below New Orleans, on the Mississippi River, below English Turn. As a shrewd business man, which he no doubt was, John Law knew that, to make his venture a success, he needed not only money but also

people able and willing to toil for him; and, as he knew from the reports of the former governors how little adapted to agriculture the French colonists had proven themselves, he resolved to engage for his own concessions Germans from the country on both sides of the Rhine, and from Switzerland.

A great agitation was now inaugurated, partly to induce rich people to take shares in the general enterprise and buy land for their own account and partly to entice poor people to become *engagés* (hired field hands). After a while, land was to be given to the poor field hands to enable them also to get rich. About this time, pamphlets in several languages were printed, containing extracts from letters of people who had already settled in Louisiana, and giving glowing descriptions of the country. Such a pamphlet, in German, which, perhaps, came to Louisiana with one of the pioneer families, was found by Hanno Deiler, the historian of the German Coast, about 1884, in a little book shop at New Orleans and was bought by the Fisk Library (v. Deiler p. 12). It was printed at Leipsic in 1720.

German historians state that, as a result of this agitation, 10,000 Germans emigrated to Louisiana. This seems a rather large number of people to be enticed by the promoter's promises to leave their fatherland and emigrate to a distant country; but we must consider the pitiable condition under which these people lived at home. No part of Germany had suffered more through the terrible "Thirty Years' War" (1618-1648), than the country on the Rhine and especially the Palatinate. After the Thirty Years' War came the dreadful period of Louis XIV; the Palatinate, on both sides of the Rhine, was devastated in a most frightful manner. Never before were such barbarous deeds perpetrated as by Turenne, Melac and other French generals in the Palatinate. Whether French troops invaded Germany or Germans marched against the French, it was always the Palatinate and the other countries on the Rhine that suffered most through war and its fearful consequences: pestilence, famine and, often also, religious persecution.

The people on the Rhine had at last lost courage, and, as in 1709 and 1710, at the time of the great famine, 15,000 inhabitants of the Palatine had listened to the English agents and had gone down the Rhine to England to seek passage for the English colonies in America; so they were again only too eager to listen to the Louisiana promoter, promising them peace, political and religious freedom and wealth in the New World. So they went forth, not only from the Palatinate, but also from Alsace Lorraine, Baden, Wuertemberg, the electorates of Mayence and Treves and even from Switzerland, some of whose sons were already serving in the Swiss regiments of Halwyl and Karer, sent to Louisiana by France.

Only a small portion of these 10,000 Germans ever reached the shores of Louisiana. We read that the roads leading to the French ports of embarkation were covered with Germans, but that many broke down on their journey from hardships and privations. In the French ports, moreover, where no preparations had been made for the care of so many strangers, and where, while waiting for the departure of the vessels, the emigrants lay crowded together for months, and were in-

sufficiently fed, diseases broke out among them and carried off many. Then came the great loss of human life on the voyage across the sea. Such a voyage often lasted several months, long stops being made at San Domingo, where the people were exposed to infection from tropical diseases. When even strong and healthy people succumbed to diseases brought on by the privations and hardships of such a voyage, by the miserable fare, by the lack of drinking water and disinfectants, and by the terrible odors in the ship's hold,—how must these emigrants have fared, weakened as they were from their journey through France and from sickness in the French ports? At one time only forty Germans landed in Louisiana of 200 who had gone on board; one author speaks of 200 Germans who landed out of 1,200 (H. Deiler ib. p. 16).

Sickness and starvation, however, were not the only dangers of the emigrant of those days. At that time the buccaneers, who had been driven from Yucatan by the Spaniards, in 1717, were yet in the Gulf of Mexico and pursued European vessels because these, in addition to emigrants, usually carried large quantities of provisions, arms, ammunition and money. Many a vessel that plied between France and Louisiana was never heard of again. In 1721 a French ship with "300 very sick Germans" on board was captured by bucaneers near the bay of Samana in San Domingo.

Following Hanno Deiler's careful inquiries, we must come to the conclusion that of the many thousands (6,000 to 10,000) who left Europe for Louisiana, only 2,000 actually reached the shores of the colony and were disembarked at Biloxi and upon Dauphine Island, in the harbor of Mobile.

In the fall of 1719 the French ship *Les Deux Frères* brought the first German colonists to Louisiana (Deiler p. 19). The ship was laden with all sorts of merchandise and effects "which belonged to them." These people could not have been intended for John Law; for judging from what they brought along with them, they must have been people of some means, who intended to become independent settlers. We may assume that they were the founders of the first German village (le premier ancien village allemand), on what is now called "The German Coast," [1] one and a half miles inland from the Mississippi River, on the right bank, about 30 miles above New Orleans (founded by Bienville only one year previously). In September 1721 (according to census of 1724), however, these people were drowned out by the stormwater of the "great hurricane," and the waters of the "Lac des Allemands". This storm lasted five days. Some of the inundated families of the German villages died, others moved to the river front, where the land was higher, and only three were

[1] The district which is now called the "German Coast" (Côte des Allemands) begins about 25 miles (by river) above New Orleans and extends about forty miles up the Mississippi on both banks. The land is perfectly level; at the banks of the river, however, it is a little higher, because of the deposit the Mississippi had left there at every overflow. At a distance from one to two miles from the river it becomes lower and gradually turns into cypress swamps. Since 1802 the lower part has been called "St. Charles Parish" and the upper "St. John the Baptist Parish."

found in the first German village by the census enumerator of 1724.

In the beginning of the year 1720, says Pénicaut[2], seven ships came with more than 4,000 persons, "French as well as German and Jews". They were the ships *La Gironde, L'Elephant, La Loire, La Seine, Le Dromadaire, Le Traversier and La Venus.* As *Le Dromadaire* brought the whole outfit for John Law's concession, the staff of Mr. Elias (Stultheus), the Jewish business manager of Law, may have been on board this vessel. For the same reason we may assume that the German people on board, or at least a large part of them, were so-called "Law People" and were mostly sent to the concession on the Arkansas River.

On the 16th of September, the ship *Le Profond* brought more than 240 Germans "for the concession of Mr. Law," and on November 9, 1720, the ship *La Marie* brought Mr. Levens, the second director of Law's concessions, and Mr. Maynard, "conducteur d'ouvriers." The Germans who came on the seven ships mentioned by Pénicaut and those who arrived on board *Le Profond* seem to have been the only ones of the thousands recruited for Law in Germany who actually reached the howling wilderness of the Arkansas River, traveling from Biloxi by way of the inland route: Lake Borgne, Lake Pontchartrain, Lake Maurepas, Amite River, Bayou Manchac and the Mississippi River. All later arrivals were detained at Biloxi and New Orleans and sent to the villages on the German Coast.

A rapid increase of the population would at all times, even in a well regulated community, be a source of embarrassment. It would need the most careful preparations and the purchasing and storing of a great quantity of provisions in order to solve the problem of subsistence in a satisfactory manner. On Dauphine Island and on Biloxi Bay, nevertheless, where the officials of the *Compagnie des Indes* ruled, nothing was done for the reception of so many newcomers. Everybody there seems to have lived like unto the lilies of the field: "They toiled not, neither did they spin." Nobody sowed, nobody harvested, and all waited for the provision ships from France and from San Domingo. Rather than work they would beg, steal or rob from the Indians. Thus the poor German immigrants were put on land where there was always more or less famine, sometimes even starvation. The provisions which the concessioners had brought with them to feed their own *engagés* were taken away from the ships by force to feed the soldiers and the immigrants were told to subsist on what they might be able to catch on the beach and on the corn which the Indians might let them have. Governor Bienville repeatedly demanded that these immigrants should not be landed on the gulf, but should be taken up the Mississippi River, but the question whether large vessels could enter and ascend the great river was not yet solved, although the colony had been in existence for about twenty years. As a very large number of smaller

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[2] Pénicaut was a French carpenter who lived for twenty years (1699 to Oct. 1721) in the colony, and his "Relation" is an important source for the history of Louisiana. Mr. French, in his "Louisiana and Florida" has published a translation.

boats, by which the immigrants might easily have been taken to the concessions by the inland route through Lake Pontchartrain, had been allowed to go to wreck on the sands of Biloxi, the newcomers, especially those who arrived in 1721, had to stay for many months in Biloxi and on Dauphine Island, where they starved in masses or died of epidemic diseases.

On February 3, 1721, the ship *La Mutine* arrived at Ship Island with 147 (347?) Swiss "Ouvriers" of the *Compagnie des Indes."* [3] Shortly before, on January 24, four ships had sailed from the French port of L'Orient for Louisiana with 875 Germans and 66 Swiss emigrants. The names of these four ships were *Les Deux Frères, La Garonne, La Sanone* and *La Charente.* But few of these 941 emigrants survived the horrors of the sea voyage and landed on the coast of Louisiana (v. Deiler, p. 28). On the ship *Lex Deux Frères* alone 173 lives out of 213 were lost on the sea. What suffering, what despair must have been endured on board these pest ships!

Towards the end of May 1721 two other ships with 270 Germans arrived in Louisiana; finally there came on June 4, the *Portefaix* with 330 immigrants, mostly Germans and originally intended for John Law's concessions. They were under the command of Karl Friedrich d'Arensburg, a former Swedish officer, then in the service of the *Compagnie des Indes.*[4] But in the meanwhile John Law's delusive scheme had failed. In the early spring of 1721 the news arrived in Louisiana, that Law had resigned his post of councillor of state and comptroller-general of the finances of France and for personal safety fled from Paris.[5] The news of Law's failure was a heavy blow to the *Compagnie des Indes.* It was decided to send no more Germans to the Law concessions, but to organize the immigrants under the leadership of d'Arensburg and to begin a new settlement with them. D'Arensburg, merging the survivors of the different troops into one body, departed with them from Biloxi for the banks of the Mississippi and transferred them to the two German villages on the German Coast, thirty miles

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[3] Ever since 1719 the Swiss formed an integral part of the French troops in Louisiana. There were always at least four companies of fifty men each in the colony. At the expiration of their term of service, they usually remained in Louisiana, took up a trade or settled on some land contiguous to the German Coast. It was even a rule to give annually land, provisions and rations to two men from each Swiss company to facilitate their settling. The great majority of these Swiss soldiers, however, were not Swiss, but Germans from all parts of the fatherland.

[4] This remarkable man's name probably was Karl Friedrich, born at Arensburg on the isle of Oesel in the Baltic Sea (Bay of Riga). With other Swedish officers he left his home, because he preferred exile to Russification. The French officials of the *Compagnie des Indes,* mistaking "d'Arensburg" for his family name, issued his commission to "Charles Fréderic D'Arensbourg" With his Germans he took active part in the expulsion of Governor Ulloa from New Orleans in 1768. He died November 18, 1777, at the age of 84 years. (Deiler, p. 38, ss.)

[5] Law left Paris on December 10, 1720, for Brussels. Later on he lived in great obscurity, finally settling at Venice; there he died March 21. 1729, still occupied in vast schemes and fully convinced of the solidity of his system, the failure of which he attributed entirely to enmity and panic. (The Americana, Vol. XII, under Law John.)

from New Orleans, which in honor of Karl Friedrich d'Arensburg were called "Karlstein" (Deiler p. 54).

But the German *engagés* on the Arkansas River were in a precarious condition. Having arrived about the end of 1720, they had not been able to make a crop, as the preparatory work of clearing the ground and providing shelter for themselves had occupied most of their time; much sickness also prevailing amongst them, they were unable to begin farming operations on a larger scale before August 1721. These Germans therefore needed assistance until they could help themselves, for not another livre was to be expected from the bankrupt John Law. But when, in November 1721, the company had decided to manage Law's concessions in the future for their own account, the resolution to help the Germans was not carried out, as Law's agent on the Arkansas, Levens, refused to transfer the business to the company. So it happened that the forlorn Germans received help neither from the one side nor from the other to bridge them over to the harvesting time of their first crop. They were forced to ask help of their old friends, the Arkansas and the Sothui Indians. Finally, when help from this last source failed, and smallpox broke out amongst the Indians and the Germans, they were forced to give up all and abandon the concession.

They resolved to go down the Mississippi to New Orleans, end of January or in February 1722, to return to Europe. Only 47 persons remained behind, which Dudemaine Dufresne found there, when in March 1722 he was installed by La Harpe in the office of manager of the concession in place of Levens. When La Harpe returned from his other mission, the silly search for the imaginary "Smaragd Rock" in Arkansas, these too had departed.

The arrival of the flotilla of the Germans from the Arkansas River must have been a great surprise for the people of New Orleans. That the Teuton colonists who considerably outnumbered the population of the new town, could remain at New Orleans, was out of question. Nor would the ill treated people stay in the swampy and wild post. New Orleans was at that time in its very infancy and looked more like a miserable mining camp than a town. Indeed the Germans did not come to thank the Company for favors. Some very plain words were spoken by the desperate men to the officials of the Company; in fact, it is said that Governor Bienville interceded, and when they demanded passage back to Europe, tried his very best to induce them to remain. The results of the conferences were: first that the Germans from the Arkansas were given rich alluvial lands on the right bank of the Mississippi River, about 25 miles above New Orleans, on what is now known as the "German Coast," where the village of Karlstein already existed; secondly that the agent on the Arkansas, Levens, was deposed; and thirdly, that provisions were sent to the Germans who still remained there. (Deiler, p. 38).

But the grant of good land in the neighborhood of the infant city did not terminate the woes of the unfortunate colonists.

No pen can describe, says Deiler (p. 56), nor human fancy imagine the hardships which the German pioneers of Louisiana suffered even

after they had survived the perils of the sea and epidemics and starvation on the sands of Biloxi. Had they been of a less hardy race, not one of these families would have survived. It should be remembered that the land assigned to them was virgin forest in the heavy alluvial bottoms of the Mississippi, with their tremendous germinating powers awakened by a semi-tropical sun. Giant oaks with wide-spreading arms and gray mossy beards stood there as if from eternity and defied the ax of man. Between them arose towering pines with thick undergrowth, bushes and shrubs and an impenetrable twist of running, spinning and climbing vines, under whose protection lurked a hell of hostile animals and savage men. Leopards, bears, panthers, wild cats, snakes and alligators, and their terrible allies, a scorching sun, the miasma rising from the disturbed virgin soil, and the floods of a mighty river,—all these combined to destroy the work of man and man himself. There were no levees then, no protecting dams, and only too often, when the spring floods came, the colonists were driven to climb upon the roofs of their houses and up into the trees; hundreds of miles of fertile land were inundated.

In spite of all the hardships which the pioneers had to endure and the difficulties to be encountered, the industry, energy and perseverance of these hardy colonists conquered all; and although hundreds perished, the survivors wrested from the soil not only a bare living, but in course of time a high degree of prosperity also. These German peasants more than once saved the city of New Orleans from famine. Karl Friedrich d'Arensburg served for more than forty years as commander and judge of the German Coast of Louisiana, sharing alike the joys and the hardships of his people.

In the Catholic Church in New Orleans, on the site of the present Cathedral, the Germans of the German Coast first attended divine service; here they also had their children christened, here their weddings were celebrated. The cathedral records from 1720 to 1730 contain many German names.

But in 1724, so the census of that year informs us, the Germans had a chapel of their own on the German Coast, which then may have stood already for one or two years, as the river settlement was made in the late fall of 1721. It is interesting to note this fact and to remember that this chapel was built about the same time when the Jesuit Charlevoix reported (1722) that the people of New Orleans "had lent the Lord half of a miserable store for divine service and that they want the Lord to move out again and accept shelter in a tent" (Deiler, p. 63). In the colonial budget for 1729 provision was made for a resident priest, the Capuchin Father Philip. The chapel was dedicated to St. Charles, to do honor to Karl Friedrich d'Arensburg. It was replaced in 1740 by the first "Red Church" on the other side of the river, twenty-five miles above New Orleans. The first Red Church was burnt in 1806 and in the same year replaced by the second, the present Red Church.[6]

[6] The church of St. Charles was called the "Red Church" from the traditional coat of red paint which both, the old and new church, had and which made them a landmark for boats on the Mississippi River.

In 1771 the Germans of the Upper German Coast built the church of St. John the Baptist, upon the right side of the river, a few miles from the place where the first chapel had been. The corner stone of the present church of St. John the Baptist was laid on June 4, 1820, and it was consecrated on March 17, 1822. The first parish priest of St. John the Baptist, the Capuchin P. Bernard de Limpach (1772-76) was also the first canonical pastor of the church of St. Louis, in Missouri (1776-1789).[7]

We now approach the question: What is the probable number of the Creoles of German descent? This question may be answered in the words of the promise given to Abraham: they are as numerous "as the sands on the sea shore."

The church registers of St. John the Baptist prove that the German pioneers were blessed with enormously large families.[8] It seems that heaven wanted to compensate them in this manner for the many dear ones they had lost in the ports of France, on the high seas, in Biloxi, and during the first period of their settling in Louisiana. Hanno Deiler found fourteen, sixteen, eighteen, and once even twenty-two children in a family.

Yet, in spite of this great number of children there was no difficulty in providing for the numerous daughters. There was a great scarcity of women in Louisiana in early times. Indeed prostitutes were gathered in Paris[9] and sent to Louisiana to provide wives for the colonists. Few of these lewd women ever had any children and their families became extinct in the second or third generations. No wonder that the young Frenchmen, especially those of the better class chose wives from among the German maidens, who were not only morally and physically strong, but had also been reared by their German mothers to be good house-wives. Even into the most exclusive circles into the families of the officials and of the richest merchants the German girls married; they became the wives of French and Spanish officers of ancient nobility in whose descendants German blood still flows.[10]

As a rule the German girls took German husbands and whole

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[7] v. Pastoralblatt, St. Louis, Mo., August 1918. J. Rothensteiner.

[8] When, in 1877 a demented negro set fire to the priest's house of St. Charles' parish, all the records of the "Red Church" were burnt.

[9] The Chevalier Champigny in his memoir (La Haye, 1776) writes: They gathered up the poor, mendicants and prostitutes, and embarked them by force on the transports. On arriving in Louisiana they were married and had lands assigned to them to cultivate, but the idle life of three-fourths of these folks rendered them unfit for farming. You cannot find twenty of these vagabond families in Louisiana now. Most of them died in misery or returned to France, bringing back such ideas which their ill-success had inspired. The most frightful accounts of the country of the Mississippi soon began to spread among the public, at a time when German colonists were planting new and most successful establishments on the banks of the Mississippi within five or seven leagues from New Orleans. This tract, still occupied by their descendants, is the best cultivated and most thickly settled part of the colony, and I regard the Germans and the Canadians as the founders of all our establishments in Louisiana.

[10] The proofs v. in Deiler's book, p. 116.

families married into one another. To give but one example, it may be mentioned here that out of ten children of one Jacob Troxler, not fewer than eight married into the Haydel family. In such families the German language survived longest. In consequence, however, of the many family ties between the Germans and the French, and in consequence of the custom of the Creoles to marry into related families, French gradually became the family language even in those German families which had preserved the German language during three generations.

The changes which the German family names underwent amongst the Creoles are most regrettable. Without exception, all names of the first German colonists were changed, and most of the Creoles of German descent at the present time no longer know how the names of their German ancestors looked. Sometimes they were changed beyond recognition (e. g. Zweig into La Branche). Various circumstances contributed to the changing of these names. The principal one was, no doubt, the fact, that some of the old German colonists were not able to write their names. Their youth had fallen into the period of the first fifty years after the Thirty Years' War, and into the last years of the war when the armies of Louis XIV of France devastated the Palatinate. In consequence of the general destruction and the widespread misery of that period, schools could hardly exist in their home towns. It was, therefore, not the fault of these people if they could neither read nor write. As the parents could not tell their children in Louisiana how to write their names, these children had to accept what French and Spanish teachers and priests told them, and what they found in official documents. But French and Spanish officials and priests heard the German names through French and Spanish ears and wrote them down as they thought these sounds should be written in French or Spanish.

The Creoles of German descent constitute even now a large, if not the largest, part of the white population of the German Coast, the parishes of St. Charles and St. John the Baptist. But they spread at an early time also over neighboring districts, where their many children took up new lands for cultivation.

There are still amongst the descendants of the early Germans many of the ancient stalwart German type, who betray the French blood received in the course of time only by their more lively disposition; there are still blue eyes and blond hair among them. But their economical condition has been changed considerably. Through the Civil War many of these families lost not only their slaves, but also their plantations, the source of their once very considerable wealth. They have shared the lot of the French Creoles. But, thanks to their inherited energy, they wrung an existence from the adverse conditions, and now that a new era of prosperty has dawned upon Lousiana, their prospects have become brighter. The great majority of the Creoles of German descent may be said to be again on the road to prosperity.

F. G. HOLWECK.

NOTES

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Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis.

Secretary's Report for 1919-1920.

The Secretary's report for the twelve months just elapsed need be but very brief, as the main topics will be treated by the chairmen of the various committees.

At the last general meeting of the Society all the old officers were elected for another term, although that method did not seem altogether satisfactory to some. The officers, however, very faithfully attended to their duties. The attendance of our membership was not what could be expected, especially when the importance of our proposed work is taken into consideration. Yet we have to chronicle some progress. The membership grew in numbers, and our collections were enriched by some very important gifts, as the old Church Records of Old Mines Parish and the Letters of Archbishop Kain. His Grace of St. Louis was the donor of the Records, and Msgr. J. J. Tannrath of Archbishop Kain's Letters. At the September meeting Fathers Holweck and Van Tourenhout gave informal talks on the Old Parishes of Louisiana, which they had recently visited and partly explored. At the November meeting Mr. Edward Brown read an important paper on Governor McNair. At the January meeting Father Martin Brennan gave a highly interesting talk on the theory of the planets being inhabited, inclining to the negative side. At the March meeting the Secretary treated of the circumstances connected with the visit of an Indian delegation from beyond the Rocky Mountains to St. Louis for the purpose of obtaining a "Black Gown" for their people.

The publication of the Society's organ, the St. Louis Catholic Historical Review was delayed several times, owing, in part, to the disturbed condition of the times. The Society has a strong claim on the patriotic and Christian interest of the cultured classes of St. Louis and Missouri, and, we may add, of the entire Mississippi Valley. It is the Society's purpose to elucidate the religious and social influences that went out from St. Louis, far and wide, from the days of the earliest discoveries to our living present, which will soon be history, too. With greater interest aroused and with better financial support, the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis could do imperishable work.

John Rothensteiner, Secretary.

NOTES

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ST. LOUIS FOR THE YEAR ENDING MAY, 1920.

The Committee met regularly each month next preceding the general meeting of the Society during the year.

The meetings of the Committee were generally well attended, current expenditures were authorized and arrangements made from time to time for the reading of a paper at each meeting of the Society during the year.

The urgent appeal made by the Committee a year ago for an increased membership and a more active interest in the work of the Society, on the part of the members enrolled, has not been heeded—six new members were enrolled during the year—two members died and one resigned, leaving the present membership 57—a net gain of only three members since our last Annual Meeting. The general meetings of the Society were poorly attended; sixty-four per cent of the total membership were not present at any meeting, and less than twelve members have taken any active interest in the work of the Society. The principal work of the Society has been in the publication of its Quarterly, the ST. LOUIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, the first volume of which was completed with the publication of the July-October, 1919, number. One hundred copies of this volume will be bound in cloth as soon as the index to the volume has been received from the printer, and offered for sale at $4.00 per copy. The cost of publishing the REVIEW is about $600 per annum, while the entire membership dues and subscriptions for the REVIEW is about $460. While the Society, up to this time, has been able to meet its current obligations, it is obvious that the work cannot be continued very long without a deficit, unless there is a marked increase in the Society's membership, or a large number of new subscribers secured for the REVIEW.

Apart from the question of expense, there has been much delay and irregularity in issuing the REVIEW—each number being several months late. Although the July and October numbers were issued as a double number, it was not ready for distribution until after the first of the year. The January number is still in press, but will be issued shortly.

It is suggested that the Publication Committee reorganize or arrange its editorial work in some way to have the REVIEW appear each quarter with regularity. The very life of the Society, in the opinion of this Committee, depends upon the success of this publication.

The membership at large is again urged to lend the interest and co-operation necessary to maintain the Society and enable it to continue its work successfully.

The Treasurer's report showing the receipts and expenditures for the year and the amount of cash on hand, is submitted herewith:

FINANCIAL REPORT

For the year ending April 30, 1920.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURES.	
Balance on hand May 1, 1919	$ 11.34	Postage and printing	$ 6.20
Dues paid by members	268.13	Printing Hist. Review	389.62
Subscriptions, etc., Historical Review	220.25	M. V. Review	4.00
		Exchange	1.15
		Balance	98.75
	$499.72	Total	$499.72

J. J. TANNRATH, *Treasurer.*

Balance on hand May 1, 1920. $ 98.75

Respectfully Submitted,

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,

J. A. CONNOLLY, V. G., Chairman.

CATHOLIC BEGINNINGS IN KANSAS CITY,

By Reverend Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J.

12mo., 137 pages, illustrated. Price $1.25, postpaid.

The city and diocese of Kansas City may well be proud of the dainty booklet concerning its "Catholic Beginnings," which Father Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J., of the St. Louis University has written, and the Loyola University Press of Chicago has published this year. It is a monograph of 137 pages, beautifully printed on fine paper, and tastefully bound. Father Garraghan is a writer who combines patient, laborious research with excellent judgment and fine literary ability; and this latest product of his genius proves once more that accuracy and historical truth are not incompatible with the graces of style. Father Garraghan's book reads like a romance, and yet it is exact and trustworthy history. The book is full of most interesting facts, gathered from numerous sources, mostly manuscripts not accessible heretofore, but hidden away in archives and libraries, yet facts touched to life once more by the glowing pen of a true historian, a lover of the ancient days. In fact, we have here the only authentic account of the early days of the second metropolis of Missouri, "the only complete first chapter of the general history of Kansas City," as it has been justly styled. Any future historian of that wonderful city must, of necessity, give this book the place of honor among his printed sources, for it is a source-book of the most important kind, embodying the very words of the actors in that early drama. The Roux letters form only one, though the most interesting, source of information: *The Westport Register, the Kickapoo Mission Record,* the Baptismal Records of Father De la Croix, the numerous illustrations, the old map of early Kansas City, with all the houses marked upon it, all are historical sources as rare and priceless as any in our state. If it be surprising what a mass of interesting information is compressed in such small compass, it is still more surprising how eminently readable the book proves to be. The secret of its attraction lies in the orderly arrangement of all the manifold detail, and the clear, concise, limpid style of writing. The beginnings of Kansas City were Catholic. Catholic traders from St. Louis were the pioneers in all the region, and the presence of the Catholic Church made itself felt as the earliest and most important religious influence in Westport and the surrounding country. Now that the mustard seed has grown up into the mighty tree of Catholic Kansas City, it is pleasant to read of the spirit of faith and charity and self-sacrifice that animated the first planters and cultivators of the spiritual soil in that one-time Western wilderness. We would recommend to all Missourians first, and to all lovers of heroic lives in general, the perusal of Father Garraghan's *Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City, Missouri.* We of the ST. LOUIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW are specially proud of Father Garraghan's success, as we number him among the members of our editorial staff, and as one of the most valued contributors to our columns. Father Garraghan has erected a *monumentum aere perennius* to the greatness of Kansas

City, and to the honor of our State. May this beautiful success encourage others to raise similar monuments to commemorate the labors and sacrifices and successes and triumphs of our fathers in the Faith.

Father G. J. Garraghan's book illustrates the fact that, from the time of its erection into an independent Episcopal See, the Church of St. Louis has taken to heart to prove herself pre-eminently apostolic. The leading article opening the present number of the REVIEW gives another evidence of that apostolic zeal. But not only the Church of St. Louis as an Ecclesiastical unit, but more restricted organizations in its bosom were looked up to as centers from which Catholic life and activity must radiate abroad. It was, no doubt, because he was convinced of this truth, that Bishop Salpointe applied to the Sisters of St. Joseph to send a colony in far-away Arizona. Fifty years have rolled by since the first Sisters set out from Carondelet on the long, tedious and perilous journey. Tucson, Arizona, is now within the distance of a three days' journey from St. Louis; no longer do the Indians lie in wait to slaughter the traveller through their jealously kept wilderness; we are tempted at times to judge the conditions of fifty years ago by those of to-day; from the Pullman window or the observation car one finds hard to believe traveling meant then well-night incredible hardships; the parlor-car philosopher smiles at the harrowing tales which are the history of but yesterday, and fails to recognize that nothing short of heroism was needed to launch on such journeys as the Sisters of St. Joseph undertook in 1870. But the parlor-car philosopher lacks the power to visualize past conditions; nor is it to him we look up for appreciation of devotedness prompted by no human interest and discernment of heroism. Neither does history look to him for judgment; and more and more, we are sure, will history extol the true worth of those zealous souls that set out from our midst to blaze the way of the Gospel. Honor to them, and particularly on this happy golden Jubilee year, honor to those apostolic Sisters of Carondelet who fearlessly started to the unknown West to do the work of Him who missioned His Church to teach all nations.

The missions to the Indians of Missouri and the great Northwest have been recounted; in the above-mentioned *Journal* we have a narrative of the commencement of Catholic education in the West; one field of the missionary activity kindled in St. Louis has so far been the object of little attention: we mean the Texas Missions. Let us hope that, no less than the others, these, too, will soon find in these pages an appreciative narrator.

* * * *

The nationality of P. Kino, S.J.—Since Mr. Herb. E. Bolton of the State University of California discovered the long-lost diary of P. Kino, called "Favores Celestiales," several Reviews have taken interest in the person of this great American Missionary. To settle the question of his nationality, Rev. F. G. Holweck asked one of the parish priests of the Val di Non, Trentino, the home of P. Kino, for informa-

tion. Whereupon a well-known priest from Trent, Rev. Simone Weber, June 21, 1920, answered that P. Kino's real name was "Chini"; he was born August 10, 1645, at Segno, a village belonging to the Parish of Torra, Val di Non. His parents were Francisco Chini and Marg. Luchi. If P. Chini called himself "German," it was not to indicate his nationality, but solely because the ecclesiastic principality of Trent was a dependency of the Germano-Roman Empire. The "Germanus" of P. Chini must not be taken in the same sense that he was a Teuton; himself, his family, his country, his valley, were and are distinctly Italian. His education, however, was absolutely German; he studied at Hall near Innsbruck, at Freiburg, i. B. and at Ingolstadt. At Segno, the home village of P. Chini, there exist, at the present time, many families by the name of Chini.

* * * *

Why the Buffalo Vanished from the Plains.

The Indian, once the proud possessor of all America, has almost vanished from the land. Pushed westward by the advancing tide of European immigration, the various tribes seemed destined, for a short time to become a great people of hunters and trappers on the Western plains from Nebraska to Texas. The land was full of game, especially of the so-called bison or Buffalo, which supplied a frugal people with food, clothing and fuel. But in a few years the buffalo had vanished, and the poor Indian was reduced to direst poverty.

How the wild game, particularly the bison, were swept from the Western plains, is told by a railroad poster resurrected from America's early days, says the *New York Sun*.

These posters, according to the California Fish and Game Commission, were posted throughout England. American hunters not coming in sufficient numbers, a bid was made oversees for more gunners, women being included.

The poster is headed "Grand Buffalo Hunt," and reads as follows:

"A grand buffalo hunt will be held in September next on the prairies of Nebraska and Colorado, U. S. A., and through the magnificent valley of the Republican River, the rich alluvial feeding grounds of the buffalo.

"The Burlington & Missouri River Railroad Company owns millions of acres, is one of the most wealthy corporations in the Western States of America, and will assist this hunting party in every way, in order that the sportsmen of England may see the Western country, and on their return be able to corroborate the statements as to climate, resources and the gigantic advancement made in so new a country.

"There are no hostile Indians in Nebraska whatever; friendly chiefs of the Otoes, Pawnees and other tribes will accompany the party.

"Sportsmen will be provided with army tents and beds during the hunt. There will be servants to take care of the horses, and, in fact, all arrangements have been made to give the hunting party the greatest amount of pleasure with the least possible trouble.

* * * *

"Wagons will be provided for the conveyance of any trophies of the chase, such as buffalo skins, elk horns and antlers in limited quantity.

"The sportsman has there a field of nature's own planting on which to roam in pursuit of his healthy and invigorating pleasures, and where can the lover of scenery find greater, grander, lovelier views than are to be found on the continent of America?

"Fare for the round trip of about seven weeks, including every expense, except wines, liquors, cigars, guns, rifles and ammunition, 90 guineas.

"The arrangements will be such as to admit of ladies joining the party, but the charge for ladies will be 100 guineas each."

* * * *

We, of St. Louis, who, schooled in the spirit of grateful remembrance so strongly inculcated by St. Paul, (Heb. 13, 7), did not deem any celebration too grand for the worthy remembrance of the prelate who came here a century ago to speak the word of God on our shores. We are bending all our efforts upon the pleasant task of letting no particle of information escape our search, in order that to "the men of renown, and our fathers in their generation" may be in due time erected an historical monument worthy of their labors and of our appreciation. For we have long since made our own the earnest appeal of the learned Editor of the *Catholic Historical Review* (Washington, D. C.) that of every Bishop of the United States, the history should be written. No more ingratiating news, therefore, could reach us than that a life of Bishop Louis William Valentine Du Bourg is contemplated and in course of composition. We may add, without fear of betraying any secrets, that the writer is admirably well equipped for the task he has undertaken. Of the "Bishop of Louisiana" what most of us know best is his public life as Administrator and Bishop; the prelate's prospective historian is privileged to have access to an imposing mass of family papers which will reveal also the man. Most heartily do we wish godspeed to the zealous historian and do we pray for the happy completion of his labor of love and devotion.

* * * *

To some of our Ecclesiastical readers it may appear that the periodical conferences of the clergy are a relatively new-fangled institution, without precedent or even analogy in the past. Without going back to the pages of Europe's Church history, we may trace the wholesome practice *in this country*, and in the Diocese of Louisiana, of which St. Louis was then a part, for now more than a century back. For this purpose we need but quote here the following passage of a letter of Bishop Du Bourg to Father Bigeschi, Pastor of the Church of the Assumption, Bayou La Fourche, La. This letter was written from the Barrens, on August 15th, 1819:

> With regard to the Ecclesiastical Conferences, if Father Valezano is willing to gather the priests at his place, I believe that that would be most convenient, I appoint him President, and Father Tichitoli, Secretary.

I desire that Fathers Mina and Mariani should go there. Let the members begin with going to confession and assisting at High Mass. At the time appointed for the conference proper, one of the members shall have a little speech on some matter of ecclesiastical life or duties; after that, each one may submit his doubts, or some case of conscience. The Secretary shall take down the names of the members in attendance, and the minutes of the proceedings, with the questions propounded and the solutions given thereto; and he shall send me his minutes, either by mail, postpaid, to spare my exchequer, or by some occasion. It would be well for the Chairman to prepare the subjects beforehaand, and assign them for the next conference. These subjects may be on questions of Moral Theology, the Sacraments, the Decalogue, Justice, etc.—on Ecclesiastical duties, the means to reform abuses, to spread instruction, etc., etc., or finally difficult cases of conscience with their circumstances.

DOCUMENTS FROM OUR ARCHIVES

Correspondence of Bishop Du Bourg with Propaganda

XXI.

BISHOP DU BOURG TO THE CARDINAL PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA.[1]

Eminenitissime Praefecte.

. . . Quod vero attinet ad erectionem Novae Metropoleos, de qua unum solummodo verbum in praefato supplici libello factum est, inter Praesules praevalet opinio, *Civitatem S. Ludovici* inter omnes praeferendam, tum propter ipsius geographicam positionem, tum ob nascentem in dies circumvicinarum Regionum populationem et famam. Nullum profecto dubium est quin Religionis molumento valde profutura sit secunda Metropoleos creatio. Una tamen est difficultas, quae nos moratur. Nondum in Episcopalem Sedem erecta est *Civitas S. Ludovici,* nec ullatenus expedit ut dividatur, saltem ante longum tempus, Dioecesis Louisianensis. Inferior enim et Superior Louisiana sibi mutuo ita necessaria sunt, ut neque ista corporalem nec illa spiritualem pastum, a se invicem avulsae comparare valeret. Episcopali mensae, et Seminarii sustentationi utcumque providet inferior Louisiana; Superior sola est, unde altera Sacerdotes expectat. Utraque igitur societatis suae emolumentum habet, quo, si dividetur, in deterius utraque abeat necesse est. Dies forsan olim elucescet, cum alioqui expetenda divisio sine tam gravi detrimento effici poterit; at maturius semper in re tanti momenti erit procedendum, ne, sub specie majoris utilitatis, pessumdetur partis utriusque vigor. Impraesentiarum vero prorsus constat hujusmodi divisionem exitiosissimam fore, et summopere necessarium esse ut sub unius Episcopi auctoritate ambae remaneant, adjuncto tamen ipsi Coadjutore, qui in partem ipsius solicitudinis veniat. Haec cum ita sint, duobus dumtaxat modis erigi posset praefata Metropolis, videlicet, vel sub generico nomine *Louisianae,* vel erigendo Civititatem *San Ludovicensem* in titulum Archiepiscopalem *annexa ipsi Sede Neo-Aurelian-*

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[1] Archives of Propaganda. *Acta S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide,* 1822. These Documents, from the Roman Archives were copied in Rome (1882) by the Very Rev. Henry Van der Sanden, Chancellor of the Archdiocese. The dots indicate passages not copied, probably because they were deemed irrelevant to the History of the Diocese which the late Chancellor was compiling.

DOCUMENTS FROM OUR ARCHIVES

Correspondence of Bishop Du Bourg with Propaganda

XXI.

BISHOP DU BOURG TO THE CARDINAL PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA.[1]

ensi. Quod si neutrum Sacrae Congregationi arriserit, nihil de nova Metropoli erit statuendum. Si vero posterius expedire videatur, propria San Ludovicensis Dioecesis circumscriptio esse potest *totus Status Missouriensis*, cum tota illa *Illinensis Status* parte quae inter flumen Mississippi et duodecimum longitudinis gradum jacet. Quod superest supremi hujus Status, cum Statu *Indianae*, nunc a Revmo Bardensi Antistite administratum, novam Dioecesim olim constituere poterit; sed nondum matura res est. Nova vero Metropolis, si erigere ipsam placuerit, omnes Sedes Episcopales citra juga Alleganensia, sibi subjectas habere convenit.

Ad sacrae purp . . . etc.

+Lud. Guil. Episc. Neo-Aurel

S. Ludovici, in Statu Missouriano,
Aprilis 25, 1820.

TRANSLATION.

Your Eminence:—

. . . .[2]

Now touching the erection of a new Metropolitan See, about which only a word was said in the afore-mentioned petition,[3] the Bishops' prevailing opinion is that the *City of St. Louis* should have the preference above all others, on account of its geographical position, as well as of the increasing population and appreciation of the surrounding country. There can be no doubt that the creation of another Archbishopric is destined to serve greatly the interests of Religion. However, there is a difficulty which stops us: St. Louis has not yet been erected into an Episcopal See, and a division of Louisiana is in no wise advisable, at least for yet a good while. For Lower and Upper Louisiana are so necessary to each other, that if they be separated, the latter could not get temporal, and the other spiritual help. The Episcopal *mensa*, and the support of the seminary are somehow supplied by Lower Louisiana; from Upper Louisiana alone can priests be supplied. Each one, therefore, needs the society of the other; hence, if a division is made, both must of necessity suffer. At some future day, perhaps, it will be possible to make this division, otherwise desirable, without such great detriment; yet it will always be profitable to proceed slowly in a matter of such importance, lest, under the specious appearance of greater utility, the strength of both parts be impaired. For the present, at any rate, it is evident that the division would be a calamity; and it is of the utmost importance that both sections remain under the authority of only one Bishop, to whom, however, a Coadjutor should be given, to take a portion of his solicitude. In these conditions, only in two ways could

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[2] The passage here omitted introduced the Rev. Angelo Inglesi (See Review, Vol. II, p. 46, n. 4) and asked he be appointed Coadjutor. Document XXIII deals at great length with this request.

[3] This was, no doubt, a petition by the "western" Bishops, Flaget and David. (See Spalding, *Life of Bishop Flaget*, p. 216 and foll.

the Metropolitan See of which we are speaking be erected: namely, by designating it under the generic name of Louisiana, or by the creation in St. Louis of an Archiepiscopal title to which would be joined the See of New Orleans, and if neither way meets the approval of the S. Congregation, then nothing should be done in regard to a new Archbishopric. If, however, the latter of the above-indicated means should be found expedient, then the Diocese of St. Louis proper might include all the State of Missouri, with all the part of the State of Illinois stretching between the Mississippi River and the 12th degree of longitude. The rest of the State, together with the State of Indiana, now under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Bardstown, may, in the course of time, constitute a new Diocese; but the matter is not yet ripe for consideration. The new Metropolis, if it is the good pleasure of the Congregation to erect it, might have properly as Suffragan all the Episcopal Sees this side of the Alleghanies.

✠L. Wm., Bp. of New Orl.

St. Louis, State of Missouri, April 25, 1820.

XXII.

BISHOP DU BOURG TO CARDINAL FONTANA, PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA.[1]

Deo favente, ad me nuper venerunt amplissimae litterae, quibus me docet Eminentia Vestra, etsi Sacra illa Congregatio Coadjutorem mihi dare sit parata, Domino tamen Ludovico Sibourd, Vicario meo Generali, quem ad hoc onus proposueram, tum propter provectam ipsius aetatem, sexaginta nempe et quatutor annorum, tum quia de ejus prudentia, virtute et doctrina satis ipsi non constat, nullo modo favere. Fateor aetatem grandaevam non modicum difficultatis facessere, quippe quae parum juvet ad immensas Episcopalis muneris, in tam dilatata Dioecesi, molestias perferendas.—De caeteris dotibus putabam me abunde satisfecisse. Sufficit vero quod sub uno respectu Sacrae Congregationi minus quam oportet idoneus videatur, ut ipsius sapientissimo oraculo me penitus subjiciam. Declaraveram sane me Domino Sibourd hac de causa adhaerere, quod praeter eum, vix alius praesto foret sacerdos in mea Dioecesi, qui eam experientiam, et cognitionem rerum et hominum in Episcopo summe necessarias, adquisivisset. In aliud igitur tempus necesse erit differre Coadjutoris electionem. Forsan intra unum aut alterum annum poterimus de alio cogitare, qui Sacrae Congregationis vota, aeque ac mea valeat explere. Interim dum vires mihi suppetunt, solus oneri humeros applicabo; et ad id juvabit quod infinita Dei misericordia mihi tandem omnium corda subjecit.

Puto Eminentiam Vestram non latere quanta odia in me prius in ista inferiori Louisiana efferbuissent, ita ut ipsam adire absque evidenti

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[1] Archives of Propaganda, *Scritture referite nei Congressi.* Cod. 7. America Centrale. Dal Canada all Istmo di Panama. Dal 1821 a tto il 1822. Eminentissime Praefecte.

periculo non valerem. Non modicam igitur ipsi admirationem faciet audire me in hac Dioceseos meae lustratione, ad Novam usque Aureliam inter unanimes ferme cleri et populorum congratulationes advenisse.

A Domino factum est istud, et ita mirabilis apparuit animorum conversio, ut vix oculis suis credant, qui priorum angustiarum conscii, nunc consolationes videntes, quibus misericors Deus animam meam laetificat. Inter omnes qui ad adventum meum majora dedere et gaudi et reverentiae signa conspicuum quam maxime se praebuit Rev. Pater Antonius de Sedella, ille ipse, qui antea, nescio cur, infensissimus mihi extiterat Verba non sufficiant si narrare velim, quot et quantis honoribus me exceperit, et prope dicere ausim: "Nullum nunc habeo tam unanimem qui sincera diectione sollicitus sit pro me." Hujus ad exemplum tota se composuit Civitas, ita ut publice Synodum in ea ipsa urbe celebrare non pertimuerim, in qua uno abhinc anno faciem meam monstrare summi fuisset periculi.—

Ad Synodum hanc convenerunt viginti circiter sacerdotes ex inferiori Louisiana; qui omnes unanimes se exhibuerunt, tum in sua erga me observantia, tum in zelo Ecclesiasticae disciplinae tuendae. Multum quoque solatii attulit videre morum reformationem et pietatis incrementum quae in universis prope parochiis intra tam breve spatium, fratrum meorum laboribus, obtinuerunt.

De caeteris Sacram hanc Congregationem fusius docebit Reverendus Dnus. Angelus Inglesi, Romanus patria . . . . de quo in praecedentibus. Hunc jam in Coadjutorem mihi rogare praesumerem, nisi meo judicio, satius esset aliquot annos expectare, ut sibi inter fratres suos majorem existimationem conciliaret.

Liceat mihi tamen, Eminentissime Praefecte, haec Tibi vota insinuare, ut si forte de vivis me auferri contigerit, antequam expleantur, sciat Eminentia Vestra nullum eo acceptiorem mihi fore in successorem. Gaudeo quod praesens occasio ipsum Eminentiae Vestrae caeterisque Eminentissimis S. Congregationis Patribus notum facere et desiderium meum promovere possit.

Ad Sylvicolarum, qui in superioribus Dioeceseos meae partibus abundant, conversionem, vix animum usquedum adjicere licuit; et si potuissem, deerant operarii. Dudum de Patribus Societatis Jesu ad hoc praecellentissimum opus charitatis cogitaveram, nullumque, ad obtinendos aliquot ex eis, non moveram lapidem. In hac re plurimum mihi favit Sanctissimus Dominus Noster, datis ad Superiorem Generalem etiam epistolis, ut meis votis obsecundaret. Nihil tamen hactenus profeceramus. Sed nunc audio Superiores in hoc opus se propensiores exhibere Dnum. Inglesi igitur monui, ut quod sibi ingenii et sollicitudinis inest, totum in maturando hoc consilo impendat. Et Eminentiam Vestram ferventissime precor ut ipsi adjutricem manum admoveat. Unus praecipue est inter Patres dictae Societatis, nomine *De Barat*, Burdigalae in inferiori Seminario degens, quem scio ardentissimo huc veniendi desiderio flagrare, vir pietate, doctrina, zeloque animarum nemini secundus; hunc suppliciter rogo mihi a Vicario Generali concedi, et Eminentiae Vestrae ad eum finem potentissimam mediationem mihi flagito. Huic se libenter comites adjicient aliqui ex junioribus inter

Gallos, aliique provectioris aetatis inter eos quos e Moscovitarum finibus Gallia nuper excepit. Quinque vel ad summum sex sufficerent, si duo vel tres ex Marylandia ipsis se adjungerent, quod summopere est peroptandum, tum propter linguae Anglicae peritiam, tum quia cum isti fortuna abundant, possent inopiae fratrum supplere. Cum extra subsidio, facile sibi iter pandet Evangelium ad gentes innumeras Mississippii et Missourii oris undequaque circumjacentes. Ad Eminentiam Vestram spectat, Eminentissime Praefecte, tantum opus inchoare. Ad illud viriliter se accingat. Ni faciat, vereor heterodoxos missionarios tam optabilis victoriae palmam a nobis ablaturos.

Parcat Eminentia Vestra epistolae hujus incoherentiae, et obtuso stylo. Iter agens scribo, in una ex his navibus, quae fervidae aquae vapore propelluntur.

✠Lud. Guil. Ep. Neo-Aurel.

Ex Superiori Louisiana, die Sti. Mathiae Ap. 1821.

TRANSLATION

Your Eminence:—

I thank God for the consolation afforded me recently by the reception of your long letter,[2] wherein Your Eminence advises me that, although the S. Congregation is disposed to give me a Coadjutor, yet it does not at all favor the appointment of Father Louis Sibourd, my Vicar General, whom I had proposed for this office. The objection is taken from his advanced age—sixty-four—also from the lack of information as to his prudence, virtue and knowledge. I readily confess that his age causes a certain amount of difficulty, as it does not permit to undergo the considerable fatigues of the Episcopal charge in such an immense Diocese. With regard to the other qualifications, I thought I had explained myself quite sufficiently. But the fact that from one point of view he does not come up to the mark of the S. Congregation is enough for me to abide entirely by its most wise decision. I had plainly stated, though, that my reason for holding so much for Father Sibourd, was that, outside of him, I had scarcely any priest in my Diocese in possession of that experience, and knowledge of men and things, which are of prime necessity in a Bishop. We will have, therefore, to postpone to some other time the election of the Coadjutor. Perhaps within one or two years will we be able to think of someone else capable of meeting the requirements of the S. Congregation, and my own. Meanwhile, as long as my strength permits, I will bear the burden alone; and I will find no mean help in the fact that, by God's infinite mercy, all hearts are now obedient to me.

Your Eminence is aware, I believe, of the amount of hatred first aroused against me in this Lower Louisiana; it went so far that I could go there only at considerable risk. It will be to you, therefore, a source

[2] This seems to refer to Propaganda Letter No. 14 (Review, Vol. II, p. 51-52), although the length of this document is not such as to justify the *"amplissimas"* wherewith Bishop Du Bourg qualifies it. But the subject matter fits in every point.

of great wonder to hear that, in this visitation of my Diocese, I have met, all the way to New Orleans, a practically unanimous welcome from the clergy and the people.[3]

This is truly the work of the Lord, and so wonderful has this change of spirit appeared, that the persons who knew the distress I was in, can scarcely believe their eyes when they behold the consolations with which the all-merciful God gladdens my soul. Among those who exhibited the greatest signs of joy and reverence at my coming, one of the most conspicuous was the Rev. Father Anthony de Sedella, the very same man who, in former times, I know not why, was most hostile to me. Words are unavailing to describe the honors with which he welcomed me, and I would dare say that there is no one more in harmony with me, no one to whom genuine affection prompts to more solicitude in my behalf. This example has given the tone to the whole city, so that I was not afraid to celebrate publicly a synod in that same city where, a year ago, merely to show myself would have meant extreme danger.

This Synod was made up of some twenty priests from Lower Louisiana. All manifested in unison both their obedience to me and their zeal for the maintenance of Ecclesiastical discipline. It afforded me likewise much consolation to see the change in morals and the increase of piety which, thanks to the labors of my brother-priests, has been effected in almost every parish within so short a space of time.[4]

As to the rest, the S. Congregation will be made fully cognizant of it by the Rev. Angelo Inglesi, a native of . . .[5] whom I mentioned in my preceding letter. I would not hesitate to ask him for my Coadjutor were it not proper, according to my judgment, to wait a few years, until he is more fully appreciated by his brother-priests.[6]

However, permit me, My Lord, to give you this hint of my wish, so that in case I should depart this life before this wish is fulfilled, Your Eminence may know that I deem no one to be more acceptable as my successor. I am glad that the present occasion is offered Your Eminence and the other Cardinals of the Sacred Congregation to know him and bring about the fulfilment of my desires.

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[3] In several letters of this period, Bishop Du Bourg attributes this wonderful change to the exertions of Father Martial, whom he cannot praise too highly. Later events reversed considerably this feeling and this esteem.

[4] This glowing report appears too optimistic; or, if there was a change, it was not lasting: for, in a letter—perhaps somewhat pessimistic, although it mentions facts—of July 13, 1822, Father Martial wrote from New Orleans: "We had not, during this whole year, one single communion, not even at Easter, despite our instructions and pressing solicitations. Carelessness in regard to religion is rampant to a frightful degree." (Archives of Propaganda. *Scritture Referite*, Cod. 7). It should be noted, however, that religion fared quite differently in the city and in country districts.

[5] Word illegible.

[6] Bishop Du Bourg seems here to forget what he had already written in the beginning of his letter of April 25, 1820 (Document XXI, above). At any rate, he was not to wait "a few years" before making a strong plea for Inglesi's promotion, as may be seen from his very next letter, of May 3. The "few years" were reduced to a little more than two months.

So far I have scarcely been able to turn my attention to the conversion of the savages, who are in great numbers in the upper part of my Diocese. But even if I had been able to do so, there were no laborers. For some time past I have been thinking, for this paramount work of charity, of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, and have left no stone unturned in order to secure some of them. In this regard I was greatly aided by His Holiness, who went so far as to write to the Superior General with a view to indorse my wishes. But hitherto our efforts have proved unsuccessful. However, I understand that the Superiors of the Society are now showing more willingness to undertake the work I have accordingly recommended to Father Inglesi to make use of every resource his intelligence and zeal could prompt in order to bring this project to maturity. I likewise beg most earnestly Your Eminence to second his efforts. There is, in particular, one of the Fathers of the Society, *De Barat* by name, now in the Little Seminary of Bordeaux, whom I know to be most anxious to come here; his piety, knowledge and zeal are beyond par. I most earnestly pray the Vicar General to give him to me; and beseech to this end the aid of Your Eminence's most powerful influence. With him some of the younger French Jesuits will be glad to come, as also others, of riper years, among those who came lately from Russia to France. Five, or six at most, would be sufficient, if to them were added two or three from Maryland—a thing most desirable on account of their knowledge of English, and also because, as these are well off financially, they could supply the want of their brothers. With this help the Gospel cannot fail to make headway among the numberless nations on both sides of the Mississippi and of the Missouri. Your Eminence should make it his business to undertake such a great work. Do manfully gird your loins to do it! If you do not, I am afraid the Protestant missionaries will wrest from us this so desirable palm of victory.

Please, Your Eminence, to pardon me the incoherence of this letter and its uncouth style. I am writing while on a journey on one of those boats propelled by steam.

✠L. Wm., Bp. of New Orl.

Upper Louisiana, St. Mathias' Day, 1821.

XXIII.

BISHOP DU BOURG TO CARDINAL FONTANA, PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA.[1]

Eminentissime Praefecte.

Etsi per duos continuos annos Sacram hanc Congregationem impensius rogare non destiterim, ut Coadjutorem mihi, in partem Episcopalis meae solicitudinis, adciscere dignaretur, numquam tamen, animum

[1] Archives of Propaganda. *Scritture referite nei Congressi.* Cod. 7. This is really the "darkest page" in the history of Bishop Du Bourg's administration.

vehementius affecerat urgens auxilii hujusmodi necessitas, quam cum in immensum succrescentes curae, decrescentesque eadem ratione vires, monent me solum tanto oneri sustentando parem diu non futurum. E memoria quippe Eminentiae Vestrae excidere nolim Diocesim hanc sexcentis et amplius leucis in longitudinem extendi, cujus utraque extremitas Episcopi praesentiam prorsus exigit. Sex fere menses nuper absumpsi in cursoria perlustratione solius inferioris Louisianae, quae licet populationem praecipuam, vix tamen sextam extensione partem Dioecesis constituit. Ducentis supra mille millibus a Nova Aurelia distat oppidum Sti. Ludovici, alterum crescentis in dies populationis centrum. Interjacentes regiones disjectis hac illac, magnoque tractu, ut plurimum, a se invicem sejunctis habitationibus componuntur. Unde facile videre potest Eminentia Vestra Episcopum unum, etsi herculeo robore, vitamque integram in arduis visitationis laboribus agat, vix ac ne vix quidem, satis muneri suo facere usquam posse. Ad haec, timor ne, me intempestive inter tot curas et continua pericula sublato, longa viduitate afflicta Dioecesis in statum recidat pejorem priore, quiescere animum non sinit, donec per Coadjutoris institutionem, ipsius et praesenti necessitati et futurae firmitati provisum fuerit.

Non diffitebor equidem virum aetate provectum parum tantis solicitudinibus aptum esse. Hujusmodi tamen non levis auxilii fuisset, Sedem suam in alterutro Dioecesis fine constituens vigilantiae saltem et continuarum peregrinationum onere me partim levasset, praeterquam quod successionis quasi quoddam extitisset vinculum. Ideo nullum praesto habens mediae aetatis sacerdotem, quem ad hoc onus proporerem, veritusque ne longe majores adversus juniorem exceptiones assurgerent, senes duos successive designaveram, Revdos. scilicet *Antonium de Sedella et Ludovicum Sibourd*. His objecit Sacra Congregatio, nec conqueror. Restat igitur ut inter juniores unum seligam, qui maturitate judicii, sincera devotione, aliisque praeclaris dotibus aetatis defectui abundantius suppleat.

Hunc, ni me fallit affectus, inveni in dilectissimo filio meo Revdo. Angelo Inglesi, quem Divina Providentia mihi consolatorem in angustiis, et baculum ingruentis jam senectutis, mirabiliter deputavit. Dicam quod res est. Neminem unquam habui tam unanimem, qui sincera dilectione pro me et ovibus meis solicitiorem se praebuerit. Haec ipsa fuit solicitudo, quae, cum viderit me subsidiis quasi omnibus, sive ad vitam sustentandam, sive ad promovendam Missionum nostrarum utilitatem indigere, ad Europam illum abduxit, ut et aere proprio, utique non modico, et mendicatis fidelibus largitionibus, inopiae nostrae suppleret, novasque, quibus plurimum deficimus, operariorum copias colligeret. Adeo vere ipsum, praecipuum Dioecesis Fundatorem, a longe salutare non dubitem. Eminentiam Vestram latere non arbitror quot jam peregrinationes hac de causa susceperit, quanta dignitate legatione sua functus, quantoque honore ubicumque a maximis etiam principibus variarumque gentium proceribus fuerit cumulatus. Haec sane prudentiam arguunt supra aetatem, nec dubitare sinunt quin novus hic Timotheus ita se in Episcopali munere sit gesturus ut nemo adolescentiam ejus contemnat. Quidni igitur non jam votis meis, sed universi

cleri et plebis Louisianensis annuatur, qui cum consona voce in Coadjutorem et successorem meum advocant?

Forsan obstant Ecclesiae leges, quae quadragesimum annum ad Episcopatum requirunt. Sed quoties cum ipsis dispensatum jam fuit! Multum profecto a quadragesimo distabant Titus et Timotheus, quin et dilectus Apostolus. Et ut ad tempus nostrum veniamus, caeteris pluribus omissis, vix arbitror trigesimo excessisse Illmum. Dnum. De Quelen, cum ad Archipiscopatum Nazianzenum et Sedis Parisiensis Coadjutorium nuper est promotus. Parcat Eminentia Vestra. Dicam quod sentio. Ubi concurrunt in praecellenti gradu, fides, prudentia, docilitas et Religionis studium, nedum hujuscemodi promotioni obstare debeat juvenilis aetas, plurimum e contrario juvare videtur. Hic enim nondum agitur de potestatis Episcopalis exercitio, sed de ejusdem, ut ita dicam, tyrocinio, quod, quanto citius incoeptum, quanto longius protractum, tanto utiliorem experientiam ad futuram administrationem comparabit. Successorem habere cupio, qui prius quam habenas suscipiat longo usu jam sacris functionibus et gubernio assuefactus fuerit; non quod ea sim praesumptione ut putem me capacem esse aliquem ad tam formidandum opus docere, sed quod, divina afflante et auxiliante gratia, ita praeter spem sucessit methodus quam diuturna et hominum et locorum notitia mihi suggessit, ut jure verear ne, alia et jam intentata ratione, tam fausta initia pessum itura sint.

Caeterum Eminentiae Vestrae et Sacrae huic Congregationi jam notum esse puto Revm. Dnum. Inglesi; Literis enim datis Lutetiae Parisiorum 23 Februarii decurrentis anni doceor eum tunc proxime in Germaniam, inde Romam profecturum; unde colligo eum Romae fore, cum istae ad manus Eminentiae Vestrae pertinent.

Judicio igitur Sacrae Congregationis omnia, ut aequum est, submitto, vehementer quidem cupiens, ut si ita Eminentissimis PP. videbitur, dictus Revus. Dnus. Romae episcopalis consecrationis ritum subeat, id enim perfecto legationis ipsius successui non modicum inserviret; sin minus, Eminentiam Vestram persuasam esse volens de mea ad nutum S. Congregationis integra resignatione. Sperans tamen me tertia vice repulsam non passurum, unum adjiciam, ut, si contigerit eum jam Roma discessum ipsius ei institutio per manus Burdigalensis Archiepiscopi quamprimum dirigatur ut episcopalem unctionem, ubicumque fuerit, recipere valeat. Sane praevidere debeo eum, pro ingenita modestia, tanto honori repugnaturum; confido tamen, cum Episcopi et fratrum suorum votis, tum praesertim consiliis Eminentiae Vestrae et Mandatis Summi Pontificis humiliter obtemperaturum.

✠Lud. Guil. Du Bourg, Ep. Neo.-Aurel.

Novae Aureliae, die Maii 3a, 1821.

TRANSLATION.

My Lord Cardinal:—

Although for the space of two years I have never ceased to beseech the S. Congregation to deign to give me a Coajutor who could take part

of my Episcopal charge, yet never was ever my mind so strongly affected by the urgent necessity of such a help, as when I hear, from the cares which increase almost to the infinite, and from my strength waning in proportion, the warning that I shall not be long able to bear alone such an immense burden. Your Eminence must not forget, indeed, that this Diocese extends to more than six hundred leagues in length, and that both ends require equally the presence of the Bishop. It has just taken me almost six months to make a rapid visitation of Lower Louisiana alone, which though it is the principal portion of the Diocese in regard to population, is scarcely one-sixth of it in point of area. More than twelve hundred miles separate from New Orleans the town of St. Louis,[2] the second center of a population which grows every day. The territory between is made up of settlements scattered here and there, and usually at considerable distances from one another. From this Your Eminence may easily realize that one Bishop, were he even endowed with herculean strength and devoting his whole time to the arduous labor of the visitations, can hardly—nay, cannot—discharge all the duties of his charge. Besides, the fear that, should it happen that, amidst so many cares and dangers, I were suddenly taken away, the Diocese afflicted by a long vacancy might fall into a condition worse than before, will not leave any rest to my mind until the appointment of a Coadjutor provides for the present necessity of the said Diocese and its future maintenance.

I readily agree that a man advanced in years is little suited for such a great solicitude. Yet such a man would neverthless be of great help, as by fixing his residence in one portion of the Diocese, he would relieve me of the burden of watchfulness and incessant travel, besides establishing a kind of bond of succession. Because I have here no priest of middle age, whom I could propose for this office, and was afraid that stronger objections would be made against the appointment of a younger man, I had designated successively two old men, namely, the Revs. *Anthony de Sedella* and *Louis Sibourd*. That the S. Congregation objected to their appointment, I do not complain. But then it remains to me to choose from among the younger clergy one who, by the maturity of his judgment, his sincere devotion and his other remarkable qualifications may make up what he lacks in years.

Such a one, unless affection misleads me, I have found in the person of my most beloved son, the Rev. Angelo Inglesi, whom Divine Providence has placed by my side to be to me a comforter in my sorrows and the staff of my coming old age. To tell plainly the truth, never did I have anyone so congenial to me, and who ever showed greater affection for me and greater solicitude for my flock. This solicitude it was which, when he saw me destitute of almost every means either of supporting myself, or of promoting the interests of our missions, led him to Europe, in order that both with his own fortune, which is not small, and with the offerings that he would beg from the faithful,

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[2] Distances were reckoned by the course of the Mississippi River, the only "highway" then available.

he might supply our want, and recruit a new band of laborers that we are so much in need of. For this reason I do not hesitate to salute him from afar as the chief founder of the Diocese. I believe that Your Eminence is aware of the journeys he has already undertaken for that purpose, of how worthily he has acquitted himself of his mission, and of the honors bestowed upon him everywhere, even by the greatest princes and the potentates of various countries. All this evinces certainly a prudence beyond his age and leaves no doubt that this new Timothy will so conduct himself in the Episcopate that no one shall despise his youth. Why should not, therefore, this satisfaction be given not only to my own wishes, but also to those of the whole clergy and people of Louisiana, who unanimously desire him for my Coajutor and successor.[3]

Perhaps this is contrary to the Church's law, requiring forty years of age for the Episcopal order.[4] But how often has not dispensation been given! No doubt, Titus and Timothy were far from their fortieth year; farther still the Beloved Apostle. And to speak of our own time, and without mentioning other cases, I am pretty sure that the Most Rev. De Quélen was scarcely over thirty years old when he was promoted to the Archbishopric of Nazianza and the Coadjutorship of Paris. I beg Your Eminence to pardon me; but I must tell all that is in my mind. Where are united in a superior degree faith, prudence, docility and zeal, far from being an obstacle, youth ought to be, on the contrary, a recommendation. For here there is not yet question of the exercise of the Episcopal power, but, if I may so say, of the apprenticeship thereof; and the sooner this is commenced, and the longer it lasts, the more useful the experience which it will impart for administration later on. The kind of successor I wish is one who, before taking in hand the reins, should be fully trained by a long practice of ecclesiastical functions and government. Not that I am so presumptuous as to think I am able to train anyone to so tremendous a work, but such unexpected happy results have, with the help of God's grace, been obtained by the method which a long acquaintance with men and places

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[3] How much "the whole clergy of Louisiana" were desiring the appointment of Inglesi as Du Bourg's Coadjutor and successor, we may gather from the letter of Father Martial already quoted above: "A letter which I wrote to him last winter in reply to his, concerning his asking Fr. Inglesi as Coadjutor, came very near estranging us. . . . The opposition which manifested itself when it became known that he wished to have Father Inglesi for his Coadjutor so rent his soul asunder that he issued forth a circular letter to the priests to strike fear into them. True, he was sorry for it afterwards, when he beheld the effect it had produced: well, clever men make sometimes frightful mistakes!" It should be borne in mind, however, that this was written after the disclosures concerning Inglesi's reported misbehavior in Rome had reached Louisiana and may be somewhat colored by these revelations. There is perhaps a little, in Father Martial's tone, of the "I told-you-so."

[4] Bishop Du Bourg is here apparently mistaken. The old ecclesiastical law required, like the new one (Can. 331), thirty years of age, in the candidates for the Episcopal Order. But this mistake in Canon Law affords to the Bishop the occasion for a display of eloquent pleading which, in view of later events, is truly pitiful.

dictated to me, that I have every reason to be afraid that, if another and untried means be adopted, these happy beginnings may turn into a failure.

At all events, I believe that by this time the Rev. Father Inglesi is known to Your Eminence and to the S. Congregation. A letter written to me from Paris on February 23 of the present year advises me that he was to leave shortly, first for Germany, then for Rome; hence I surmise he will be in Rome when this letter reaches Your Eminence.

Of course, I leave ultimately everything to the judgment of the S. Congregation; still I most earnestly desire that, if so please the Eminent Cardinals, the said Rev. Father may be consecrated over there, as this would contribute immensely to the complete success of his mission abroad; if, however, such is not your good pleasure, I want Your Eminence to be fully convinced of my unreserved resignation to the will of the Sacred Congregation. Hoping, however, that this time—it is the third time—I shall not meet with a refusal, I beg that, if he happened to have already left Rome, his brief of institution be sent him as soon as possible through the Archbishop of Bordeaux, so that he may receive Episcopal consecration at any place where he may happen to be. Of course, I must foresee that, in his modesty, he will be reluctant to accept the honor; I trust, nevertheless, that, in view of the wishes of his Bishop and of his brother-priests,[5] and still more, of the advice of Your Eminence and the command of the Sovereign Pontiff, he will humbly acquiesce.[6]

+L. Wm. Du Bourg, Bp. of New Orl.

New Orleans, May 3, 1821.

XXIV.

CARDINAL FONTANA TO BISHOP DU BOURG.[1]

NO. 15.

Maxima perfusus sum laetitia ex Ampls. Tuae litteris datis die 24 Februarii proxime elapsi, ex quibus non sine admiratione percepi magnam, ac salutarem Novae Aureliae factam esse spiritualium rerum

[5] See above, Note 3.

[6] Martial's letter adds to that story, already sad enough in itself, a statement as disparaging to Bishop Du Bourg as it is distasteful. There seems to have been a report circulating in Rome that Inglesi himself had asked to be appointed Du Bourg's Coadjutor. This is scarcely credible. How much truth there is in what follows is hard to discern: "Bishop Du Bourg," wrote Martial, "attested that the proposal that Inglesi be made Coadjutor was made to him by Propaganda itself through the Prefect, Card. Fontana; that Father Inglesi refused, and that the Sovereign Pontiff forced him to accept the Bulls, so that he might be consecrated later on in St. Louis. This last bit of information was communicated to us by the young men from Lyons and Turin which *the Count* sent us as missionaries." Bishop Du Bourg's statement must, of course, have been materially true; only he guarded carefully, in view of the prevailing opposition, from saying that Cardinal Fontana and Propaganda acted in compliance with his own (D. B.'s) earnest plea.

[1] Original in Archives of St. Louis Diocesan Chancery.

dictated to me, that I have every reason to be afraid that, if another and natural means be adopted, these happy beginnings may turn into a failure.

At all events, I believe that by this time the Rev. Father Inglesi is known to Your Eminence and to the S. Congregation. A letter written to me from Paris on February 23 of the present year advises me that he was to leave shortly, first for Germany, then for Rome; hence I surmise he will be in Rome when this letter reaches Your Eminence.

Of course, I leave ultimately everything to the judgment of the S. Congregation; still I most earnestly desire that, if so please the Eminent Cardinals, the said Rev. Father may be consecrated over there, as this would contribute immensely to the complete success of his mission abroad; it, however, such is not your good pleasure, I want Your Eminence to be fully convinced of my unreserved resignation to the will of the Sacred Congregation. Hoping, however, that this time—it is the third time—I shall not meet with a refusal, I beg that, if he happened to have already left Rome, his brief of institution be sent him as soon as possible through the Archbishop of Bordeaux, so that he may receive Episcopal consecration at any place where he may happen to be. Of course, I must foresee that, in his modesty, he will be reluctant to accept the honor; I trust, nevertheless, that, in view of the wishes of his Bishop and of his brother-priests,[5] and still more, of the advice of Your Eminence and the command of the Sovereign Pontiff, he will humbly acquiesce.[6]

+L. Wm. Do Roger, Bp. of New Orl.

New Orleans, May 3, 1821.

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[5] See above, Note 3.

[6] Rittali's letter adds to that story, already sad enough in itself, a sentence as disparaging to Bishop De Neckere as it is distasteful. "There seems to have been a report circulating in Rome that Father himself had asked to be appointed De Rouen's Coadjutor. This is scarcely credible. How much truth there is in what follows is hard to discern. "Bishop De Rouen" wrote Rittali, "attended that the proposal that Inglesi be made Coadjutor was made to him by Propaganda itself through the Prefect, Card. Fontana; that Father Inglesi refused, and that the Sovereign Pontiff forced him to accept the Bulls, so that he might be consecrated later on in St. Louis. This last is of unknown origin was communicated to us by the young man from Lyons and Turin which the Consul sent as missionaries." Bishop De Rouen's statement must, of course, have been materially true; only be exercised carefully in view of the prevailing opposition from saying that Cardinal Fontana and Propaganda acted in compliance with his own (De R.'s) general plea.

[7] Original in Archives of St. Louis Diocesan Chancery

commutationem; visitationem Tuam non modo benevole, sed etiam lactanter exceptam tum a Parocho Antonio de Sedella, qui prius adeo Tibi infestus erat, tum a reliqua Catholicorum multitudine, eorum mores tuorum operariorum studio, ac labore aliquantum reformatos, Synodum celebration, et Ecclesiasticam Disciplinam jam pene collapsam in pristinum restitutam, Benedictus Deus Pater misericordiarum, qui gratia sua aberrantes ad bonam frugem revocare dignatus est; atque ex faustis hisce principiis sperare licet futurum, ut omnia in posterum feliciter componantur. Ad Coadjutorem vero tuum, quod attinet, non satis quidem nobis probatum erat, ut ad hoc munus deligeretur D. Ludovicus Sibourd, qui Te provectior aetate est; neque Amplo Tua vel senectute, vel valetudinis incommodis adeo confecta est, ut Coadjutore nunc egeat. Potius quam Coadjutore, majori quidem Pastorum numero vastissima ista Diocesis indigere videtur; non enim in tanta Regionum amplitudine unus tantum Episcopus tot dissitorum Fidelium Curam exercere facile potest; ideoque maxime profuturum putarem, si Dioecesis ista in Tres saltem Ecclesias divideretur, quarum una inferiorem Luisianam, altera Superiorem, tertia Floridas complecti posset; et cum ita se res haberent, Dnus Sibourd, cujus merita tantopere effers, ad unam posset ex novis ejusmodi Ecclesiis promoveri. R. D. Angelus Inglesi, qui nunc Romae versatur, ac de istius Ecclesiae statu apprime certiores nos fecit, pietate, studio, ac ceteris dotibus satis cumulatus esse videtur; sed viridi adhuc aetate, ac missione recens est, ideoque expectandum, ut adhuc majora praebeat suarum argumenta virtutum, nec non experientiam, ac Populorum fiduciam, et gratiam comparare Sibi possit. Voti tamen Tui suo loco, et tempore habebitur ratio. Illud interea, de quo non minus Ampl.o Tua quam S. Congreg.o, valde sollicita est, conversionem respicit Sylvicolarum, qui in Superioribus praesertim Luisianae Partibus affluunt, quique ex errorum tenebris ad Lumen veritatis facile perduci possunt, si operariorum copia suppeteret. Equidem sentio, nullos magis ad hoc opus idoneos fore, quam Patres Societatis Jesu; omnemque propterea navabo operam, ut P. Praepositus generalis faveat sententiae tuae, nec solum permittat Patri de Barat Burdigalae moranti, ut se cum aliis, qui e Russia migrarunt, isthuc se conferat, sed etiam curet, ut duo vel tres ex Marylandia mittantur. Ampl.m Tuam de rei exitu faciam quamprimum certiorem. Sed necesse est, ut Loca designes, ac circumscribas, quae PP. Jesuitarum Missioni sint tribuenda, ne dissidia, et collisiones postea exoriantur. De his omnibus rogo Ampl.m Tuam, ut mihi sententiam Tuam aperiat; atque interim Deum precor, ut eamdem diutissime servet, ac sospitet.

Ampl.s Tuae.

Romae ex aedibus S. Congñis de Propaganda Fide 2 Junii, 1821.

Uti Frater Studiosissimus,

F. Card. Fontana, Praefectus.

Illmo, ac Rmo D. Ludovico Guillelmo Du Bourg Epo Novae Aureliae in foederatis Americae Provinciis S. Ludovicum.

C. M. Pedicini, Sec.rius.

TRANSLATION.

Right Reverend Sir:—

An immense pleasure was afforded me by your Lordship's letter in date of February 24 of this year, in which I have learned, with no small wonderment, the great and salutary change which has taken place in the spiritual life of New Orleans[2]: Your visitation was received not only with decency, but with gladness, both by the Rector, Father Anthony de Sedella, who formerly was so stubbornly opposed to you, and by the Catholics at large; the morals of the people, thanks to the zeal and work of your co-laborers, have undergone a change for the better; a synod was convened, and ecclesiastical discipline, which was almost ruined, has gained a new vigor. Blessed be God, the Father of mercies, whose grace has turned the refractory to better sentiments; from this happy beginning there is every reason to hope that everything henceforth will be arranged to satisfaction.

In regard to your Coajutator, I must say we could not see our way to select for this office Father Louis Sibourd, who is older than you; moreover, your Lordship is not so broken down either by age or by ill-health, as to be in need of a Coajutor just now. Rather than a Coadjutor, it seems that a greater number of Bishops is what that immense Diocese seems to want[3]; for in such a vast territory one Bishop alone can hardly care for the number of the faithful, scattered as they are. I should think, therefore, that it would be of the utmost interest of the Diocese if it were divided into three: one could comprise Lower Louisiana, another Upper Louisiana, and the third the Floridas. In this hypothesis, Father Sibourd, whose merit you extol so much, might well be promoted to one of these new churches. As to Rev. Angelo Inglesi, who is presently in Rome, and has given us at first hand a report of the state of your church, he seems to be possessed of enough piety, zeal and the other qualifications; but he is still quite young, and recently arrived in your Mission; we must wait, therefore, until he has a chance of giving yet better proofs of his virtue, acquiring experience and ingratiating himself into the confidence and good will of the people. Your wish, though, will be taken into account in the proper place and at the proper time.

Meanwhile what Your Lordship has no less at hand than the S. Congregation, concerns the conversion of the savages, who are in great numbers through Upper Louisiana, and may be easily brought from the darkness of error to the Light of truth, provided there are laborers. I indeed feel like yourself that no workers are better fitted for this task than the Fathers of the Society of Jesus; accordingly I will do my utmost to bring the Superior general to consent to your proposal, and not only permit to Father de Barat, now residing at Bordeaux, to go

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[2] See above, Document XXII, Note 4.

[3] This seems to have been something like a deadlock: Bishop Du Bourg insisting all along on having a Coadjutor and opposing the division of the Diocese; at least, the separation of Upper from Lower Louisiana; Propaganda, on the other hand, far from keen about the Coadjutorship, but intent on dividing the Diocese.

over there with others who came recently from Russia, but also to see to it that two or three from Maryland be sent. I shall without delay notify Your Lordship of the result of this negotiation. But you ought to mention and specify exactly the places to be attributed to the Mission of the Jesuit Fathers, in order to preclude all misunderstandings and conflicts for the future.

Concerning all these matters I beg Your Lordship to give me your opinion. Meantime I pray God to give you yet long years and good health. Your Lordship's Most Devoted Brother,

F. Card. Fontana, Prefect.

Rome, Palace of the S. Congreg. of Propaganda, June 23, 1821.
The Right Rev. Louis William Du Bourg, Bp. of New Orleans.
St. Louis, U. S. A.

C. M. Pedicini, Secretary.

XXV.

CARDINAL FONTANA TO BISHOP DU BOURG.[1]

Illme, ac Rme Dne.

Quae Ampl.o Tua de Missione erigenda in amplissima ista Diocesi sub directione, et Cura Patrum Societatis Jesu ad procurandam Sylvicolarum conversionem mihi proposuit, ea Praeposito Gen.li ejusdem Societatis enixe commendare non defui; sed ex responso, quod ille reddidit, cujusque exemplum his litteris adjungo, facile intelliges, illum pro nunc ob Operariorum paucitatem tam praeclarum opus aggredi nullo modo posse. Tuum itaque erit, alias persequi vias, quibus laudabile hoc tuum propositum perficiatur; nihil enim est tam sanctum, ac vere Apostolicum, quam barbaras gentes in errorum tenebris delitescentes ad lumen veritatis, ac aeternae salutis semitam perducere. Quod cum pro Tua satis mihi perspecta sollicitudine, ac studio Te minime neglecturum confido, D. O. M. precor, ut Ampl.m Tuam diutissime servet, ac sospitet.

Ampl.s Tuae,

Romae ex aedibus S. Congñis de Propaganda Fide 23. Junii, 1821.

Uti Frater Studiosissimus

F. Card. Fontana, Praefectus.

Illm̃, ac Rm̃o D. Ludovico Guillelmo Du Bourg, Epo. Novae Aureliae Luisiana.

S. Ludovicum.

C. M. Pedicini, Secr.ius.

TRANSLATION.

Right Reverend Sir:—

Your Lordship's proposal concerning the erection of a mission in your immense Diocese, for the evangelization of the savages, under the

[1] Original in Archives of St. Louis Diocesan Chancery.

direction, and in care of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, I did not fail to recommend warmly to the Superior General of said society. But from the answer returned by him, a copy of which I enclose herein, you may easily understand that, by reason of the scarcity of laborers, he is for the present unable to undertake this noble work. It accordingly devolves upon you to adopt other means to bring about the realization of your praiseworthy design: no work, indeed, is holier and more apostolic than that of turning barbarous nations, plunged in the darkness of error, to the light of truth and the path of eternal salvation. What I know of your solicitude and zeal assures me that you will not neglect these means.

I pray Almighty God to give Your Lordship long years and perfect health. Your Lordship's Most Devoted Brother,

F. Card. Fontana, Prefect.

Rome, Palace of the S. Cong. of Propaganda, June 23, 1821.

To the Right Rev. Louis William Du Bourg, Bishop of New Orleans, St. Louis, La.

C. M. Pedicini, Secretary.

XXVI.

CARDINAL FONTANA TO BISHOP DU BOURG.[1]

NO. 17.

Illmo, ac Rme Dne.

Cum ad examen revocata fuerint ea, quae Ampl.o Tua per literas 20. Aprilis elapsi anni exposuit circa liberatatem, quam sibi arrogare posse arbitrantur plerique istarum Provinciarum Episcopi, Promovendi nimirum ad Sacros Ordines eos, qui cum alienae sint Dioecesis in Americam proficiscuntur sacro ministerio operam daturi; non tanti quidem ponderis visa sunt Emis Patribus allata rationum momenta, ut id licitum censendum sit. Patenter quippe obstat peroulgata Innocentii XII. Constitutio *Speculatores domus Israel* edita die 4. Novembris anni 1694, quae universam afficit Ecclesiam, et in qua ad evellendos abusus, et fraudes circa Sacras Ordinationes alienorum subditorum, nec non ad veteris Disciplinae instaurationem, totiusque Christiani Populi aedificationem edicitur, nulli Episcopo licere externum quempiam sibi non subditum ad Sacros Ordines promovere, nisi ille domicilium per decennium saltem ibi contraxerit, suumque revera esse animum ibi permanendi jurejurando spoponderit, exhibitis etiam Testimonialibus litteris Ordinarii, sub quo originem duxit, prout fusius in eadem Constitutione decernitur. Ex quo quidem satis patet, Apl.m Tuam in promovendo non subditos, non servatis iisdem conditionibus in eam incidisse poenam, quae per eamdem Constitutionem infertur, ut nempe Ordinarii ab Ordinum Collatione per annum, ordinati vera a susceptorum Ordinum exequutione, quamdiu proprio Ordinario expedire videbitur, eo ipso suspensi remaneant. Cum vero Emis Patribus satis persuasum

sit, Ampl.m Tuam non in spretum Aplicae Constitutionis sed bona fide illam violasse, censuerunt, supplicandum SSmo, ut tam Ampl.m Tuam, quam eos, qui a Te sic ordinati fuerunt, Aplica sua auctoritate, quatenus opus sit, a praedictis poenis absolvere dignaretur; cui S. Congnis consilio Bmus Pater in audientia habita per infraptum Secretarium die 15. hujus mensis benigne annuit. Monitam tamen tum Ampl.m Tuam, tum ceteros istarum Provinciarum Antistites esse velim, ut in posterum eidem Constitutioni se plane conforment; atque interim Deum precor, ut Te diutissime servet, ac sospitet.

Ampl.s Tuae

Romae ex aedibus S. Congnis de Propaganda Fide 21 Julii 1821.

F. Card. Fontana, Praefectus.

Illmo, ac Rmo D. Ludovico Guillelmo Du Bourg.

Epo Novae Aureliae in Luisiana.

S. Ludovicum in agro Illinensi.

C. M. Pedicini, Secr.ius.

TRANSLATION.

Right Reverend Sir:—

On examining the matter submitted by Your Lordship in your letter of April 20 of last year, namely, the liberty which most of the Bishops of the United States think they can arrogate to themselves, of promoting to Sacred Orders those who, belonging to another Diocese, go to America to exercise there the sacred ministry, their Eminences did not deem the arguments alleged weighty enough to render the practice lawful. It evidently indeed runs counter to the well-known Constitution *Speculatores*, of Innocent XII, in date of November 4, 1694, which binds the whole Church, and in which, in view to uproot abuses and prevent frauds in the matter of the ordinations of alien subjects to Sacred Orders, as well as to restore the old discipline and promote the edification of the Christian people, it is enacted that no Bishop can lawfully raise anyone not his own subject to Sacred Orders, unless the candidate has established there his domicile for at least ten years, and affirmed under oath that he has truly the intention of remaining there; he should, moreover, bring testimonial letters from the Ordinary of the place of his birth, as is decreed quite at length in the aforesaid Constitution.

From the foregoing it is quite clear that Your Lordship, in ordaining men who were not your own subjects, without complying with the above-mentioned conditions, incurred the penalty enacted by said Constitution, namely, that the Ordinaries are suspended *ipso facto* for one year from conferring Orders, and those whom they ordained, from the exercise of the Orders received, for as long as shall be deemed expedient by their Ordinary. As Their Eminences, however, are fully convinced that Your Lordship broke the Apostolic Constitution in good faith, and not out of contempt, they were of opinion that the Holy Father should be beseeched to deign absolve from the afore-mentioned penalties, by his Apostolic authority, insofar as needs be, both Your

Lordship and those who were thus ordained by you. The Holy Father, in the audience granted to the undersigned Secretary on the 15th inst., kindly acceded to the request of the S. Congregation. I wish, however, to warn Your Lordship and all the other Prelates of the United States, that they should henceforth conform in every point with the above-mentioned Constitution. Meanwhile I pray God to keep you yet many years, and in good health. Your Lordship's Most Devoted Brother,

F. Card. Fontana, Prefect.

Rome, Palace of the S. Congr. of Propaganda, July 21, 1821.

To the Right Rev. Louis William Du Bourg, Bp. of New Orleans, Louisiana.

St. Louis of the Illinois.

C. M. Pedicini, Secretary.

XXVII.

CARDINAL FONTANA TO BISHOP DU BOURG.[1]

NO. 20.[2]

Illmo ac Rme Dne.

Semel, atque iterum scripsi Ampl.ni Tuae, ut quoniam Ecclesia ista tam ampla est, ut Episcopus unus plenam ipsius curam exercere vix possait, nimis expedire visum fuerit, eam in tres saltem partes dividere, quarum una inferiorem Luisianae partem, altera superiorem, tertia denique Floridas complecteretur. Quoties ad hanc divisionem devenire, ut spero, consenseris, unus ex novis duobus Episcopis maxime idoneus esse posse videtur Rmus D. Patritius Kelly Richmondiensis Episcopus, vir sane pietate, prudentia, atque doctrina maxime commendatus. Cum enim S. Congo justis, gravibusque de causis illum ad aliam Ecclesiam transferre decreverit, nulla opportunior offerre se posset ad hanc translationem occasio, quam in aliqua ex duabus novis erigendis Ecclesiis. Dum igitur hac de re consilium tuum sollicite expecto, D. O. M. precor ut A. T. diutissime servet, ac sospitet.

Amp.dnis Tuae.

Romae ex Ædibus S. Conñis de Prop.da Fide die 3. Octobris, 1821.

Uti Frater Studiosissimus

F. Card. *Fontana*, Praefectus.

R. P. D. Ludovico Guillelmo Du Bourg,
Epo Novae Aureliae.
S. Ludovicum.

C. M. Pedicini, Secr. ius.

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[1] Original in Archives of St. Louis Diocesan Chancery.

[2] It may be seen from the number affixed to this Document that Letters of Propaganda Nos. 18 and 19 are missing.

TRANSLATION.

Twice did I write to Your Lordship that, as your Diocese is so extensive that one Bishop can hardly take full care of it, it seemed most expedient that it should be divided into at least three parts, the first to include Lower Louisiana, the second Upper Louisiana, and the third the Floridas. Whenever you consent, as I hope, to come to this dismemberment, the Right Rev. Patrick Kelly,[3] Bishop of Richmond, would, it seems, be most suitable as one of the two new Bishops: he is a man highly esteemed for his piety, his prudence and his knowledge. As the S. Congregation has, for grave reasons, decided to transfer him to another See, no better opportunity could be found for this transfer than to put him in one of the new Bishoprics to be established.

While anxiously waiting for your opinion in this matter, I pray Almighty God to keep Your Lordship yet many years and in good health. Your Lordship's Most Devoted Brother,

F. Card. Fontana, Prefect.

Rome, Palace of the S. Congr. of Propaganda, October 3, 1821.

To Right Rev. Louis William Du Bourg, Bishop of New Orleans. St. Louis.

C. M. Pedicini, Secretary.

BISHOP DU BOURG TO CARDINAL FONTANA.[1]

Eminentissime Praefecte.

Plurima laetitia me affecerunt literae Em.ae V.ae mensis Octobris proxime elapsi, ea potissimum ratione quod mihi spem certam afferant breve consummandam fore, quam saepius ab Emo antecessore Vestro, flebilis mem. Card. Litta, imo et a SS.DD. N. enixe postulaveram, *Floridarum* a mea jurisdictione separationem. Non solum igitur earum erectioni in Sedem Episcopalem, quantum ex me pendet, assentio, sed iterum atque iterum precor ut quanto citius executioni mandetur. . . Hujus Dioeceseos limites eum qui nunc vocatur *Ager Floridarum* et Alabamae Statum complecti possent. Titulus et Sedes, ut opinor, esse debet *Oppidum Mobilense*, utpote utrique parti confine et convenientissime, juxta os praecipui fluminis, Tom-big-bee non longe a mari situm.

Quod attinet ad erectionem alterius Sedis in Civitate S. Ludovici

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[3] Born in Ireland, April 16, 1779; ordained at Lisbon, Portugal, July 18, 1802; consecrated August 24, 1820, as first Bishop of Richmond, erected in spite of the opposition of Archbishop Maréchal; the Holy See soon realized that the judgment of the Archbishop was correct, and placed the Diocese under the administration of the Archbishop of Baltimore, Bishop Kelly being transferred to the See of Lismore and Waterford (Ireland), in 1822. It will be seen that at the time of the writing of this letter, Propaganda had come to realize the impossibility of having a See at Richmond. The *"graves causae"* making the transfer of Bishop Kelly to another See are now transparent enough; but they may not have been for the Bishop of New Orleans.

[1] Archives of Propaganda. *Scritture referite nei Congressi.* Cod. 7.

in Statu Missouriano, nulli certe magis quam mihi ipsi arridere et in votis esse debet, quippe quae immensis laboribus et curis me liberaret; unum tamen me ab ea statim postulanda adhuc remoratur, nempe desiderium quo vehementer urgeor, possessiones satis amplas, quas in dotationem illius Sedis comparavi omni prorsus debito et onere prius solvendi; quod ante unum annum, Deo juvante, me effecturum confido. Libentissime tunc partem illam meae solicitudinis in manus Summi Pontificis resignabo, nulli sacrificio parcens, ut novus Antistes in ea collocatus, temporalibus curis et summa rerum omnium egestate, quae me per plures annos afflixerant, immunis esse possit. Consummato hoc opere, me accingam ad praeparandam viam formationi mediae Dioecesis inter S. Ludovicum et Novam Aureliam, quae *Statum Mississippi et Agrum Arcansas* complectatur. Sic ex una quatuor, intra paucos annos, conflabuntur, et si S.tae Sedi placuerit, novam ecclesiasticam provinciam constituere poterunt. Et quidem necesse duco de hoc prius cogitare quam ad divisionem quamcumque procedatur. Nam immensa distantia quae nos a Baltimoro separat, insuperque morum, indolum et linguarum diversitas quae vastissimam hanc regionem a caeteris Americae partibus distinguit, non patiuntur ut fractio aliqua meae Dioecesis Metropoli illi subjiciatur. Aliunde Novae Aureliae erigendarum Sedium stipiti, tum propter Episcopalem antiquitatem, tum ob ipsius opulentiam, immensamque populationem longe majore ex parte Catholicam, tum demum quia caeteris partibus facilis ad eam per commune flumen patet accessus, Metropolitana dignitas jure competere videtur.

Rev.mis et Dil.mis Fatribus et Collegis meis Bardensi, Mauricastrensi et Cincinnatensi me supplex adjungo ad postulandam denuo erectionem novae Sedis in oppido *San-Clarensi* vulgo *Detroit* in *Agro Michigan* cum annexa administratione *Agri Northwestensis* et ad proponendos ad eam occupandam, 1° loco, Rev.dum Bened.um Fenwick, S.J., qui nunc Charlestoniae Vicar Gen. . . . 2° loco *Principem Ruthenum Rev. D. Demetrium Augustinum* Galitzin . . .

✠Lud. Guil, Du Bourg, Ep. Neo-Aurel.

Novae Aureliae die 8 Februarii 1822.

TRANSLATION.

My Lord Cardinal:—

Much joy was afforded me by Your Eminence's letter of last October,[2] because, above all, it gave me certain hope that before long the Floridas will be withdrawn from my jurisdiction, as I had often earnestly requested your regretted predecessor, His Eminence, Card. Litta, and even the Holy Father himself. Not only, therefore, insofar as I am concrned, do I give my consent to their erection into an Episcopal See, but I repeat my prayer that this be done as soon as possible. . . . The limits of this new Diocese might include the present *Territory of the Floridas* and the State of Alabama. The title and the See, I think,

[2] The letter referred to is the above Document XXVII, of October 3, 1821.

ought to be the town of *Mobile,* as it is on the borders of both territories, and situated very conveniently near the mouth of the main river of that region, the Tom-big-bee, at a short distance from the sea.

As to the erection of another See in the City of St. Louis, Missouri, no one certainly can be pleased with it and desire it more than myself, as it means for me relief from immense labors and cares. Still, there is one reason why I delay asking at once for it, namely, the most earnest desire I have to free from all debts and obligations certain quite extensive properties which I have bought as an endowment for that See: I trust that, God helping, I may within a year reach this happy goal.[3] When this is accomplished I shall most gladly resign this part of my solicitude into the hands of the Sovereign Pontiff, hesitating at no sacrifice, in order that the Prelate who is appointed to this new See may be spared the temporal cares and the utmost destitution which were my lot for several years. When this is achieved I will set to work to pave the way for the formation of a new Diocese midway between St. Louis and New Orleans, which may include the *State of Mississippi* and the *Territory of Arkansas.* Thus from one Diocese four shall be made out within a few years, and if it please the Holy See these may constitute a new Ecclsesiastical province. As a matter of fact, I think that this ought to be considered before any division be decided upon. For the immense distance which separates us from Baltimore, and, besides, the differences of customs, characters and languages distinguishing this wide expanse of country from every other part of America, preclude the putting of any portion of my Diocese under the jurisdiction of that Metropolitan See. Moreover, New Orleans, the mother Church from which the Sees to be erected are springing forth, ought naturally to be given the Metropolitan dignity, on account of the antiquity of this Church, also of its wealth, and of its immense population, which is mostly Catholic, and lastly because, owing to the river flowing through all the other parts, it is easy to reach from every one of them.

I join my request to those of my Right Rev. and beloved Brothers and Colleagues of Bardstown, Mauricastrum and Cincinnati, to ask once more for the creation of a new See in the town of *St. Clair* (Detroit) in the Territory of Michigan, to which should be annexed the administration of the Northwestern Territory. As its incumbent I would propose, in the first place, the Rev. Benedict Fenwick, S.J., now Vicar General of Charleston . . . .; and as second choice, the Rev. Demetrius Augustine Prince Gallitzin. . . .

✠L. Wm. Du Bourg, Bp. of N. Orl.

New Orleans, February 8, 1822.

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[3] Bishop Du Bourg was always optimistic; he now asks for a year's respite; next year he will ask for more delay, and will at last try to have the division indefinitely postponed. Meantime he almost outdoes Propaganda's intention by proposing now a fourfold division.

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THE MISSION OF CENTRAL MISSOURI

1837—1861

I. St. Joseph's Residence, New Westphalia

In the autumn of 1837 Father Verhaegen, Superior of the Jesuit Mission of Missouri, while returning to St. Louis from the Kickapoo Mission near Fort Leavenworth, visited a colony of German emigrants, most of the mfrom Westphalia, who had settled not far from Jefferson City on the Maries River about four miles above its confluence with the Osage.[1] Here he found residing with the emigrants a Catholic priest, the Rev. Henry Meinkmann, who had accompanied some of them from Germany, but without having obtained the customary letters of dismissal from the bishop of his diocese. Moreover, having failed to apply for jurisdiction to the Bishop of St. Louis, in whose territory he was now residing, he was disqualified from exercising the sacred ministry and, as a matter of fact, made no attempt tc do so, but confined himself to the simple duties of school-teacher to the children of the emigrants. Some time after his return to St. Louis, Father Verhaegen presented Father Meinkmann's case to Bishop Rosati, who in November 1837 granted the priest permission to exercise the ministry as resident pastor of New Westphalia Settlement, the latter having previously written to his former bishop, Mgr. Droste of Munster, for the canonical exeat customary in the case of priests withdrawing from one diocese into another. Father Meinkmann thereupon assumed spiritual charge of the Westphalia Catholics who built

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1 According to a manuscript note in the Archdiocesan Archives of St. Louis, the first priest to visit New Westphalia settlement was Father Christian Hoecken, S.J., who celebrated Mass there probably as early as 1835. However, the baptismal records for his Central Missouri excursions of 1835 and 1836, though revealing his presence at Jefferson City and Cotesans-dessein in June, 1835, show no baptisms among the German settlers on Maries Creek (*Registre des Baptêmes pour la Mission du Missouri, 1832*). Father Cornelius Walters, S.J., one of the "travelling missionaries" of St. Charles, Mo., is also mentioned as having followed Father C. Hoecken in ministering to the settlers in question. Apart from Father Meinkmann, the first priest whose presence among them is vouched for by contemporary record is Father Verhaegen, whose visit in the autumn of 1837 is referred to in the text. "The Germans are most numerous in the neighborhood of Jefferson City. People have assured us there are almost fifty Catholic families there. They are pious and in better circumstances than those of Washington." Verhaegen à Rosati, November 17, 1837. It may be noted here that the first priest known to have visited the Catholics up the Missouri River was Father Charles De La Croix, who officiated at Franklin, Howard County, in 1819.

The first recorded death in the *Liber Defunctorum* of St. Joseph's Parish, Westphalia, is that of Gaspar Anthony Linneman, December 4, 1836. The burial was in St. Louis on December 6. Mary Josephine Linneman died February 3, 1837, and in default of a Catholic cemetery was buried in unconsecrated ground.

him a small wooden chapel, named for St. John the Baptist, on the north side of the Maries River.[2]

In 1835, two years earlier than the incidents recorded in the preceding paragraph, a party of Catholics from Westphalia in Germany, many of them of considerable education, had come up the Osage river and settled on the Big Maries, an affluent of the Osage river. Dr. Bruns, a physician, together with a brother of his, located at the bend of the Maries, where the town of Westphalia was later laid out, while Messrs. Nacke, Hesse, Schroeder, Gramatica, Kolks and Kaiser took up land in the immediate vicinity. They were followed in a few months by the families Zellerhoff, Fennewald, Schwarze, Westermann, Bartmann and Geisberg. Some of the emigrants, it would appear, had hoped to establish or associate themselves in some way with an institution of learning in Central Missouri, but the primitive conditions they encountered soon disillusioned them and some of their number returned to Germany. Among these was a Mr. Hesse, who in 1838 sketched a valuable map of the Maries river region indicating the respective places of settlement of the German emigrant families. In the course of 1836 Dr. Bruns and Mr. Bartmann opened the first store in the locality, a picture of which appears on the Hesse map.[3]

The project of a Jesuit residence in the interior of Missouri had been under consideration for some time previous to the visit of Father Verhaegen to the Westphalia emigrants in the autumn of 1837. The eighteen or more Catholic stations scattered along both sides of the Missouri River as far as Booneville above Jefferson City were, during the period 1828-1838, visited four or five times a year by the Jesuits of St. Charles in missionary circuits averaging from four to six weeks' duration. But such arrangement was not by any means calculated to meet effectively the spiritual needs of the territory in question; it

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2 Father Henry Meinkmann of the diocese of Münster in Germany was ordained in 1829 at Lucerne in Switzerland. For three years prior to his coming to America in 1836, he exercised the ministry at Hinsbeck in Münster. On relinquishing this post he obtained commendatory letters from the curé of Hinsbeck; but, on soliciting a document of like tenor from the Vicar-General of the diocese of Münster, was assured by that official, apparently in good faith, that no credentials other than those furnished by the curé of Hinsbeck would be found necessary in America. Father Meinkmann applied to Bishop Rosati for faculties in April 1837. Father Helias who became acquainted with the peculiar circumstances in which Father Meinkmann was placed and who speaks of him as "that Israelite in whom there is no guile," induced Father Verhaegen in November, 1837, to lay the case before Bishop Rosati: "The Germans of Westphalia, such is the name they give to their colony, said many fine things about the good priest of whom Father Helias speaks: but those of more influence among them observed to me that he would not suit, as he could not wield over them the authority and influence which the Sacred Ministry requires and this for the reason that he has resided so long among them without the usual powers of a priest, merely as a schoolteacher etc." Verhaegen à Rosati, November 17, 1837. Cf. also Meinkmann ad Rosati, April 13, 1837 (*Archdiocesan Archives of* St. Louis); Helias à Verhaegen, November 15, 1837; *Litterae Annuae*, 1838.

3 *History of Cole, Moniteau, Morgan, Benton, Miller, Maries and Osage Counties*, p. 679, Chicago, 1889. "From the mouth of the Maries up the following names appear: Dohmen, Messerschmidt, Scheulen, Hoecyway, Colson, Kunermann, Zellerhoff, H. Huber, Höcker, Hesse (jetzt Bössen), Geisberg, Gramatica, Dr. Bruns (at site of Westphalia); on the west fork, David Bruns, Herman Bruns, Fellups and Hilt; on the east fork, Ahrez, Huber, Linnemann, Cons, Hesler and Schwarz; on the west uplands, Ahrez, Clarenbach, Zurmegede, Chipley (Shipley), Carl Huber, Nacke and Fennewald; on the northeast uplands, F. Schwarze, Wilson, Lee (Smith's Postoffice) and the McDaniels. It will be seen that those to the northeast on the map are Americans. On the map, too, is a cut of the first loghouse at Westphalia, built by Dr. Bruns. . . . . There had been a few of these stations as early as 1825." Id. p. 635. A copy of Hesse's book, *Das westliche Nordamerika in besonderer Beziehung auf die deutschen Einwanderer in ihren landwirthschaftlichen, Handels- und Gewerbeverhältnissen*, Paderborn, 1838, is in the library of the Jesuit residence of St. Joseph's, St. Louis.

was, perforce, provisional only, pending the establishment of a centrally located headquarters for the missionaries. Already in 1836 the author of the Annual Letters of the Missouri Mission pointed to the Catholic settlement of eighy souls on "St. Mary's Creek," the Westphalia settlement above referred to, as a likely place for a Jesuit residence. Partly, therefore, to supply the spiritual wants of the growing Catholic emigrant population of Osage and Gasconade Counties, and partly to secure a missionary center for the Fathers from which they could conveniently attend the various Catholic stations of Central Missouri, Father Verhaegen, with the consent of Bishop Rosati, decided to open a residence on Maries Creek. April 23, 1838, at a meeting of the Superior with his official advisers, it was determined that "Father Helias and Brother Morris be sent to the station generally known as Westphalia settlement near Jefferson City."

Father Helias, who was thus commissioned to take in hand the projected residence, is a figure of more than usual interest in the pioneer history of Missouri. Ferdinand Benoit Marie Guislain Helias d'Huddeghem came of a noble Flemish family, having been born August 3, 1796, at Ghent in Belgium in the Prinzen Hof, the same house in which the Emperor Charles the Fifth first saw the light of day.[4] As a student at the Jesuit College of Roulers in Belgium, he counted Father Van Quickenborne among his professors. He entered the Society of Jesus in his native town, Ghent, finished his novitiate at Montrouge in France, and was transferred thence to the college of Brieg in Switzerland. Fram there he came to the United States in 1833, where he spent the two following years in the newly erected Maryland Province, being employed in various charges, among others that of Assistent-Master of Novices. Transferred to the Missouri Mission in 1835 by order of the General, Father Roothaan, he arrived at St. Louis University August 22 of that year. Here in the course of the three following years, he taught French, German, and on occasion Canon Law and Moral Theology, and was, besides, employed as pastor of the German Catholics of North St. Louis, whom he began to organize into the future St. Joseph's parish.

Father Helias left St. Louis for his new destination May 3, 1838. An entry in the house-diary of St. Louis University chronicles the event:

> "May 3. Father Helias set out from this house to take in hand a mission in a place called Liel-town, a German settlement.[5] In that man burns a truly divine zeal, for courageously has he accepted the task imposed on him, an arduous one withal, as there are heartburnings and dissensions to be healed before any good can be accomplished among the people. A church and presbytery, both of logs, have been erected in the place."[6]

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4 Lebrocquy, *Vie du R. P. Helias D'Huddeghem de la Compagnie de Jesus.* Gand, 1878, pp.

5 "In 1831 Benjamin Lisle started a settlement named after him, Lisle-town, at the head of the Maries Creek. The first post-office in Osage County was here. Owing to the growth of the neighboring Westphalia, Lisletown proved a failure." Conard, *Encyclopedia of the History of Missouri,* (?) The post-office was transferred about 1838 from Lisletown to Westphalia, Dr. Bernard Bruns, the Catholic doctor of the place, being appointed postmaster.

Father Helias was accompanied on his journey up the Missouri River by Fathers De Smet, Eysvogels and Verhaegen and Brother Claessens. Father De Smet was on his way to Council Bluffs, Father Eysvogels and Brother Claessens were destined for the Kickapoo Mission, while Father Verhaegen was to make an official visitation of the Kickapoo Mission. A fellow-passenger of the Jesuits was Captain Sutter, noted Santa Fe trader and the future discoverer of the California gold-fields. The steamer coming to a dead stop at least twice, owing to the complete collapse of her machinery, Father Helias at length took to land and made the last stgaes of his journey on horseback. He arrived on May 11, at Côte-sans-dessein, a Creole settlement on the left bank of the Missouri in Calloway County, near the mouth of the Osage River and said Mass there in a private house. The Sunday following, (May 12), the Fourth after Easter and Feast of the Patronage of St. Joseph, he celebrated Mass in Westphalia and was duly installed as pastor of the German Catholic congregation.[7] To the log-church, which his parishioners had begun to build the year before, he gave the name of St. Joseph. Several considerations determined this choice as his biographer informs us. First, there was the circumstance that his dear friend, Bishop Rosati of St. Louis, bore the name Joseph. Moreover, Father Helias had always cherished a particular devotion to the foster-father of the Savior, as the patron of his own Belgium and of the German Empire of the Middle Ages. Finally, even under the Spanish regime, the district laid out as Gasconade County had been organized into an administrative unit known as the Parish of St. Joseph, with headquarters at Côte-san-dessein.[8]

Father Helias at once took in hand the cultivation of the extensive spiritual field entrusted to his care, Father Meinkmann at fisrt assisting him in his labors. The latter appears to have been a man of excellent intentions, but without tact in dealing with the numerous parties of German emigrants that made up his congregation. Among the things charged against him was that he confined his ministrations to the group of Rhinelanders whom he had accompanied from Germany and neglected the other portions of his flock, the Westphalians in particular taking umbrage at the line of action followed by their pastor. As there seemed little prospect of healing the differences between Father Meinkmann and the Catholics of New Westphalia, Bishop Rosati transferred him in 1839 to the newly established parish

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6 Helias, *Mémoires du Rd. P. Ferdinand Helias D'Huddeghem prêtre missionaire de la Compagnie de Jésus en Amérique* (Ms.). Contains prefatory letter addressed to Father De Smet from Taos, Cole County, Mo., St. Francis Xavier, 1867. According to the article in *Missouri Historical Review*, 5:87 (July 1915) Fathers Helias and De Smet left St. Louis for Westphalia on a trip of investigation April 4, 1838. On April 30, Father Helias blessed the marriage of Gerhard Aufderheide and Anna Mary Schlauermann, the first recorded in the Westphalia marriage register. Only three days after, May 3, occurred Father Helias's second departure from St. Louis for Westphalia.

7 Lebrocquy, *op. cit.*, p. 185. "13a Maii Dominica IVa Post Pascham, Festum Patrocinii Sti Joseph titular. Westphaliae instalavi me primum huius Paroeciae Pastorem primumque Sacrum dixi." Memorandum of Father Helias indorsed *"Dies Memorabiles F. Mae Helias S.J."*

8 Lebrocquy, *op. cit.*, p. 206. The statement that a civil district or parish named for St. Joseph was laid out in Central Missouri under the Spanish regime is not supported by any known historical evidence.

of St. Francis Borgia, in Washington, Franklin County.[9]

Although the colony of Westphalia emigrants settled on Maries Creek went by the name of New Westphalia Settlement prior even to the advent of Father Helias, the foundation proper of the town, known first as New Westphalia and later simply as Westphalia, appears to have been laid in 1838 under the immediate direction of Father Helias himself.[10] In the year named Fathers Verhaegen, DeTheux and Smedts acquired from Francis Geisberg for a nominal consideration of five dollars, forty acres of land on the left bank of the Maries River. Shortly after his arrival Father Helias, with his Superior's approval, after reserving fourteen acres to himself as a means of support, divided the remaining twenty-six into lots which he offered to the mechanics and laborers of the German colony, farmers being excluded from the offer. They were to be given a ninety-nine year lease to their respective lots, which they were to hold rent free the first five years, and afterwards on an annual payment of two or five dollars, according to the value of the lot. The money derived from this source was to go to the maintenance of the church. Subsequently, to remove all ground of invidious gossip, the lots were deeded over to the tenants in fee-simple. Such was the beginning of the town of New Westphalia.[11]

The log-church which served the needs of the Catholics of New Westphalia until the construction of a fine stone church in 1848 belonging to that type of architectural makeshift which includes both church and presbytery under a single roof. Bishop Rosati blessed it on the occasion of his first visit to New Westphalia October 14, 1838, on which occasion he administered Confirmation to thirty-eight mem-

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9 *Residentiae Sti Francisci Xaverii Centralis Exordium et Progressus*, 1838-1848 (Helias Mss), p. 3. Father Helias refers to Father Meinkmann as *vir ceteroquin simplex et cordatus.*

10 Father Meinkmann's letter of April 13, 1837, to Bishop Rosati is dated from "New Westphalia Settlement."

11 *Litterae Annuae*, 1838. The deed of transfer of the Westphalian property from Francis Geisberg to P. J. Verhaegen, Theodore De Theux and J. B. Smedts under date of June 25, 1838, was recorded at Mount Sterling, Gasconade County, on July 5 of the same year. According to the account in Goodspeed's *History of Moniteau etc.* Geisberg entered 200 acres of public land on the Maries, 40 of which he subsequently donated for the erection of a Catholic church. Cf. in this connection Father Helias's Latin verse,

Atque novae fundamina fiximus Urbis
Westphaliae.

The forty acres conveyed by Francis Geisberg is described in the deed of transfer as the N.E. ¼ of S.W. ¼ of Section 26, Tp. 43, Range 10 W. A forty foot street (Main Street) cut it diagonally from Southeast to Northeast. The lots appear to have been originally leased to the settlers for a ninety-nine year term (1839-1938). The conditions of the lease were recorded by Father Helias in a Baptismal Register now preserved among the records of St. Francis Xavier Church, Taos, Cole County, Mo. According to this document, the town of Westphalia was laid out in two divisions, the second division being the property of a Mr. Gramatica. Father Helias's forty acres did not therefore comprise the entire town-site of Westphalia. The tenant of Father Helias's lots promised "to keep his house in good condition, to build a post-fence in a straight direction along the street and to hold in his house or on his messuage no people of bad morality reputed as a nuisance and a public disturber of the people."

All of the forty acres appears to have been sold by Father Helias with the exception of the one acre on which the old church, subsequently used as a school-house, was standing in 1861. The property on which stand the present church, convent and school was purchased from various parties. The present stone church was built on a lot acquired September 18, 1847, from Mrs. Gertrude Evans, a widow, whose skilful nursing saved Father Helias's life when the doctors had given him up.

bers of the parish.[12] The prelate preached on this day in English, while Father Verhaegen, his companion in the visitation of the diocese which he was then performing, also addressed the congregation in English.[13] A school-building, also of logs, was put up within a year or two of Father Helias's arrival. The duties of school-teacher were discharged for a while by Father James Buschotts, who joined Father Helias July 27, 1838. Father Buschotts remained in New Westphalia to September 23 of the following year, when he was transferred to the new Jesuit residence of St. Francis Borgia in Washington, Missouri. Father Helias was then left without an assistant priest until the arrival in 1846 of Father James Cotting.[14]

Ecconomic conditions among the German settlers of Osage County in its pioneer period were extremely crude.[15] The journey to America had depleted the purse of most of the emigrants; as a consequence, they often were without capital in money or tools with which to begin the struggle for existence in the New World. They were thus forced to borrow; but they found the American settlers who had preceded them into the wilderness, ready to lend. "I have often heard," a Westphalia pastor, Father Nicolas Schlechter, S.J., wrote in 1884, "several German families saying that when they came to the county they were in great poverty and obliged to beg, and that for entire weeks and months; but they invariably added: 'The Americans were good; they never grew tired of our asking, but simply said: 'take it.' "[16]

Good, strong wagons were the thing the farmers needed most of all. Though these could be obtained in St. Louis, money was scarce and the cost of shipping the wagons all the way to Westphalia and other settlements in Osage County was prohibitive. Necessity, however, suggested to the farmers the invention of a type of home-made wagon which for years answered all their needs of transportation.

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12 "From Jefferson City we went to New Westphalia, 15 miles, in Gasconade County, a German Congr. F. Helias with F. Buschotts reside there and take care of the Congns. of Jefferson City and others. I blessed the church last Sunday, gave confirmation to 26 persons, blessed the Graveyard and gave confirmation the next day to 9 persons more." Rosati to Timon, Oct. 20, 1838. Cf. Lebrocquy, *op. cit.*, pp. 204-207 for some interesting details in connection with the blessing of the church. "Le souvenir de cette grande journée ne s'effaça jamais de la mémoire du P. Hélias."

13 *Litterae Annuae, 1838.*

We subjoin here Bishop Rosati's own account of the event as he described it in his *Diary:*

"October 14. XIXth Sunday after Pent. At 8 a. m. said Mass in the church and gave communion to the people. At 10, we assembled in the church, which I solemnly blessed according to the rite described in the Roman Ritual. Then Father Buschotts celebrated Mass solemnly; after the Gospel I preached in English, for most of the Germans know this language, and there were present a number of American protestants. After Mass and the singing of the Hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus,* I gave the sacrament of Confirmation to twenty-six persons of both sexes, whom I exhorted to perseverance. Finally Father Verhaegen preac'ed in English on Catholic Religicn.

At 3 p.m. we assembled at the church, whence we came to the adjacent cemetery, which I blessed solemnly according to the Roman Pontifical. Returned to the church, I talked to the people about the blessing just performed, the pious thoughts which the sig't of the cemetery must rouse in the mind of the Catholics, to the persons to whom ecclesiastical burial is denied; and I requested Father Helias to repeat in German what I had said in English. At length, in order to return thanks to God for the benefit conferred upon this parish, we sang the *Te Deum.*"

14 *Residentiae Sti Francisci Xaverii* etc. p. 8.

15 Osage county was organized out of Gasconade county, January 29, 1841.

16 Father Schlechter was pastor in Westphalia, 1882-83 and in Loose Creek 1883-84.

Not a nail or bit of iron was used in the construction; wooden bolts held togetther beam, cross-beam, shaft and axle-tree. But the wheels were the most characteristic feature of this singular conveyance. These were of one piece, being circular-shaped slices from the trunks of huge sycamore trees. We may well believe that these curious wagons, as they were drawn along by plodding oxen, made a hideous clatter, proverbial throughout the county long after the pioneer stage of its history had come to an end.

II. Missionary Excursions 1838-1842

Father Helias had scarcely arrived at New Westphalia when he began from there, as base of operation, the series of periodic missionary excursions which were to accomplish so much for the upbuilding of Catholicity in Central Missouri. Eleven counties, Franklin, Gasconade, Osage, Cole, Moniteau and Cooper on the south side of the Missouri and Warren, Montgomery, Callaway, Boone and Howard on the north side, were included in the area traversed.[17]

He said his first Mass at New Westphalia May 13, 1838. On May 24, Feast of the Ascension, he officiated at French Village and the day after at Côte-sans-dessein, where a number of adults made their First Holy Communion. Saturday he was at Hibernia or Hibe-

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17 A manuscript account compiled by Father Helias in 1838 (*Excursiones Missionis Centralis*) contains a census of the Catholic stations along the Missouri with the names in many cases of the persons in whose houses divine services were held. The figures indicate the number of families. *South Side of the Missouri:* Manchester, St. Louis Co., 10; Washington, Franklin Co., (Uhlenbrouck's house near the town) 118; Burbus, Franklin Co., 11; Henry Reed's Settlement, Franklin Co. 5; Bailey's Creek, Gasconade Co., (Jh. Logsden), 22; French Village, (Louis Leblanc's house near the Osage River), 24; Loose Creek, (Aug. Pequinot), ; Cadet [Cade?] Creek (J. B. Bonnot), 25 (services in these two places generally held in the district school-house); across the Osage at Herman Nieters, Liberty Township, 20; Jefferson City, (Henry Haar's tavern [*publica taberna*], the missionary lodging with Mr. Withnell, Architect of the Capitol); Barry's Settlement, Cole Co., (P. Barry), 10; Moniteau River (F. Joseph Weber), 40; Booneville (Anthony Fuchs [Fox] and Peter Joseph), 15; Pilot's Grove (on the prairie at Romersbergers [Anthony, Remsberger]), 15; near Georgetown, Pettis Co., (Dr. Bruhl). *North Side of the Missouri:* Fayette and Chariton, (Mr. Post) 5; Columbia, Boone Co., (Mr. Lynch, Jr., and outside the town, Mr. Lynch, Sr.), 13; Portland, (Priestly Gill), 8; Hancock Prairie, (John Shannon, 10; Cote-sans-dessein (Widow Roy), 20; Rocheport, 26 [families?]; Lay Creek, 34; Mount Pleasant, 30; Martinsville [Marthasville] opposite Washington, 3.

In another list mention is made of a congregation of Irish, perhaps Barry Settlement, near Marion, Cole Co., not to be identified, it would seem, with St. Patrick's congregation in Hibernia. Pisgah, Cooper Co., (house of John Fay) also occurs as one of the stations visited by Father Helias.

Father Helias's census of Catholic families in Central Missouri for April 1, 1839, is an historical document of value; it does not, however, include all the stations in the missionary's circuit. We reproduce it from the *Missouri Historical Review, July,* 1915, p. 85:

Westphalia: Bernard Bruns, Doctor of Medicine; Geisberg, Brockmann, Ottens, Gramatica, Walters, Schmitz, Otto, Debeis, Eppen[illegible]of, Oldenlehre, Haler, Nacke, Bartmann, Eck, Knueve, Zellerhoff, Juchmann, Bose, Eckmeier, Kolks, Vennewald, Lueckenhoff, Meierpeter, Schuelen, Krekel, Dohmen, Stiefemann, Hagenbreck, Boessen, Linnemann, Goetzen, Arzt, Brockerhoff, Kern, Wilhaupt, Schwartze, Hasslag, Holtermann, Sudhoff, Borgmann, Kuess, J. Schater, Kolkmeyer, Richters, Hart.

Jefferson City: Withnell, Hannan, Buz, Kramer, Tellmann, Monaghan, Ryan, Gilman, Corker, Bauerdick, Brand, Doherty.

Loose Creek: Monnier, Valentin, Cordonier, Brichaud, Besson, Saulnier, Stoffen, Farrell, Reed, Burbus.

French Village: Peter Goujon, Louis Goujon, Angelica Mercer, widow; Gleizer, Picqueur, Vincennes, Denoyer, Luison, Leblanc.

Cote-sans-dessein: Roye, Faye, Arnould, Nicholas, Renaud

Bailey's Creek: Logsden, Simon, Welch, Howard, Folgs, Serpentin, Miller, Heth.

Portland: Priestly Gill.

Hancock Prairie: Joseph Shannon, Thomas Flood, Anna Catharina, widow of John Preis.

Columbia: Lynch and Kitt.

Booneville: Fuchs, Weler, Fis, Pecht, Fay, Morey, Dr. Heart, Rockwie, Briel.

New Franklin: Matthias Simon.

nium, some five miles to the northeast of Jefferson City.[18] The next day, Sunday, May 27, he celebrated Mass for the first time in Jefferson City, in a private house, which is apparently still standing, being No. 325 High Street.

Nowhere was he given a heartier welcome than in Jefferson City.[19] The Catholic population of the town consisted of about one hundred and fifty souls, chiefly German and Irish emigrants, most of whom were employed as laborers on the new Capitol building then in process of construction.[20] Father Helias spent a few days among these good people and afterwards revisited them regularly once a month. Before the close of 1838, sixteen hundred dollars had been collected among the Catholics for a church and school to be placed under the invocation of St. Ignatius of Loyola. Mr. John Withnell, architect of the Capitol and personally known to Father Helias, offered his professional services for the new edifice at a nominal charge. The Irish and German workmen employed on the Capitol also volunteered their help. The only difficulty that beset the venture was the lack of a suitable site. Mr. Charles Dwyer of St. Louis offered Father Helias one of the twelve lots which he owned in Jefferson City; but the property was too remote from the heart of the town to serve the purpose of a suitable church-site. However, a happy solution of the difficulty presented itself from a rather unexpected quarter. The old Capitol building, rendered unnecessary for public business by the construction of the new one, might perhaps be turned over to the Catholics for a church.

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18 *Dies memorabiles* etc., Wetmore's *Gazetteer of Missouri* (St. Louis, 1837) lists Hibernia as a post-office of Callaway County. ("Holt's Settlement [Summit], Hibernia, on the C. and A. R. R. 20 miles south of Holton," Campbell, *Gazetteer of Missouri*, p. 97). According to a *status animarum* for the Mission of Central Missouri compiled by Father Helias, "St. Patrick's Congregation in Hibernium" counted only ten souls in 1838-39, a number which has dwindled to five in 1849. On August 12, 1827, Father Van Quickenborne administered four baptisms at "Hibernia near Jefferson", among the recipients being Francis Pomponius Atticus Dillon, son of Patrick M. and Anna C. Nash, born June 1, 1824. *Baptismal Register*, St. Ferdinand's Church, Florissant, Mo.

19 The first Catholic priest mentioned in contemporary records as having visited Jefferson City was Father Verhaegen, S.J., who preached a mission there in 1828. Supra, p. 157. A manuscript memorandum in the *Archdiocesan Archives*, St. Louis, states that he said Mass in Jefferson City in 1836. According to a sketch of Catholicity in Jefferson City in the *Missouri Volksfreund*, October 7, 1896, the first Mass in the place was celebrated by Father Felix Verreydt, S.J., in 1831. It is certain that Mass was said there at least as early as this date, though Father Helias in his *Dies Memorabiles* appears to lay claim to the honor of celebrating the first Mass in Jefferson City, May 27, 1838. Services on this occasion were held "in the large hall of the German Boarding House of Mr. Henry Haar," (Memorandum, *Archdiocesan Archives*, St. Louis), probably the house 325 High Street, still standing in 1896. Cf. *Missouri Volksfreund*, Oct. 7, 1896. The house of Gebhard Anthony Kramer "near the Capitol" is also mentioned by Father Helias as a place where he held services in his early visits to Jefferson City. Supra, p. 163, Note 17

The earliest recorded baptisms in Jefferson City appear to be two performed by Father Christian Hoecken on June 18, 1835, when he baptized George Ward, son of Patrick Ward and Mary Dillon Ward, and Charles Julius Haebert, son of Caspar and Julia Haebert. *Registre des Baptêmes pour la Mission du Missouri*, 1832). Father Helias's first baptism in the town was that of Edmund Dougherty, son of Andrew and Helen Dougherty, May 26, 1838. The earliest Catholic burials in Jefferson City, as entered in the Westphalia *Liber Defunctorum*, are those of Richard O'Connor, September 11, 1838, and John O'Brien, September 15, same year; Father Helias being the officiating priest on both occasions.

20 *Annuae Litterae*, 1838. *Residentiae S. Francisci Xaverii Centralis Exordium* etc. (Helias Mss.)

Bishop Rosati, assisted by Father Verhaegen, administered Confirmation in Jefferson City in October, 1838. "I gave confirmation in the Hall of an Hotel in Jefferson City to 11 persons on a week day: there are two hundred Catholics, not yet a church, but we have begun to make arrangements to have a decent one in stone. Mr. Withnell, who is building there the Capitol very kindly received us in his house: he will be of great service in the building of the church." Rosati to Timon, October 20, 1838 (*Archdiocesan Archives*, St. Louis).

The idea was taken up by some of the Catholic residents of Jefferson City, who secured a large number of signatures to a petition to this effect, even among the non-Catholic citizens. The petition was presented in due course of time to the Legislature. Here a resolution in its favor was carried in the Senate by a unanimous vote, but the same resolution going before the Lower House, was defeated by a majority of four. It was necessary, therefore, to look for another site. During all this time, hope was entertained by the Catholics of Jefferson City of having a Jesuit College or Academy in their midst. Father Verhaegen, Superior of the Missouri Mission, declined, however, to take any step in this direction, being too much pressed by the difficulties of the existing institutions of the Mission, to engage in any such perilous educational venture. But a church was a distinct need of the Catholics of the town and ground for a site having been purchased, a frame structure under the invocation of St. Ignatius Loyola was erected in 1841 and dedicated Easter Sunday, 1843. It continued to be served by Father Helias until the arrival in July, 1846, of Father P. Murphy, the first resident priest of Jefferson City.[21]

Father Helias was the first Catholic priest to minister to the inmates of the State penitentiary in Jefferson City.[22] One instance, occurring in 1839, of his success in dealing with the prisoners may be cited here. A young Englishman, Henry Lane by name, of aristocratic connections and a one-time college student, at least so report had it, was under sentence of death. His desperate antecedents promised small hope of any spiritual impression being made upon him. Father Helias, however, undertook to prepare him for death with the result that the young man underwent a complete change of heart and went to his fate with the most edifying sentiments of faith and repentance. The crowd who gathered to twitness the execution looked for a desperate struggle from the criminal when brought to the gallows. To their surprise, nothing of the kind occurred. On the contrary, he walked to the scaffold without handcuffs and with a crucifix in his hand, and the words of warning which he addressed to the spectators on the vice of drunkenness brought tears to the eyes of many. The breaking at the last moment of the hangman's rope when it was already around the neck of the condemned man failed to unnerve him. He persevered to the end in his pious sentiments, the sacred names of Jesus and Mary rising to his lips in the brief spell of agony that preceded death.[23]

In the Creole settlements of Côte-sans-dessein and French Village Father Helias found the fruits of his ministry somewhat meagre, owing to the habitual religious indifference of the people.[24] He notes in

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21 The *Status Animarum* etc., 1848-49 (Helias Mss.) gives the date 1841 for the building, at least in its initial stages, *(fundatio templi)*, of the Jefferson City church. Father Helias's *Mémoires*, p. 54, fixes the date as 1842. The *Status Animarum*, compiled not later than 1850, is probably a safer guide on this point than the much later *Mémoires*. The church was dedicated Easter Sunday, 1843. "On Easter Sunday the neat frame church erected by Father Helias S.J. in the city of Jefferson was dedicated to Divine Worship under the invocation of St. Ignatius of Loyola." *Catholic Cabinet*, Vol. I, May 1843, p. 60.

22 *Status Animarum* etc. (Helias Mss.)

23 *Litterae Annuae*, 1840.

24 For notices of Cote-sans-dessein and French Village, cf. supra p. 163. Dauphine, later Bonnot's Mill, was a sort of second growth of French Village. St. Francis Regis was patron of the Cote-sans-dessein congregation.

his record for 1838 certain sudden and unhappy deaths among the more obdurate of the Creoles. One of their number felling an oak on Christmas Day, was crushed to pieces under the falling tree in the presence of his wife and mother. The Sunday following, a bitterly cold day, two men returning home from a tavern late at night in a drunken condition lost their way and were obliged to crawl along the ground on all fours in an effort to find the road. One of the men was frozen to death, the other nearly so, so that it was necessary to amputate his fingers and toes to save his life. Again, a woman of disedifying life who had listened to Father Helias preaching on the certainty of death, but without being moved to any attempt to amend her ways, was, on the very day after the sermon, suddenly stricken down. The lesson taught by these and other examples of what looked like summary divine punishment was not altogether lost on the inhabitants of French Village and Côte-sans-dessein. In pleasing contrast to the frivolous, irreligious ways of the latter was the strong faith and practical piety of a group of recently arrived French-Canadians of whom Father Helias makes mention, and who proposed to start a settlement of their own to be known as New Besançon. There is no record of such intention having been carried out.[25]

A much higher level of Catholic faith and practice prevailed in the other stations, near and far, which Father Helias was accustomed to attend in his missionary circuit. The stations nearest to Westphalia he visited monthly, the more remote ones, twice and three times a year. Typical of the eagerness of the pioneer Catholic settlers of Central Missouri to welcome a priest in their midst was an incident that occurred at Portland, Callaway County, a town on the north bank of the Missouri some miles below Jefferson City. Here one day the Catholics of the vicinity began to assemble in a private house to listen to a sermon which Father Helias was announced to preach. So many, however, had gathered for the occasion that there was no possibility of accommodating them within the four walls of the house. The entire congregation thereupon withdrew to an adjoining field and here under a scorching August sun the missionary conducted divine service. It is recorded that just as Father Helias began to read the Gospel of the Sunday, a great cloud hid the sun from view and that at the very moment the services came to an end the sun reappeared and glared again with great intensity. The people of Portland were so impressed by Father Helias's visit to them on this occasion that one of their number was dispatched to St. Louis to offer Father Verhaegen, in the name of the rest, a purse of $2000.00, together with five acres of land, as an inducement to the Superior to establish a Jesuit college in their town.[26]

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[25] *Historia Westphaliae*, p. 8. *Residentia Sti Francisci Xaverii Centralis Exordium et Progressus*, 1838-48 (Helias Mss.).

[26] *Litterae Annuae*, 1839. Father Christian Hoecken S.J. baptized at Portland June 30, 1835, Mary Ann Gill, daughter of Priestly Gill and Mary Norris. *Registre des Baptêmes pour la Mission du Missouri*, 1832. Portland is in Callaway County on the Missouri River, twenty-four miles southeast of Fulton. At Hancock Prairie, also in Callaway County, a few miles from Portland, there was a small Catholic congregation.

Something of a clan-system developed among the German settlers as a consequence of their having arrived in Missouri in successive parties and from different districts of Germany. The emigrants from Westphalia and Hannover clustered together in and around New Westphalia in the western part of Osage county. Those from the Lower Rhine settled in the northern parts of the county around Loose Creek as a centre. Finally, the Bavarians took up land in the southern part of the county near the Gasconade river, their principal settlement being named Richfontain by Father Helias on account of the abundance of clear spring water found in the neighborhood. Besides the settlements named, all of which were within the limits of Osage county, there was a colony of Belgian and Hanoverian emigrants, numbering in all about two hundred souls, west of the Osage river in Cole county. It was here that Father Helias, in 1840, built his second church, that of St. Francis Xavier.

The first visit of Father Helias to this locality, where he was destined to make his home for the greater part of his career in Central Missouri, occurred on May 28, 1838, when he celebrated Mass in the house of one of the settlers, Mr. L. Nieters, there being no church at the time in the place.[27] Having secured ten acres of land centrally situated with reference to the German farmers of the neighborhood, he began to lay plans for the erection of a wooden church. The site, however, did not commend itself to a certain group among the parishioners, who advocated the purchase of a tract of government land forty acres in extent. But Father Helias insisted on the choice already made. The property he had secured lay within easy reach of both Westphalia and Jefferson City, was near a public highway and had the advantage of an agreeable position on rising ground, with a fine spring of the coolest water at hand. Moreover, there was land enough for a presbytery and cemetery, both of which would have to be provided soon. Against the counter-proposition to build the church elsewhere, was the further objection that the site suggested besides being undesirable as a location, would have to be bought and that the money for this purpose would have to be borrowed: and, as Father Helias observes, "borrowed money and a foolish purchase make a sorry combination." The advocates, however, of a new site were insistent and even carried the case to St. Louis to Father Verhaegen, at that time Administrator of the diocese in the absence of Bishop Rosati in Europe. Happily, the controversy was adjusted and Father Helias was enabled to build the church in 1840 on the site he had chosen.[28]

The village which grew up in the course of time around the church of St. Francis Xavier owed its origin, in a sense, to Father

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27 *Dies Memorabiles* (Helias Mss.)

28 *Litterae Annuae*, 1840. The church property, a tract of ten acres, was conveyed by Henry and Gertrude Haar, June 5, 1840, the consideration being five dollars, to Fathers Verhaegen, De Theux and Smedts. It was in N.E. ¼ of N.W. ¼ of Section 6, Range 10, Township 43. The church and residence stood close to the south side of the Versailles state-road. The graveyard, one and a half acres, was purchased October 19, 1849, from John Anthony Eck.

Helias. As the ground on which the church stood had been acquired by Father Helias from Mr. Henry Haar, a contractor and builder, the village went for some time by the name of Haarville.[29] Later, it took the name of the post-office of the district, Taos, the post-office quarters being in close proximity to the church. Taos was three miles from Lisletown at the junction of the Osage and Maries rivers, six from the Missouri river and five from Jefferson City.[30] Father Helias thus describes the place in his *Memoires*. "There are no bilious fevers here as elsewhere, the parish buildings are more pretentious than in the other residences established by this missionary; in a word, the place makes a much better appearance. Moreover, the settlers succeed better here owing to the nearness of the State capital and of the railroad, by which they are enabled to ship their produce to all points in the state. The land has all been taken up and old farms sell at a high price, while the soil is less broken up and much more productive than on the other side of the Osage River."[31]

The same year, 1840, that saw the church of St. Francis Xavier built in Taos in Cole County, saw also the building of the church of the Sacred Heart at Richfountain, the picturesque name which Father Helias gave the Bavarian colony near the Gasconade River.[32] Mass was said by Father Helias in the new church for the first time December 3, 1840.[33] In 1842 or earlier two hundred and fifty families who had emigrated from Bavaria to escape the unjust Bavarian laws concerning marriage settled in Richfountain.[34] Many couples among them had never been validly married at the time of their arrival in America, the government restrictions at home having made it impracticable for them to conform to the marriage laws of the Church. Father Helias, on learning this state of affairs, promptly corrected the defective unions of these poor emigrants. The parish of the Sacred Heart at Richfountain was destined to attain an excellence in piety and regularity of Christian practice which made it, in Father Helias's own words, "a model for all others."[35]

The first years of Father Helias's life as a missionary priest in Central Missouri were crowded with adventure and thrilling incidents.

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29 "Haarville, Cole Co., St. Francis Xavier—Rev. Ferdinand Helias. He visits also once a month St. Ignatius, Jefferson City; St. Joseph's Westphalia; Sacred Heart, Richfountain; Conception of the Blessed Virgin, Cade's Creek; and occasionally the Assumption of the B. V. Manitou Creek; Booneville, Pilot-Grove, Columbia, Hybernium, Cote-sans-dessein, French Village etc." *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac*, 1843.

30 "Taos, a post-office 5 miles south [east] of Jefferson City." Campbell, *Gazetteer of Missouri*, p. 168.

31 *Mémoires*, p. 53. Family-names of children confirmed at Taos by Bishop Rosati in the early forties include those of Schneider, Thessen, Kolb, Wolken, Hoffmeyer, Laux, Schwaller, Hoecken, Schell, Roecker, Ihler, Schulte, Neumeyer, Prenger, Rakers, Kerperin, Nieters, Bekel, Motschman, Sannning, Rohling, Hermann, Schnieders. *Missouri Historical Review, July*, 1915, p. 85.

32 "Un endoit d'eaux, Riche Fontaine." *Mémoires*, p. 53. The land on which the church was built near his farm and opposite the "riche fontaine," was conveyed by John Stumpf and Elizabeth, his wife, February 2, 1843, for a consideration of five dollars to the authorities of the Missouri Vice-Province. The land was originally entered by a John Burns during the 'thirties. Cf. *History of Moniteau etc. Counties*, p. 682.

33 *Dies Memorabiles* (Helias Mss.) *Mémoires*, p. 53.

34 Thus the *Mémoires*, p. 54. Two hundred and fifty for the number of emigrant families is probably an overstatement.

35 *Mémoires*, p. 54.

The country he moved about in was just emerging from a state of primitive nature. It was thinly settled and poorly provided with roads. To reach the stations yawning ravines and swollen streams had frequently to be crossed. It was no uncommon thing for the missionary to lose his way in the woods and spend the night under the open. Once, while riding in the dark, he and his horse fell headlong into a ditch, both, however, coming out of the accident without the slightest injury. Another time, crossing a stream together with his horse in a leaking boat, he had perforce to work desperately with the boatman to bale out the water and only the heroic efforts of the two kept the wretched craft from being swamped. A kindly Providence seemed ever on the alert to save the man of God from bodily harm.[36].

A fellow Jesuit who entered into Father Helias's labors in Osage County has sketched the tradition of tireless missionary which he found current in the 'eighties among the German Catholics of Osage County.[37]

> "Father Helias was a remarkable man. I have often heard old people speak of him with enthusiasm. In their feelings towards him there is the reverence for the priest blended with the warmth of the friend. He, the man of noble birth, must have been possessed of great kindness so that his aristocratic manners became winning in the eyes of the simple peasantry; and his severe virtue must have been blended with great cordiality, so that people remote from asceticism, were cheered by his conversation, while they were instructed."

Father Helias's actual residence in New Westphalia lasted only four years from his arrival there in May, 1838. In the Spring of 1842 he closed the church and presbytery and returned to St. Louis. The year 1841 had been a particularly trying one. There was considerable sickness in the settlement, an epidemic of some or other contagious disease having lasted four months and left behind it numerous victims. Then there was a severe and protracted drought which entailed loss of crops and reduced the settlers to dire want. During these calamities Father Helias did his best to bring his stricken parishioners all the spiritual and temporal aid he could command, travelling sometimes one hundred and twenty miles to bring the dying the consolations of religion. Added to these trials was the opposition to his ministry which the good priest had to endure from some of his Westphalian parishioners. What the grounds of this opposition were is not clear from contemporary records. At all events, certain malicious persons sought to come between the Westphalian congregation and its pastor.[38] Their efforts were not unavailing. Father Helias notes sadly

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36 *Litterae Annuae,* 1840.

37 Father Nicholas Schlechter in *Woodstock Letters,* 13:360.

38 A sort of anti-clerical party or faction appears to have existed for a number of years among the German settlers, even Catholic, of Missouri. They were sometimes dubbed the Latinians from the circumstance that they had, so it was alleged, studied Latin in the German gymnasia before coming to America. It was seemingly a group of Latinians who fomented trouble against Father Helias. (*Woostock Letters,* 13:23). "The epithet 'Latin farmers' has commonly been applied to the scholarly German settlers, who became quite numerous about the revolutionary periods of 1830 and 1848, a class of cultivated men, yet frequently unpractical, for whom manual labor proved a hard school of experience." Faust, *The German Element in the United States,* 1:442.

in his *Historia Westphaliae* that some of his most devoted parishioners who had formerly stood by him in his difficulties were at length won over to the opposition, intimidated or bribed, he knew not which. He now took a distinctly pessimistic view of the future, declaring that the only hope of saving the Faith in Central Missouri lay in the two parishes of the Sacred Heart at Richfountain and of St. Francis Xavier in Cole County. The trouble culminated in Father Helias's giving up his post at Westphalia and retiring to St. Louis, after affixing to the church door a Latin distich of his own composition:

Ardua qui quaerit, rubros cur currit ad Indos
Westphaliam veniat, ardua cuncta dabunt.[39]

"Meanwhile," says Father Helias's narrative, "the church of St. Joseph stands deserted and closed against the wolves, a reproach to those who, though of the number of the sheep, have by contentions, subtlety of speech and ambition for things beyond them forced the pastor to retire, reluctantly withal and for only a brief spell—but Westphalia has ceased forever to be a residence." And after these words follows the colophon, "Here ends the sad history of the colony of Westphalia founded by me. May 11, 1842."[40]

III. Father Helias at Haarville

The pessimistic forecast of the future of Catholicity in Central Missouri which Father Helias was led to make in consequence of his difficulties in New Westphalia failed to be justified by the event. The years were to smooth away the frictions and scandals of the moment and bring to a golden maturity the harvest which he had sown in much travail and bitterness of soul. As we saw, Father Helias withdrew in the spring of 1842 from Westphalia to St. Louis, without, however, abandoning altogether the spiritual care of the district that had been consigned to him. From St. Louis he made occasional visits to the parishes he had started in and around Jefferson City and finally in the beginning of September, 1842, again took up his residence in Central Missouri. This time, however, with the approval of his Superiors, he made his headquarters not in Westphalia, where the opposition to him was still active, but in Haarville, subsequently Taos, Cole County, where in 1840 he had built the church of St. Francis Xavier. Here the missionary was destined to remain until his death in 1874.[41]

The years immediately following Father Helias's return to his beloved Mission were marked by the erection at his hand of several new churches. Though some obscurity veils the beginnings of the

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39 "Why should the man who covets hardships hie to the dusky Indies? Let him come to Westphalia and he wil lfind hardships aplenty."

40 *Historia Westphaliae*, p. 27.

41 The transfer in 1842 of the headquarters of the Mission of Central Missouri from Westphalia to Haarville (Taos) is emphasized by Father Helias in the Latin title prefixed by him to the Westphalia *Burial Register*, "*Liber Defunctorum Residentiae Sti Iosephi Societatis Jesu in Nova Westphalia Comitatus Gasconade Status Missouriani Americae Confoederatae borealis ab anno Domini 1837. Moderatorum consensu atque expressa voluntate Residentia Centralis ad Sti Francisci Xaverii translata est in Cole County, Mo., A. 1842.*"

church of St. Ignatius Loyola in Jefferson City, we may accept 1841 as the year in which its construction was begun. Certainly, the church was in use for divine service in 1843.[42] As only the churches of St. Joseph in Westphalia, St. Francis Xavier in Cole County and the Sacred Heart at Richfountain had been built prior to Father Helias's retirement from Westphalia in the spring of 1842, we may designate the Jefferson City edifice as the fourth of the seven churches built by the zealous missionary up to the end of 1845.[43] A fifth church, that of the Assumption, at the present Cedron in Moniteau County, was built before March, 1843.[44] April 6, 1844, the corner-stone was laid of the new church of St. Francis Xavier in Haarville. The edifice, 60 by 38 feet, could claim the distinction of being the first Catholic stone church to be built in the interior of Missouri. It was occupied for the first time on May 11, 1845, Father Helias on this occasion addressing the congregation in English, German and French.[45] Towards the end of 1844, the church of St. Thomas the Apostle was built at Indian Bottom, Cole County, near a bend in the Osage River.[46] Finally, on Ascension Day, May 1, 1845, the church of the Immaculate Conception at Loose Creek, in Osage County, on the main public road between Jefferson City and St. Louis, was opened for divine service.[47] Thus by the middle of 1845, Catholic churches had been built at Westphalia, Haarville, Richfountain, Jefferson City, Moniteau, Indian Bottom and Loose Creek. These seven churches, attesting the progress

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42 Supra, p.

43 Cf. Father Helias's Latin epigram (*Mêmoires*), p. 58:

nos Gallia, Roma,

"Flandria nos genuit, docuit nos Gallia, Roma,
Teutoniae Helvetiaeque sinus perogravimus omnes;
Post varios casus, terraeque marisque labores,
Sistimus; atque novae fundamina fiximus urbis
Westphaliae, septemque dicatas Numinis aedes.

44 *Historia Westphaliae*, p. 28. However, the *Mémoires*, p. 55, (as also a Helias's Ms. dated about 1870), assigns the building of this church to 1845, while the *Status Animarum* etc. places it as early as 1841. The dates given in the *Mémoires* do not always tally with those in the *Historia Westphaliae*. The writer has followed generally the latter source as being more or less contemporary with the events recorded. The church of the Assumption referred to here is in the present Cedron, Moniteau Co., Mo. A second church of the Assumption appears to have been built by Father Helias in 1857 for a German congregation in Cole County, not far from Taos, but its location cannot be identified. The property of the Assumption church (Cedron) was acquired March 1, 1843, for a consideration of four dollars, from Ignace and Barbara Backer. It consisted of two acres in N.E. ¼ of Section 4, Tnp. 46, Range 15 of Cole County, (Moniteau County not yet organized). The church had been built at the time the property was transferred.

45 *Litterae Annuae*, 1845. A tract of four acres, including the site of St. Thomas's church, was conveyed, September 8, 1848, to the church authorities by Henry Stumpf and Christina, his wife. The consideration was five dollars. The tract was in S.W. corner of N.E. ¼ of S.E. ¼ of Section 22, Township 42, Range 12 W., Cole County.

46 *Historia Westphaliae*, p. 28. The dates 1843 and 1846 for the erection of the Indian Bottom church are also to be found in the Helias papers. Father Helias was led to choose St. Thomas the patron of this church in deference to the tradition, admittedly of slender historical value, which credits the apostle with having preached the gospel in America. Lebrocquy, *Vie du P. Hélias*, p. 228. Indian Bottom, now known as St. Thomas, is eight miles south of Jefferson City. "The first, pastor, Father Helias came to the place when there were but three or four families." *History of Osage*, p. 302.

47 *Dies Memorabiles* (Helias Mss.); *Mémoires*, p. 54. The deed of conveyance of the Loose Creek church property, September 28, 1843, for a consideration of five dollars, from Louis Auguste Pequignot and his wife Joséphine to Fathers Verhaegen, De Theux, Smedts, describes it as the "certain tract of land on which the Roman Catholic Church of the Conception and Graveyard is situated." The tract was of six acres and began "at the north of the State Road of St. Louis to Jefferson City by Bolden's ferry to the North-east corner of the N.E. quarter of N.W. quarter, Section 5, Township 43, Range 9, West."

of Catholicity had made in Central Missouri, were abong the results of Father Helias's first seven years of labor in that part of the St. Louis diocese. [48]

The extent of the ministerial activities of Father Helias at this period is revealed in his routine itinerary for the year 1843. On the first Sunday of the month he officiated at St. Francis Xavier's in Haarville; on the second Sunday at St. Ignatius Loyola's in Jefferson City; on the third Sunday in Loose Creek, where, as the church building was not yet ready for use, services were held in the public school; on the fourth Sunday at the Sacred Heart in Richfountain; on the fifth Sunday, or, in default of that day, on some festival occurring during the month, at St. Joseph's in Westphalia. Besides this monthly round of visits, services were held three or four times a year at the Assumption on Moniteau Creek, at St. Thomas the Apostle, Indian Bottom, Cole County, and at Holy Cross in Pilot Grove, Cooper County. Moreover, visits were paid once or twice a year to Booneville, Columbia, Hibernia, Côte-sans-dessein and other stations.[49]

As there was little money among the settlers, Father Helias had to rely largely on the charitable donations of friends in Europe for the means necessary to build and equip his numerous churches. Thus the church of St. Francis Xavier at Taos, where he spent the last thirty years of his life, was built and furnished largely through the munificence of his mother, Marie Helias d'Huddeghem, née the Countess of Lens. A remittance of $875.00 made to her son in 1844 and another one of $225.00 in 1845, are recorded as some of the frequent contributions she was wont to make for this purpose. The Countess died December 4, 1848, enjoining in her will that her heirs were to provide out of her estate whatever should be necessary for the complete furnishing of the church, of which, according to her son, she deserved to be called the foundress. As such, she was entitled to the special gratitude of the parish and Father Helias accordingly announced in 1845 that the Litany of Loretto should be recited every Sunday before services in her behalf and a Mass said annually for the same intention. After her death, the obligation of an annual *Requiem* Mass for the dead benefactress was placed upon the church. [50]

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48 The log-church at Westphalia, though begun in 1837, was finished under Father Helias's direction. He always enumerated it among the seven churches he had built in Central Missouri. *Septem extantes ecclesias ipse aedificandas curavi.*

49 *Historia Westphaliae*, p. 35. The congregation of the Holy Cross, Pilot Grove, Cooper County (12 miles southeast of Booneville) was at this period (1843) still without a church. Father Helias in his letter of Jan. 6, 1845, contributed to the *Berichte der Leopoldinen Stiftung*, XIX, gives a summary of his ministry in the various parishes and stations of his Mission for the period 1838-1844.

	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844
Number of souls	620	700	950	1500	2000	2000	2500
Infant Baptisms	23	36	37	125	150	149	175
Easter Communions	423	560	700	1094	1090	1100	1300
First Communions	9	15	16	20	60	90	100
Conversions	3	4	5	4	4	3	4
Marriages	3	3	14	26	23	27	36
Burials	12	9	17	24	19	50	155

50 *Historia Westphaliae*, pp. 38, 45, 46. *Maria Carolina Guislena Comes de Lens et Rom. Imperii Helias d'Huddeghem Fundatrix domus et ecclesiae jus habet quotannis ad Anniversarium.* Others who helped Father Helias to build and furnish the church at Taos were the Ladies of the Beguinage of Ghent, his cousin Mlle. Rodriguez d'Evora y Vega and the Canon De La Croix of Ghent. Lebrocquy, *Vie du P. Hélias*, p. 256.

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	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844
Number of souls	620	700	950	1550	2000	2000	2100
Infant Baptisms	23	38	37	125	150	140	131
Easter Communions	422	565	700	1094	1090	1100	1300
First Communions	9	15	16	28	40	90	106
Conversions	3	4	5	4	4	7	4
Marriages	3	7	14	20	23	27	30
Burials	12	9	17	24	19	30	153

50 *Historia Westphaliae*, pp. 38, 45, 46. *Maria Carolina Catharina Comes de Lens et Rom. Imperii Helias d'Huddeghem Fundatrix munere et exclusus sua bona quotannis ad Anniversarium.* Others who helped Father Helias to build and furnish the church at Taos were the Ladies of the Beguinage of Ghent, his cousin Mlle. Rodriguez d'Evora y Vega and the Canon De La Croix of Ghent. Lebrocquy, *Vie du P. Helias*, p. 216.

From the Leopoldine Association of Vienna, the object of which was the support of German Catholic missions in America, the Vice-Province of Missouri received in 1844 the sum of $1875.00. Of this sum $375.00 went to Father Helias for the churches he had built or was about to build. The Father was particularly anxious to receive aid from outside sources as he was thereby relieved of the necessity of relying on his parishioners for support. "Thanks to help of this kind, we can more effectively and with greater liberty announce the Gospel freely, and what we have freely received, freely give. Indeed, among the substantials of the [Jesuit] Institute, a gratuitous ministry is not by any means the last, and nothing is more detrimental to the good of souls than Iscariot-like avarice. Moreover, having what to eat, for Christ Himself has commanded us to eat what is placed before us, to what purpose are superfluities? Ought the Lord's work to be given over on this account? Many indeed are most ungrateful. But let us remember that chief among the concerns of Ignatius was Germany. He founded a college in Rome for German students. He was ready to recall St. Francis Xavier from distant India to send relief to the North. Of his first nine companions he gave five to Germany. Nay, he ordered his children, wheresoever scattered over the face of the earth, to say a Mass every month for the Northern countries. Let us not accordingly, fall below the lofty thoughts of so great a Father." [51]

An incident occurring in 1845 is recorded by Father Helias in terms that reveal the disappointment of which it was the occasion. Father Van de Velde, on his return from Europe in that year, brought with him a great quantity of altar furniture for the needy missions of the Vice-Province. Father Helias was counting on his share of the treasure and already in anticipation saw his poor mission chapels decently provided with all the accessories of divine service. But the steamer bearing the precious cargo, when almost in sight of St. Louis, unhappily caught fire and sank, a complete wreck. Nothing of Father Van de Velde's shipment appears to have been saved. To Father Helias the accident proved a real blow, retarding seriously as it did the progress of his parishes by depriving them of sorely needed equipment for the proper celebration of Mass and other sacred functions.[52]

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51 *Historia Westphaliae*, p. 37. A letter from Father Helias, dated Jefferson City, Mo., Jan. 6, 1845, to the Leopoldine Association of Vienna gives an interesting account of the progress of Catholicity in Central Missouri, (*Berichte der Leopoldinen Stiftung*, 19:66-76, 1846). Considerable light is thrown on Father Helias's early struggles by his account-books, which he kept with painstaking accuracy and neatness. For the first eight years the honoraria in the shape of baptismal and marriage offerings, mass-stipends etc. which he received from the congregations under his care, amounted to the munificent sum of $184. In 1844 he received from his parishioners $90, the first money which they contributed directly to his support. "From the beginning the Congregation promised to pay $200.00 as annuities, but could never give it." In his first year at New Westphalia, 1838, his income amounted to $725.12½, of which sum $10.00 came from Mother Duchesne, Superioress of the Religious of the Sacred Heart, and the rest from the estate of Bishop Barrett of Liege who had remembered the Jesuit Missions of Missouri in his will. Beginning with 1839 he received almost annually generous donations from his family in Belgium, while occasional appropriations from the Lyons Association for the Propagation of the Faith as also from the Austrian or Leopoldine Association helped towards the financing of his numerous parishes and stations. Sometimes money would be received for some specific purpose as this under date Feb. 16, 1841, "Thro P. J. Verhaegen for an expedition to Lexington, where I lost my horse. $20."

52 *Historia Westphaliae*, p. 37.

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An incident occurring in 1845 is recorded by Father Helias in terms that reveal the disappointment of which it was the occasion. Father Van de Velde, on his return from Europe in that year, brought with him a great quantity of altar furniture for the needy missions of the Vice-Province. Father Helias was counting on his share of the treasure and already in anticipation saw his poor mission chapels decently provided with all the accessories of divine service. But the steamer bearing the precious cargo, when almost in sight of St. Louis, unhappily caught fire and sank, a complete wreck. Nothing of Father Van de Velde's shipment appears to have been saved. To Father Helias the accident proved a real blow, retarding seriously as it did the progress of his parishes by depriving them of sorely needed equipment for the proper celebration of Mass and other sacred functions.[82]

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81 Pilgrim's Pathway, p. 87. A letter from Father Helias, dated Teresa City, Mo., Jan. 8, 1845, to the Leopoldine Association of Vienna gives an interesting account of the progress of Catholicity in Central Missouri. (Open for Leopoldinen Stiftung, 1846). Considerable light is thrown on Father Helias's early struggles in his behalf, which he kept with painstaking accuracy and patience. For the first eight years the Memoranda in the shape of baptismal and marriage offerings, mass-stipends etc., which he received from the congregations under his care, amounted to the insignificant sum of $18. In 1844 he received from his parishioners $90, the first money which they contributed directly to his support. "From the beginning the Congregation promised to pay $200.00 as annuities, but could never give it." In his first year at New Westphalia, 1838, his income amounted to $242.12½, of which sum $10.00 came from Mother Theresa. Superiress of the Religious of the Sacred Heart, and the rest from the Society for Aiding Priests in Europe who had remembered the Jesuit Missions of Missouri in his will. Beginning with 1839 he received almost annually generous donations from the Leopoldine Society in Vienna, while occasional appropriations from the Lyons Association for the Propagation of the Faith as also from the Austrian or Leopoldine Association helped towards the founding of his numerous parishes and stations. Sometimes money would be received for some specific purpose as [illegible] dated Feb. 19, 1841, "Para P. J. Verbergen für an expedition to Lexington, where I [illegible] $120."

82 Pilgrim's Pathway, p. 92.

The year 1844 was a calamitous one for Father Helias. The Missouri river flood of that year, the greatest in the history of the river, followed by a protracted drought, brought widespread sickness in its wake.[53] There was no house without its patient, and in most houses all the inmates were down with disease at the same time. In one dwelling which he visited, Father Helias found no fewer than twenty persons in the last stages of disease. The one compensating circumstance was that it was a season of divine grace for many of the victims, who found their way back to God's friendship as the shadows of death crept upon them. Father Helias himself was not to escape the consequence of the great physical strain and constant exposure to infection put upon him by the exercise of his ministry at this critical time. His health broke down and he began to waste away, his skin, as he expressed it in Scriptural phrase, cleaving to his bone. The doctors could do nothing for him and despaired of his recovery. And yet, he passed through the crisis, regained his strength and was able in time to take up again his burden of parochial missionary duties. The next year, 1845, he was repeating his experience of the past year, wearing himself out with attendance on the sick and running every risk of infection. A second collapse followed and the Father lay on what seemed from every human outlook his bed of death. The most skillful physicians in the county pronounced him beyond reach of medical aid. For some days he lay in a coma, a cold sweat bathing his forehead and the extremities of his body stiff with the icy rigors of approaching dissolution. Funeral arrangements began to be made and the parishes were notified to send their quota of pall-bearers. But at the last moment the skill of a worthy widow, Gertrude Evens by name, saved the priest's life. She succeeded in forcing a long reed tube between his firmly clenched teeth, with the result that some needed medicine was successfully administered. He rallied, grew steadily stronger and in a short while was again performing his customary round of labors.

But the health of Father Helias was at best a precarious thing, liable to break utterly at any time under the severe physical and mental strain he was put to in the exercise of his ministry. And still he kept at his post, declining the offer made by his Superior to allow him to return to Belgium. The minutes of the meeting on April 16, 1846, of the consultorial board of the Vice?Province of Missouri, contain this item: "Father Helias declines to return to Belgium, desiring to consummate the sacrifice of his health and life. Let him then remain where he is." However, Father Helias's Superiors determined now to send him an assistant-priest, a step that would have been taken earlier, had the very meagre personnel of the Vice-Province permitted. Accordingly on December 8, 1846, Father Helias was joined at the little Jesuit residence in Haarville, Cole County, by Father James Cotting, a Swiss, who had been employed in the Vice-Province in various parochial charges since his arrival in Missouri in 1840. He

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53 Barns, *Commonwealth of Missouri*, St. Louis, 1877, has an account of the Missouri-river rise of 1844.

was a man of robust health, wth energy and zeal to match, in Father Helias's own words, "an exceeding zealous and active young missionary." Father Helias found him an admirable companion and, as he records, was cheered up more than words can tell by his kind and sympathetic charity and the efficient service he rendered in the ministry. From June up to the arrival of Father Cotting in December, Father Helias had been subject to a chonic and troublesome fever, but on the arrival of his companion, the fever disappeared and thenceforth he enjoyed the best of health.[54]

Even prior to the arrival of Father Cotting, Father Helias had begun to enjoy some measure of relief, when, in 1848, the parishes of Jefferson City and Moniteau were taken over by a secular priest, the Reverend James Murphy, according to an agreement entered into between Bishop Kenrick of St. Louis and Father Van de Velde, the Jesuit Vice-Provincial. With Father Cotting now at hand to share his labors, the position of the pioneer missionary was vastly improved. *Semper et perpetuus in equo mobilis,* "forever moving about on horseback," is the descriptive detail with which Father Helias seeeks to picture the kind of man he had for assistant. Father Cotting on his arrival immediately won the favor of the parishioners of St. Joseph in Westphalia by at once pushing forward the building of the new stone church which they had already begun at the instance of Father Helias. The corner-stone of the church was laid on March 19, 1848, with considerable ceremony. The weather was superb and a great throng of people, Catholic and non-Catholic, gathered for the occasion. Some Mexican cannon, trophies fresh from the siege of Sacramento in the Mexican war, broke the slumbers of the townsfolk at early dawn with their jubilant booming. Services were held in the old church from which there was a procession to the site of the new edifice, where Father Helias blessed the corner-stone with appropriate ceremony.[55]

A sort of anti-clerical faction, dubbed the Latinians from the alleged circumstance of their having studied Latin in their native country, was found among the German Catholics of Westphalia. They were the same faction, it appears, who had fomented the opposition to Father Helias in 1842, which resulted in the temporary closing of the parish church. Now their efforts were directed against Father Cotting, whose authority they sought to undermine by calumny and abuse. Unfortunately, some unguarded statements of the priest, who was quick-tempered and frank of speech, were eagerly seized on by his enemies and turned to his disadvantage. A riotous disturbance which occurred in Westphalia on February 2, 1848, was laid to his charge. A law-suit followed at Jefferson City in which the Father appeared as defendant. The suit went against him and only the intervention of Father Helias with some of the public officials saved Father

54 *Historia Westphaliae,* p. 52.

55 *Historia Westphaliae,* p. 61. Father Cotting appears to have resided at Taos with Father Helias for the greater part of his stay in Central Missouri. It was not until the pastorate of Father Ehrensberger that Westphalia again assumed the status of an independent Residence.

Cotting from the payment of a heavy fine. Father Cotting was thereupon removed by his Superior from Westphalia, to which he bade farewell, January 18, 1849. His connection with the Missouri Vice-Province ceased at the same time and he spent the remainder of his days a member of the Maryland Province of his Order.[56]

Father Cotting's place at Westphalia was filled by Father Andrew Ehrensberger, a Bavarian, one of the exiled German Jesuits who found a home in the Vice-Province of Missouri in 1848. Father Ehrensberger took up his residence at Westphalia on November 17 of that year. From this time forward there were two independent residences in Central Missuri, Westphalia and Taos. Father Ehrensberger gave much of his time and attention to the little Bavarian settlement at Richfountain.[57] Some little skill which he possessed as a painter he turned to good account by decorating the parish church. Father Helias's estimate of Father Ehrensberger's capabilities as a pastor of souls was high. He calls him a "capital preacher," *optimus concionator,* and sums up his record as a pastor of Westphalia in the words, "that redoubtable companion of Christ has so acquitted himself that no one can speak ill of him without untruth." Father Ehrensberger left Westphalia in 1851 to take up the duties of a professor in St. Xavier's College, Cincinnati. He was subsequently recalled to Germany where he achieved distinction as a missionary and preacher.[58]

Father Ehrenberger was succeeded as Superior of the Westphalia Residence by Father Kalcher of the Austrian Province. Father Helias syles him "an excellent *operarius.*" Thenceforward the line of Superiors at Westphalia down to the period of the Civil War, includes the names of Father Joseph Brunner, Anthony Eysvogels and John Baptist Goeldlin. Other Fathers attached to the residence as assistants during the same years were James Busschots, Joseph Weber, James Bruhl, John Schulz, William Niederkorn and Henry Van Mierlo, while aiding the Fathers in the domestic concerns of the house were the lay-brothers Sebastian Schlienger, Caspar Wohler, Joseph Prasneg, Wenceslaus Kossnar, Daniel Kochendorfer and Michael Schmidt.

IV. Growth of the Parishes

During the ten or fifteen years that preceded the opening of the Civil War the Mission of Central Missouri prospered in every way. We shall touch briefly on the course of events in the more important of the parishes during that period.

The steeple of the new stone church of St. Joseph in Westphalia was not finished until some years later than the dedication of the church, a circumstance which seemed tot lend point, according to the author of the "Annual Letters," to the Latin inscription over the church door, placed there by the architect,

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56 *Historia Westphaliae,* p. 58.

57 He "helped greatly to render the Mission of the Sacred Heart settled by his Bavarian countrymen a model mission by reason of the piety and fervor which distinguish it from all others."

58 Father Ehrensberger returned to Westphalia as Superior in 1852, remaining there, however, not more than a year.

Concordia res crescunt discordia dilabuntur.

Happily the mischief-making tendencies of a part of the congregation during the early period of its history had been corrected, so that Father Goeldlin, Superior of the Westphalia Residence, could write in 1862: "The spirit of the people is in general, good. They have learned that in annoying and contradicting their priests there is neither peace nor the blessing of God." [59]

Four miles to the north of Westphalia was the church of the Immaculate Conception at Loose Creek. The name Loose is usually explained as a corruption of the French *l'ours,* bear.[60] The parish was composed partly of German Rhinelanders and partly of Creoles, which latter element, however, appeared to display no very active interest in the affairs of the congregation. From 1851 on, Loose Creek had its Sunday Mass by one of the Fathers from Westphalia. 1853 and 1854 were cholera years, the epidemic finding its way into the interior of Missouri. Among the Irish laborers employed in the neighborhood of Loose Creek on the construction of the Missouri Pacific Railroad, there were numerous cases of the dreaded disease. These were attended to by the Westphalia pastors, not without difficulty, as the latter were hard pressed to care for the numerous cholera patients in Westphalia itself. In recognition of the charitable services of the Fathers, the Irish laborers on the Missouri Pacific contributed generously in 1855 to the interior decoration of the Loose Creek church, besides donating the two side altars of St. Joseph and our Blessed Lady.

At Richfountain, some five or six miles southeast of Westphalia, the little frame church of the Sacred Heart, built in 1840, was enlarged in 1854 to the dimensions 75 by 24 feet and topped off with a steeple. The village physician, a converted Lutheran, composed a "chronographus" for the church-bell, which was consecrated to the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mother in memory of the solemn promulgation of that doctrine by Pius IX in 1854.[61]

In 1849, when the cholera was at its height, the congregation of the Sacred Heart vowed an annual exposition and adoration of the Blessed Sacrament for ten hours. Everyone in the parish escaped unharmed from the scourge. Accordingly, every year on the Sunday within the Octave of the Feast of the Sacred Heart, the people were wont to fulfill their vow with great dveotion. Years after, when cholera again broke out in the state, no case was reported from Richfountain, an indication, as the author of the "Annual Letters" observes, of how

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59 *Missio Missouriensis centralis comprehendens Comitatus Osage, Cole, Miller, Maries 1852-1862.* (Mc.). The author is apparently Father John Goeldlin, Superior of the Westphalia Residence during the period 1857-1872. The present brief summary of the course of events in the central Missouri parishes during the decade or so of years immediately prior to the beginning of the Civil War is based largely on this source.

60 See note 17, supra for list of families in Loose Creek, April 1, 1839, showing the Creole element in the majority at this period. The German settlers came in later. origin of the name cf. note 47, page 13.

61 *Sacrati Domini Cordis quae nomine gaudet*
Ad ditis statio parvula fontis aquas
Campanam hancce, Maria tibi, quo consecrat anno
Quod pia crediderat, credere jussa fuit:
Peccati exsortem solam Te protoparentem
Conceptam patris Consilio esse Dei. . .

pleasing to the Lord was the pious faith of the congregation. Another instance of the piety of the parishioners of Richfountain was the annual Solemn High Mass for a successful harvest. The Mass stipend was made up by small contributions from the farmers. It is related that one of their number ridiculed the idea of a collection taken up for this purpose and refused to contribute, saying jocosely that he would share in the blessings showered on his neighbors' crops. The harvest of this season surpassed expectation. The skeptic's wheat, cut and stacked to a great height in his field, made his heart rejoice. But one day, on a sudden, a storm came up and scattered his wheat far and wide, leaving nothing of the splendid crop except the straw. At the same time, the wheat in the adjoining fields lay untouched. The lesson was not lost on the light-minded farmer. Thereafter, he came forward every year unsolicited with a generous contribution for the Harvest Mass.

Though poorer in a material sense than were the other parishes of the Mission, Richfountain surpassed them in its zeal for Catholic education. The old school becoming too small for the needs of the parish, a new one of stone, 35 by 25 feet, was built in 1858 close to the church. Shortly after the erection of the school-house, the property on which it stood was claimed by a disaffected Catholic who proposed, however, to leave it in the hands of the parish on condition that the new building be used as a public school. Though the claimant found many to stand by him, most of the parishioners rejected the proposal indignantly and fought the case in court, with the result that both school building and property were saved to the parish. The litigation, however, caused a slight rift in the harmony that generally obtained among the Richfountain Catholics, while for years after the debt incurred by the erection of the new school-house lay as a heavy burden on the hundred families that made up the congregation.

Fifteen miles southwest of Westphalia, near a bend in the Osage river, was the church of St. Thomas the Apostle. Though situated in Cole County the limits of the parish extended for some miles into the neighboring Osage and Miller Counties. In 1844 when the first log-chapel was built, the families numbered only seven. This number had trebled in 1854, when a frame church, 30 by 26 feet, was put up, the old church being utilized as a presbytery. But the location of the church proved unsatisfactory, for the only approach tto it lay through the property of an ill-humored farmer, who threatened all the rigors of the law against the church-goers. Hence both church-building and presbytery were moved in 1856 to a more accessible site, where a settlement named St. Thomas was gradually formed. In 1860 the parish counted no more than thirty-five families, many of the former parishioners having moved down to Miller County where fertile land was in abundance.[62]

Ten miles south of Westphalia was a settlement originally known as St. Boniface, from the name of the parish-church, and later as Koeltztown, from the name of the chief property-owner of the locality.

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62 Supra, note 46.

In 1856 the sale of public lands to the south of Westphalia at attractively low prices induced many of the parishioners of St. Joseph to move in that direction. A Protestant lady, Mrs. Koeltz, who had purchased several thousand acres of land in the locality in question, conceived the idea that the best means of attracting settlers would be the erection of a Catholic church. She accordingly offered ten acres of land for this purpose and, besides, promised to contribute generously to the building-fund. In 1857 Father Goeldlin, then Superior at Westphalia, was invited to come down to the new settlement to superintend the construction of the proposed church. However, the Father was under strict orders from the Vice-Provincial to open no more stations and wished, moreover, first to see the site offered for the church, as an imprudent choice of location had just made it necessary to move the church of St. Thomas to another place at a considerable outlay of money. But the promoters of the new church at Koelztown were impatient of delay and sent a delegation to Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis to offer him the church property, which he accepted. Foundations for an elaborate stone edifice which was to eclipse St. Joseph's in Westphalia were immediately laid and in July 1858, Father Goeldlin, at Archbishop Kenrick's request, laid the corner-stone. However, a young carpenter, who had ventured to play the role of achitect of the new church, finding himself incompetent to prosecute his task, made off with a considerable part of the building fund. The original lan was thereuon discontinued and a modest frame church erected, more in keeping with the humble circumstances of the settlers.

The difficulty of securing a pastor for the new church had now to be met. The Archbishop of St. Louis had no one to send. The Jesuits were again petitioned to assume charge of the station, but had to decline. However, an arrangement was made between Archbishop Kenrick and Father Coosemans, the Jesuit Vice-Provincial, by which Koeltztown was to be attended from Westhalia until a diocesan priest could be found for the post. Accordingly, beginning with June 1861, the place began to be visited by one of the Westphalia Fathers every second Sunday of the month.[63]

Twenty-three miles south of Westphalia in Maries County was the town of Vienna, which could boast its own Catholic church, St. Mary's. In the beginning of the fifties, Vienna was a wilderness. A widely advertised sale of public lands at a low figure attracted settlers to the locality, among them a number of Irish Catholic families from the cities. These were soon planning to secure to themselves the blessing of a church and pastor. As the settlers were scattered over a considerable strech of territory, two stations were formed for their accommodation. The settlers in the town and its immediate vicinity were the first of the two groups to build a church, which was named St. Mary's. The second station, eight miles distant from St. Mary's, was after 1862 visited every two months from Westphalia. The neat little St. Mary's church, a frame structure forty feet long, was attended by about thirty-five families. Father Goeldlin remarks in the "Annual

63 "Koeltztown was named after the first merchant, August Koeltz." *History of Moniteau etc. Counties*, p. .

Letters" that when a new station is formed, all things have, so to speak, to be created anew. Not only does lack of money retard the work, but the parishioners, however devoutly they may have lived in the cities, are not easily brought to put up with the inconvenience of bad roads. The parishioners of Vienna, continues the Father, are chiefly Irish who give promise of becoming not less fervent than the rest of their countrymen, nor less generous, provided Heaven blesses their efforts and brings their good intentions to fruition.[64]

Towards the close of 1861, the Jesuit pastors assumed charge of another station, about sixteen miles east of Westphalia, known as St. Isidore's, where a group of French settlers had put up a little church. The site had been chosen and the building begun by the settlers on their own initiative and without consulting the Fathers of Westphalia. Unfortunately the location of the church was a poor one. Moreover, the church was destitute of proper furniture and vestments, while the *Annual Letters* note, "it will require great zeal and labor and a considerable measure of divine grace to realize any fruit." About the same time that St. Isidore's was taken in charge, two additional stations, one six and the other about twelve miles south of St. Isidore's, were started and attended from Loose Creek.[65]

At Taos, where Father Helias resided ever since his withdrawal from Westphalia in 1842, he had the satisfaction of seeing his parish of St. Francis Xavier grow steadily in loyalty to its pastor and regard for ecclesiastical authority. The old attempt at schism on the part of a small but agrressive faction which had provoked warning letters to the congregation from Bishop Rosati and his successor, Bishop Kenrick, were no longer renewed. The material condition of the colonists likewise went on improving. Many of them who had enlisted in the Mexican War shared in the bounty of the Government, which settled a quarter-section of land on each of the volunteers when they were discharged from service at the end of the war. The arrival in the autumn of 1847 of a party of fifty Belgian emigrants from the neighborhood of Ghent, who came highly recommended by M. Beaulieu, Belgian Minister in Washington, boded well for the future of the parish. They had probably been attracted to Central Missouri by a report published at Brussels by the Baron Van der Straten-Pantholz, Secretary of the Belgian Legation at Washington. The Baron made a trip through Osage and Cole Counties in 1845 to ascertain by per-

64 Conard, *Cyclopedia of the History of Missouri* and *History of Moniteau etc. Counties* have brief accounts of Vienna. Among the first Catholic settlers were Mr. Felkner, Thomas and Dennis Fennessy and Michael Owen. The first church was built as early as 1859.

65 The church property at St. Isidore, near Linn, a tract of three and a quarter acres, (S.W. ¼ of N.E. ¼ of Section 33, Tnp. 44, Range 8, W.), was conveyed February 18, 1860, by Irene Curtit to the Jesuit Father for $25.00. The church erected by the French was of logs. The parish of Maria Hilf, Mary Help of the Christians, near Isbell station on the Missouri Pacific R. R. some fifteen miles north of Westphalia was organized in 1862 by Father Buschotts, S.J. The church property, two acres, (Sections 2 and 11, Tnp. 44, Range 9), was acquired May 26, 1873.

St. Ignatius's parish, Bailey's Creek, was established by Father Buschotts in 1858. Father Verhaegen, visiting the place the fall of 1837, found there some ten or twelve families, all Americans. (Verhaegen à Rosati, Nov. 17, 1837). Th church property, six acres, (N.W. ¼ of S.W. ¼ of Section 22, Twp. 44, Range 7 W.), was acquired for a consideration of five dollars, June 23, 1859, from Peter and Catherine Jordan. A log church was built in 1859. Bailey's Creek is fifteen miles northeast of Westphalia.

St. George's parish in Linn, the county-seat of Osage County, was organized by Father Goeldlin in 1867.

sonal observation the prospects it held out to Belgium emigrants. Clad in a heavy buffalo-robe, for it was the depth of winter, and accompanied by Father Helias who was similarly protected, he visited the various stations of the mission, entering the farm-houses and chatting pleasantly with the occupants on the success, or perhaps the lack of it, that had attended their efforts. Much useful information was in this way gleaned for the benefit of such of his countrymen as might care to try their fortune in the New World.[66] The actual arrival in Cole County in 1847 of the party of Belgian emigrants above referred to gladdened the heart of Father Helias.

> "Mr. Pierre Dirckx, an energetic, intelligent and very religious young man, acts as agent for the emigrants and shows me great consideration. So far our countrymen have escaped the bilious fever of this country, a sort of Polders fever, but more acute and painful.
>
> The Belgian farmers make themselves favorably known in Missouri as everywhere else by their industry, methodical habits, perseverance, love of hard work and incomparable neatness. An air of prosperity hangs over their places which might serve as model farms for all the emigrants. When I ask our Flemings how they are satisfied here, they answer that "they are as happy as King Leopold on his throne".
>
> I am delighted with the new parishioners; they are good Catholics and always ready to render me a service. Mr. Pierre Dirckx, my nearest neighbor, is a constant visitor at the presbytery and shows me every attention. Together with his partner, Mr. Charles Beckaert, he runs a successful farm of which he is the owner and which yields him a handsome income. Their hired men Edouard Van Voeren, François Steippens, François Goessens, etc., are mostly Belgians. These young fellows are all equipped with trades, not only useful but highly lucrative in a country like this which has just been thrown open to civilization. For example, François Goessens is an excellent maker of wooden shoes. People come from twenty miles around to fit themselves out at his shop. I have known him to sell as many as five hundred sabots in a single day. It's a smooth business for wood here costs nothing or almost nothing.[67]

We may conclude our account of Father Helias and his ministry at Taos by citing the words in which he pictures the condition of the parish in the decade immediately preceding the Civil War.

> "While in so many localities both of the Old and New World, corruption, the fruit of wicked doctrines, makes incessant headway, the moral condition of our settlement recalls the beautiful days of the primitive church. Here one may without the slightest risk, go away from his house, leaving the doors right open. You need have no fear of theft or trespassing of any kind. Irreligious or licentious publications fail to reach our excellent people. Libertinism is unknown: God's name is not, as elsewhere, the object of profanity. My priestly heart experiences a joy ever new in seeing our churches crowded on Sundays and feast-days, with throngs of faithful souls who emulate one another in singing the praises of the Lord."[68]

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66 *Historia Westphaliae*, p. 47.

67 Lebrocquy, *Vie du P. Hélias*, p. 254.

68 The "Mission of Central Missouri," as described in the *Annual Letters*, (1853-1862), had an area of 2500 square miles lying between the Missouri, Osage and Gasconade Rivers and a line fifty miles south. It took in all of Osage County and part of Maries, Miller and Cole Counties. The Catholic population numbered three thousand. The Residence of St. Francis Xavier at Taos, with its dependent stations, lay outside the limits of the "Mission of Central Missouri" proper, the headquarters of which were at Westphalia. Here there were generally three Fathers attached tothe Residence, a fourth being added in 1860. At a later period, Richfountain, Loose Creek and Linn had resident Jesuit pastors, who, however, remained under the authority of the Westphalia Superior, whom they were required to visit personally once a week.

Thus did the course of events in the Jesuit parishes of Central Missouri run on calmly down to the dark days of the Civil War, when they were made to face the invasion of political passion and strife. Father Helias's *Historia Westphaliae* ends about 1861 with the fervent apostrophe:

> "O Ferdinand, why so dumb? Everything proceeds A. M. D. G. and without change, as from the beginning. Why therefore should I repeat? Of one thing, however, I must make mention A. M. D. G., to wit, the singular favor wrought by St. Francis Xavier, who cured suddenly my friend and guest, Charles Louis Bekaert, a settler of sixty years, of a cancer which had fairly eaten through his hand, and besides, freed me in an instant of acutely painful rheumatism. Moreover, I have experienced over and over again and hereby gratefully acknowledge A. M. D. G. the most visible assistance of my Guardian Angel. O God! Thou hast given thine Angels charge over me, that they may keep me in my ways."

The purpose of this article has been to sketch the beginnings of Catholicity in Osage and Cole Counties, Missouri, with the narrative brought down to the period of the Civil War as a convenient stopping-place. Subsequent to that period the pioneer Jesuit parishes of the counties named were resigned one by one by their founders into the hands of the diocesan clergy, the last of the group, Loose Creek, being ceded in 1886. The outstanding figure throughout this well-nigh half-century of Jesuit parochial activity in Central Missouri was, it need not be said, Father Ferdinand Helias, who, after witnessing the seeds of Catholicity which he had planted in much travail of soul and body take root and grow unto the ripened harvest, died at Taos, Cole County, August 11, 1874. He was indeed a veritable apostle of the Faith in these parts and the incidents of his strenuous missionray career will ever remain a chapter of fascinating interest in the story of the upbuilding of Catholicity in the great state of Missouri.

Bibliographical Note. Material for a history of the early Catholic missions of Osage and Cole counties, Missouri, is more abundant than is usually the case in ecclesiastical beginnings due largely to the fact that Father Helias, founder of these missions, wielded a facile and ready pen. Among manuscript sources may be mentioned, in addition to the usual parish registers of baptism, marriages and funerals, the annual reports (*Litterae Annuae*) forwarded by Father Helias to his Superiors in St. Louis, *Historia Westphaliae*, a Latin narrative of some seventy pages and a French autobiographical Memoir drawn up in 1867, *Mémoires du Rd. P. Ferdinand Hélias D'Huddeghem, prctre missionaire de la Compagnie dc Jésus en Amérique*. Father Francis Braun S.J. left an exhaustive manuscript account in German especially valuable for its lists of early Catholic settlers in Central Missouri. Printed sources include Rev. F. Holweck sketch of Father Helias in the St. Louis *Pastoral-Blatt*, March, 1919, by far the best biographical account in print; Lebrocquy, *Vie du R. P. Hélias D'Huddeghem de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Gand, 1878, a work based largely on Father Helias's letters to his family in Belgium; *Berichte der Leopoldinen-Stiftung im Kaiserthume Oesterreich*, 1843-1850 (cf. *Catholic Historical Review*, July, 1915), *Missouri Historical Review*, 5:83 (1911), article, *Recollections of the First Catholic Mission Work in Central Missouri*, by Rev. Joseph B. Schmidt; *History of Cole, Moniteau, Morgan, Benton, Miller, Maries and Osage Counties, Missouri*, Chicago, Goodspeed Publishing Co., 1889.

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN, S.J.

THE FLAT-HEAD AND NEZ PERCE DELEGATION TO ST. LOUIS

1831--1839

Towards the close of the year 1831 a delegation of four Indians from beyond the Rocky Mountains reached the city of St. Louis. Their language[1] was different from all the Indian dialects with which the inhabitants had some acquaintance. Yet, as these visitors gradually made themselves understood, it was learnt that they had come to obtain religious teachers for their people, the Flat-Head and Nez Percé tribes[2] near the Pacific Ocean. They visited the Catholic Cathedral,[3] and attended divine service with all possible reverence. Owing to the change of climate and the unwonted life in a city, these children of the wilderness grew ill; two of them were baptized on their death bed by Fathers Roux and Saulnier of the Cathedral, and were buried with all the rites of the Church. The other two started in the Spring of 1832 on their return voyage, but only one reached his home, as the other died on the way. These are the simple facts of the occurrences, similar in many ways to numerous other delegations sent to St. Louis by the Indian tribes round about for the purpose of obtaining a Black Robe as their guide and teacher. Yet this visit is specially remarkable in our early annals, not only on account of the vast distance these seekers after God had traveled, but even more so on account of the great and lasting results it eventually matured in the Catholic missions of Oregon. There is another point of interest connected with this embassy, namely the legendary embellishment it has found up to the present day, in the Protestant missionary story of the saving of Oregon

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1 Most of the Indians that had come in contact with the people of St. Louis were of the Algonquin linguistic stock, so the various branches of the Illinois, the Sacs and Reynards of the North, Indians of New England, New York, Pennsylvania and Delaware. The Kansas and Osages were of Siouan linguistic stock. But these newcomers from beyond the Rocky Mountains belonged to the Salishan group, which had no affinity with any of the Eastern and Central linguistic groups. General Clark, indeed, had been in their country for an extended period, but had conversed with them by means of an interpreter. Cf. Palladino, Indian and White in the Northwest p. 6.

2 Flathead and Nez Percé (Pierced Noses) although these Indians did not indulge in the practices which their names might indicate. They called themselves Salish. "The country of the Flatheads," says Palladino, "was that part of Montana lying west at the base of the main range of the Rocky Mountains. It was called in their language Spétleman, which means 'place of the bitter root,' whence the name of the Bitter Root Valley." *Indian and White in the Northwest.* ch. I, p. 1.

3 The Catholic Cathedral of 1831 was Bishop Du Bourg's church of brick on Rue de l'Eglise (2nd Street) near Market, which was used for divine service until October 1834, when the new Cathedral, on Walnut Street was consecrated by Bishop Rosati. The old dilapidated structure was consumed by fire on the night of April 6, 1835.

for the Union, or as it is called by later historical writers, "the Marcus Whitman Legend."[4]

The legendary story takes account of the facts as we have related them, with one exception. Not for Black gowns, Catholic missionaries, did the Flat-Head and Nez Percé come from the far-away Pacific slope, but for the Book, the Book of Heaven, the Bible. And if they asked Governor Clark for a missionary, it was not a Catholic priest they desired but a Protestant preacher. After two had died, and been buried in the Cathedral Cemetery, the two remaining delegates were entertained at a banquet by General Clark; at which the Old Chief, a Nez Percé, is introduced as delivering the following lament:[5] "I came to You, the Great Father of the White Men, with but one eye partly opened. I am to return to my people beyond the mountains of snow, at the setting sun, with both eyes in darkness, and both arms broken. I came for teachers and am going back without them. I came to You for the Book of God. You have not led me to it. You have taken me to Your big house, where multitudes of Your children assemble, and where Your young women dance as we do not allow our women to dance, and You have taken me to many other big houses where the people bow down to each other and light torches to worship pictures. The Book of God was not there. And I am to return to my people to die in darkness." This parting speech of the Nez Percé chief, was first published by the Rev. H. H. Spalding in the *Walla-Walla Statesman,* February 16, 1866, about thirty-four years after the supposed event. The Reverend Mr. Spalding further stated, that the lament was overheard by a young man of the Methodist Church; but that he himself had "received it from the only surviving one of the delegation." In 1870 the Reverend Mr. Spalding wrote a slightly different version of the Lament for the *Chicago Advance.* In 1883 we find the Lament beautifully amplified and indianized in the Rev. William Barrow's "Oregon": "I came to You over the trail of many moons from the setting sun" . . . and so on in the vein of Brand and Logan, "My people sent me to get the white man's Book from Heaven." "You took me where they worship the Great Spirit with candles, and the Book was not there. . . . You made my feet heavy with burdens of gifts, and my mocassins will grow old in carrying them, but the Book is not among them." These are only a few samples of the Rev. William Barrows amplifications of the Rev. Mr. Spalding's account of the young Nez Percé's report of the old Nez Percé chief's lament to General Clark, concerning "the Book that was not there." This

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4 A vast and tangled mass of literature has grown up around this remarkable visit of the Flat-Head Indian Mission. To separate truth from legend was not an easy task. Non-Catholic writers are in the ascendancy, as far as quantity is concerned, but the Catholic writers are far superior, in regard to quality. Father Palladino's book "Indian and White in the Northwest. Baltimore. 1894" outweighs all the Spaldings, Barrows, Nixons, Lees, Eels, Mowrys, Bashfords of the Protestant side. Bancroft, in his History of Oregon is reliable though not exhaustive. H. Addington Bruce is fair and judicial. The myth that Marcus Whitman saved Oregon for the Union is exploded long since. *The American Catholic Historical Researches* contain two articles of great importance on this question. Vol. XVI: "The Story of Marcus Whitman refuted," by H. N. Beadle, and Vol. XVIII: "The Legend of Marcus Whitman" by E. G. Bourne.

5 Cf. the interesting monograph, "The Evolution of a Lament" by C. T. Johnson (F. M. Elliott), reprinted from *Washington Historical Quarterly,* Vol. II, No. 3.

might do as a speech in a Leatherstocking Tale but is a blot on the page of history. Yet Mowry in his *Marcus Whitman and the Early Days of Oregon,* 1901, goes one step further, in his eagerness to secure this gem of oratory as the historic cornerstone of the Protestant Missions on the Pacific slope. In his introduction Mowry states: "This book is a history, not an embellished story . . . from first to last it has to do with facts." Here is one of the facts intended to bolster up the authenticity of the Indian chief's lament: "One of the clerks in General Clark's office took down at the moment the speech of the Indian as it was interpreted to General Clark, and it began to be circulated." Mowry offers not a single authority for this assertion; he seems to think that a fact does not need any proof, proof sufficient that it is a fact. He makes his statement in 1901, the fact is supposed to have occurred in 1832, that is about sixty-nine years ago, and in all these years no one, not even the Rev. Mr. Spalding ventured to assert that the lament had been circulated in writing immediately after the event. Yet in Mowry's book the romantic address is printed in full as an authentic fact of history, thus leading Edwin Eels to make the dramatic statement: "These were the words that saved Old Oregon and the Pacific Northwest to the government of the United States."[6]

I have dwelt at greater length on the so-called Indian Lament because it has been used by Protestant writers to clinch the argument in favor of the view that the purpose of the Flat-Head and Nez Percé delegation to St. Louis was to obtain teachers of the Protestant brand of Christianity, together with their book, the Bible, and not, what Bishop Rosati offered them, Catholic missionaries, and the holy Mass.

Now what are the real facts of the case? Or what are the historical grounds for the Catholic version of this interesting episode in our missionary annals? The supporters of the Protestant version, with one exception, were not eyewitnesses of the occurrences during the Indian delegation's stay in St. Louis, in fact had not met them at any time, but only spoke from hearsay. The young halfbreed Wyandot, indeed, a member of the Methodist Church, of whom we shall have more to say ere long, spoke with the Têtes Plattes and Nez Percés: but on the point at issue he appeals to the authority of General Clark, and Clark himself must be considered a witness for the Catholic side. All the other Protestant authorities can, at best, only say *"relata refero."* But the witnesses for the Catholic side of the question, namely that this delegation from beyond the Rocky Mountains came to seek, not a Book, nor a Protestant missionary, but a living Black gown, a Priest of the Catholic Church, the witnesses for this version are well able to tell us true because they saw and heard what was going on at the time, and they will tell us true because they, both Protestants and Catholics, are men of highest character for veracity and honesty of purpose.

Joseph Rosati, Bishop of St. Louis, was a most exact and pains-

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[6] *Ibidem.* at the end.

taking recorder of contemporary events. In his Letter Book for 1831 he notes under date of December 31, that he had sent a letter to Mgr. Pélagaud, of Lyon, with information in regard to two savages, *Têtes Plattes*, baptized and subsequently buried in St. Louis.

This letter was published in the Annals of the Association of the Propagation of the Faith. Under date of December 31, 1831, Bishop Rosati wrote as follows:

> "Some three months ago four Indians who live across the Rocky Mountains near the Columbia river (Clark's Fork of the Columbia), arrived at St. Louis. After visiting General Clark, who, in his celebrated travels, has visited their nation and has been well treated by them, they came to see our church and appeared to be exceedingly well pleased with it. Unfortunately, there was not one who understood their language. Some time afterwards two of them fell dangerously ill. I was then absent from St. Louis.
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> "Two of our priests visited them and the poor Indians seemed to be delighted with the visit. They made signs of the cross and other signs which appeared to have some relation to baptism. The Sacrament was administered to them; they gave expressions of satisfaction. A little cross was presented to them. They took it with eagerness, kissed it repeatedly and it could be taken from them only after death. It was truly distressing that they could not be spoken to. Their remains were carried to the church, and their funeral was conducted with all the Catholic ceremonies. The other two attended and acted very becomingly. We have since learned from a Canadian, who has crossed the country which they inhabit, that they belong to the nation of Flat-Heads, who, as also another called Black Feet, had received some notions of the Catholic religion from two Indians who had been to Canada and who had related what they had seen, giving a striking description of the beautiful ceremonies of the Catholic worship and telling them that it was also the religion of the whites. They have retained what they could of it, and they have learned to make the Sign of the Cross and pray. These nations have not yet been corrupted by intercourse with others. Their manners and customs are simple and they are very numerous. Mr. Condamine (Rev. Matthew Condamine was one of Bishop Rosati's clergy attached to the Cathedral) has offered himself to go to them next spring with another. In the meantime we shall obtain some further information of what we have been told and of the means of travel." [7]

The Book of Sepultures 1781-1832 of the St. Louis Cathedral, contains the entries of Baptisms and Burial of the two members of the delegation, the one signed by Benedict Roux, the other by Edmond Saulnier.[8]

S. A. Clark,[9] in his *"Pioneer Days of Oregon History"* quotes another letter of Bishop Rosati sent to the General of the So-

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7 Cf. Palladino. *l. c.* p. p. 11 & 12.

8 Book of Sepultures 1781-1832 of St. Louis Cathedral, kept at Chancery of Archdiocese of St. Louis, has these two entries:

Le trente et un d'Octobre mil huit cent trente et un, Je sousigné ai inhumané dans le Cemetière de cette Paroisse le corps de Keepeellele ou Pipe Bard du Nez Percé de la tribu de Chopoweck Nation appellée Têtes Plates agé d'environs quarante quatre ans, administré du St. Bapteme venant de la rivière Columbia au dela des Rocky Mountains.

EDM. SAULNIER, PR.

Le dix sept de Novembre mil huit cent trente et un, Je sousigné, ai inhumané dans le Cemetière de cette Paroisse le corps de Paul sauvage de la Nation des Têtes Plattes venant de la rivière Columbia au dela des Rock Mountains, administré du St. Baptême et de l'extrême onction.

ROUX, PR.

9 Clark, S. A. "Pioneer Days of Oregon History, Portland, 1905."

ciety of Jesus at Rome, saying that as early as 1816 some Catholic Iroquois from Canada had settled among the Flat-Heads and taught them religion, and that about 1830, again in 1832, and once more in 1839 Flat-Heads or Iroquois-Flatheads came to St. Louis for more light. It is to be regretted that our authority for this extract, James W. Bashford, does not give the entire letter of Bishop Rosati, for then he might have been enabled to correct the dates given by Clark 1831-32, and 1835, leaving 1839 as it is.

We will insert the original letter, as we find it reprinted by C. B. Palladino, S.J. It is dated St. Louis, October 20, 1839, and addressed to the Father General of the Society of Jesus at Rome:[10]

"Reverend Father:

"Eight or nine years ago (1831) some of the Flat-Head nation came to St. Louis. The object of their journey was to ascertain if the religion spoken of with so much praise by the Iroquois warriors was in reality such as represented, and above all, if the nations that have white skins had adopted and practiced it. Soon after their arrival in St. Louis they fell sick (two of them), called for a priest and earnestly asked to be baptized. Their request was promptly granted and they received the holy baptism with great devotion. Then holding the crucifix they covered it with affectionate kisses and expired.

"Some years after (1835) the Flat-Head nation sent again one of the Iroquois nation to St. Louis (Old Ignace). There he came with two of his children, who were instructed and baptized by the Fathers of the College. He asked missionaries for his countrymen and started with the hope that one day the desire of the nation would be accomplished, but on his journey was killed by the infidel Indians of the Sioux nation."

"At last," continues Bishop Rosati, "a third expedition (Left-Handed Peter and Young Ignace) arrived at St. Louis, after a voyage of three months. It was composed of two Christian Iroquois. These Indians, who talk French, have edified us by their truly exemplary conduct and interested us by their discourses. The Fathers of the College have heard their confessions and today they approached the holy table at High Mass in the Cathedral church. Afterwards I administered to them the sacrament of Confirmation and in an address delivered after the ceremony I rejoiced with them at their happiness and gave them the hope to have soon a priest.

"They will depart tomorrow: one of them will carry the good news promptly to the Flat-Heads; the other will spend the winter at the mouth of the Bear river, and in the spring he will continue his journey with the missionary whom we will send them. Of the twenty-four Iroquois who formerly emigrated from Canada only four are still living. Not only have they planted the faith in those wild countries, but they have besides defended it against the encroachment of the Protestant ministers. When these pretended missionaries presented themselves among them, our good Catholics refused to accept them. 'These are not the priests about whom we have spoken to you,' they would say to the Flat-Heads, 'they are not the blackrobed priests who have no wives, who say Mass, who carry the crucifix with them!' For the love of God my Very Reverend Father, do not abandon these souls!'"

On the very date that this letter was written, Bishop Rosati made the following entry in his *Diary:*

1839 Oct. 20. Dominica XXII post Pentecosten. . . . Post Missam pontificalibus vestibus assumptis, et hymno *Veni Creator Spiritus* can-

10 For the full letter cf. Palladino, *l. c.* p. p. 31 & 22.

tato, sermonem habui ad Confirmandos. Confirmationis Sacramentum administravi duobus indigenis, Ignatio Ootstagleave, et Petro Okassaweita ex natione Iroquois. Hi in Canada ex Catholicis parentibus nati, et in Catholica Religione instructi, ante tres et viginti annos ad regiones quae intra oras pacifici Oceani et Montes petrosos continentur migrarunt, apud tribum quae *têtes plattes* (Flathead) dicuntur constiterunt, et ex illorum foeminis uxores duxerunt, Religioni addicti illam nedum obliti fuerunt sed et infideles apud quos degebant docuerunt nunc post trium mensium iter huc advenerunt, et petunt Sacerdotem Missionarium, qui apud gentes illas Evangelium praedicet." [11]

These accounts written by Bishop Rosati in 1839, about eight years after the first Flathead and Nez Percé delegation, refer, for the most part, to the later developments of the event under discussion; yet they throw a bright light on the origin and the purpose of the delegation of 1831.

Twenty-four Iroquois braves, members of the fierce warrior-tribe, but now tamed by the Catholic religion under the leadership of Ignace La Mousse, or Old Ignace, had joined the Flatheads and intermarried with them as early as 1816. They had not only not forgotten their religion, but had instructed the heathens among whom they lived in its tenets, and caused the petition to be made for a missionary to teach them the Gospel.

These documents further state that the prime movers in this religious effort did not lose courage after the first failure, but had sent one of their own number, the Iroquois Old Ignace, with his two sons[12] as the second delegation to St. Louis. This second embassy certainly did not ask for the "Book" but for living missionaries, Jesuit Black gowns. It must be noted here that Old Ignace was killed by the Sioux, not on his homeward journey but on the third embassy, which set out from the Flathead country in the summer of 1837, but never having reached its destination is generally omitted from the count. Bishop Rosati's letter also gives promise of fulfilling the ardent wish of these men of good will. The reason that the Flatheads and Nez Percés had to wait some years longer for the advent of the desired Black gown is the scarcity of priests in the vast diocese, a circumstance which Bishop Rosati hopes will be relieved by the intervention of the General of the Society of Jesus. On the 7th of October 1832 Father Condamine was appointed Pastor of Kaskaskia, and on the 8th of August, 1836, he died in Cahokia.

But now we must return to the forlorn Flatheads and Nez Percés of 1832, awaiting the opening of the season for travel, mourning their dead comrades and being entertained at a banquet by General Clark.

General Clark, in company with Meriwether Lewis, was among the first white men that came to the country about the Columbia River

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11 *Diary* of Bishop Rosati, Oct. 20, 1839.

12 Old Ignace was the leader of the third Flat-Head mission in the summer of 1837. His band, only five in number, was attacked by a war-party of 300 of the Sioux. Old Ignace was told to stand aside, being an Iroquois, with whom the Sioux had no quarrel, but the brave fellow chose the lot of his adopted brethren and fell fighting. "Thus perished he who may justly be called the apostle of the Flat-Heads, and through them also of many of the other Indian tribes of the Rocky Mountains." Palladino, *l. c.* p. 20 & 21.

Sept. 1805. At the time of which we are writing, 1831-1832, he was Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the West. He was a man of untarnished honor, and highly respected by all. His interest in the Indians was generous and unselfish. Our Flathead and Nez Percé delegation called on him, as a matter of course, and enjoyed his hospitality. The death of the two members occurred at his house. Let us hear what General Clark has to say on the purpose of the embassy. As we have not his direct testimony on the matter, we must elicit it from the testimony of others. William Walker Jr., a halfbreed of the Wyandotte nation, member of the Methodist Church, and government Indian agent, came to St. Louis in 1832 and called on his chief, General Clark. Being told of three Indians from the West lying ill, in another room, he visited them at General Clark's request, and learnt, as he himself states, that they had come 3000 miles on foot (should be 2000 miles on horse back) to consult their Great Father on very important matters.

What were these important matters? The Wyandot Christian Walker, the chief witness of the Protestant side, does not claim that the Indians themselves, but rather the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, told him about them. Walker in his letter to S. P. Disoway of Pittsburg, dated Upper Sandusky, Jan. 19, 1833, makes the following statement:

> General Clark related to me the object of their mission, . . . and I will here relate it briefly as well as I can: It appears that some white man had penetrated into their country and happened to be a spectator at one of their religious ceremonies, which they scrupulously performed at stated periods. He informed them that their mode of worshipping the Supreme Being was radically wrong, and instead of being acceptable and pleasing, it was displeasing to Him; he also informed them that the white people away toward the rising of the sun had been put in possession of the true mode of worshipping the Great Spirit. They had a book containing directions how to conduct themselves in order to enjoy His favor and hold converse with Him; and with this guide, no one need go astray; but everyone that would follow the directions laid down there could enjoy, in this life, His favor, and after death would be received into the country where the Great Spirit resides, and live forever with Him.
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> Upon receiving this information, they called a national council to take this subject into consideration. Some said, if this be true, it is certainly high time we were put in possession of this mode, and if our mode of worshipping be wrong and displeasing to the Great Spirit, it is time we had laid it aside. We must know something about this—it is a matter that cannot be put off—the sooner we know it the better. They accordingly deputed four of the chiefs to proceed to St. Louis to see their great father, General Clark, to inquire of him, having no doubt but he would tell them the whole truth about it.
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> They arrived at St. Louis and presented themselves to General Clark. The latter was somewhat puzzled, being sensible of the responsibility that rested on him; he, however, proceeded by informing them that what they had been told by the white man was true. Then he went into a succinct history of man, from his creation down to the advent of the Saviour; explained to them all the moral precepts contained in the Bible, expounded to them the decalogue; informed them of the advent of the Savior, his life, precepts, his death, resurrection, ascension, and the relation he now stands to man as mediator—that he will judge the world, etc."

The letter of Mr. Walker, published in the *Christian Advocate,* the leading Methodist publication, March 1, 1833, was the occasion of a sudden and widespread movement among the Protestants of the East in favor of a missionary establishment among the Flatheads.[13] Many a writer's enthusiasm improved the occasion by letting his imagination supplant laborious investigation; and so we have a vast bulk of so-called historical literature clustering around this Indian cry, that "the white people had a book containing directions how to conduct themselves." The inference drawn by later writers that the Indian delegation came to get this book and to carry it back to their people is certainly not warranted, much less is it indicated by Walker himself.

It will be noticed that the passage I have cited is given, not on the direct authority of the Indians, whose language the Wyandot very probably did not understand, but on the authority of General Clark Walker's testimony is, therefore, only a résumé of what Clark had told him. Now, did Walker give the true sense of General Clark's words? A gentleman of St. Louis, Mr. E. W. Sehon, as Bishop Bashford[14] informs us, submitted the *Christian Advocate* of March 1, 1833, containing Walker's letter, to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, asking him whether the account of his conversation with Walker was correct. "General Clark informed me," says Mr. Sehon, "that the publication was correct, and that the cause of the visit of the Indians was: Two of their number had received an education at some Jesuitical School in Montreal, Canada, and had returned to the tribe, and endeavored, as far as possible, to instruct their brethren how the whites approached the Great Spirit. A spirit of enquiry was aroused, a deputation was appointed, and a tedious journey of three thousand miles was performed to learn for themselves of Jesus and Him crucified." Of course, "Jesuitical" for Jesuit, and "three thousand miles" for two thousand are not slips of the tongue of Governor Clark, but slips of the pen of Mr. Sehon. There are other slight discrepancies from the full and correct account of Bishop Rosati which may be or may not be due to General Clark. In any case, Mr Sehon's report of General Clark's explanation establishes the fact that the delegation was sent under Catholic auspices, and therefore could not have come for Protestant missionaries and their Book of Directions, but only for Catholic Priests, who would teach their nations the religion they had learnt to love and practice in Catholic Canada.

The Reverend Samuel Parker in his *Journal of an Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains,* is quoted by James W. Bashford as attributing the first knowledge of Christianity among the Nez Percés to Pierre C. Pambrun, a Roman Catholic, but this testimony is not to the point, as it refers to a somewhat later date, when the Americans were already swarming through the wild, cold mountains.[15] Yet it is

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13 Reprinted in full in C. T. Johnson's *The Evolution of a Lament,* p. p. 8-10.

14 Cf. Bashford, *The Oregon Missions,* p. 3.

15 There is a brief note on Pierre C. Pambrun in Bancroft's *History of Oregon,* Vol. I, p. 35, with a reference to Blanchet's *Catholic Church in Oregon.* Cf. W. Irving, *Captain Bonneville,* p. 301. Chapter 34.

not only possible, but more than probable that the Flat-Heads and Nez Percés received some early knowledge of the Christian religion from the trappers and traders of the Northwest and Pacific Fur Companies, the rank and file of whom were, as Chittenden says, "staunch Roman Catholics," who certainly would not help in promoting a scheme of introducing Protestant missionaries anywhere, least of all in their own wild haunts of the Rocky Mountains.

But whatever persons, White or Indian, were instrumental in bringing the earliest knowledge of the Christian religion to the tribes, on the Columbia River, it is plain that to them, teachers as well as disciples, Christianity meant Catholicity, and furthermore that their instructions had fallen on good ground. Bancroft in the *History of Oregon* has a long note[16] in further elucidation of the acknowledged fact, that the Flatheads were in the habit of placing a wooden cross at the head of the graves of their dead, giving a number of religious ideas and practices of the natives. "It will be remembered," says Bancroft, "that the Dalles people observed Sunday as a holiday, in the manner of the Catholic Church. . . . So well advanced in the Christian religion were they (the Flatheads, Nez Percés and their neighbors), according to Bonneville, that they would not raise their camps on Sunday, nor fish, hunt or trade on that day, except in case of severe necessity, but passed a portion of the day in religious ceremonies, the chiefs leading the devotions and afterwards giving a sort of sermon upon abstaining from lying, stealing, cheating and quarrelling, and the duty of being hospitable to strangers. Prayers and exhortations were also made in the morning on week days. . . . Besides Sundays they likewise observe the cardinal holidays of the Roman Catholic Church." Of the Flatheads John Wyeth, a companion of Captain Bonneville, says: "I have never known an instance of theft among them, neither have I known any quarrelling nor lying. . . . They have a mild, playful, laughing disposition, and this is portrayed in their countenances. They are polite and unobstrusive. With all their quietness of spirit, they are brave when put to the test, and are an overmatch for an equal number of Black feet, their inveterate enemies." All these traits had been observed among the Flatheads and Nez Percés long before any missionary, Catholic or Protestant, had been seen among them, and find their best, I may say their only satisfactory explanation in the fact that as early as 1816 Catholic Iroquois had instructed them, as best they could, in the tenets and practices of the Catholic religion.

We have seen from the testimony so far adduced, that two of the St. Louis party of four Flatheads and Nez Percés received Baptism at the hand of the priests of the St. Louis Cathedral and, having died, were buried with the Catholic rites. What became of the two remaining members of the embassy? In 1841 there appeared the celebrated work of George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Conditions of the North American Indians,* written during the

16 Bancroft, *l. c.* vol. I. p. p. 116-118.

eight years of travel from 1832-1839. Letter No. 48 in Volume II refers to these Indians, who as Catlin states, "were a part of a delegation that came across the Rocky Mountains to St. Louis a few years since to enquire for the truth of the representation which, they said, some white men had made amongst them, that our religion was better than theirs, and that they would all be lost if they did not embrace it. Two old and venerable men[17] of this party died in St. Louis, and I traveled 2000 miles (companion of these two young fellows) toward their own country, and became much pleased with their manners and dispositions. The last mentioned of the two died near the mouth of the Yellowstone River on his way home, with disease he had contracted in the civilized district; and the other one, I have since learned, arrived safely among his friends, conveying to them the melancholy intelligence of the deaths of all the rest of the party; but with assurances at the same time from General Clark and many Reverend gentlemen that the report which they had heard was well founded, and that missionaries — good and religious men — would soon come amongst them to teach this religion, so that they could all understand and have the benefits of it. When I first heard the report of the object of this extraordinary mission across the mountains I could scarcely believe it, but on conversing with General Clark on a later occasion, I was fully convinced of the fact."

It will be seen that George Catlin's report of what he heard from the two surviving members of the Nez Percé and Flathead Indian delegation, agrees substantially with that of Bishop Rosati, except that the first bringers of Gospel tidings according to Rosati were "two Indians"; according to Catlin, "some white men"; but this difference is not necessarily contradictory, but rather complementary, in as far as some of the Indians may have first heard of the Christian religion from some Catholic woodranger or trader, whilst others depended for their information on their Iroquois friends from Canada.

Another account, namely that of the trader with whom Catlin and the two Indians made the homeward journey, is recorded by Marcus Whitman himself in his Journal of 1835. It gives one new fact which fits in perfectly with the accounts we have so far seen. But we must give it entire:

> The following is the history of these Indians that came to St. Louis to gain a knowledge of the Christian religion, as I received it from the trader[18] under whose protection they came and returned. He says, their object was to gain religious knowledge. For this purpose the Flat-Head Tribe delegated one of their principal chiefs, and two of their principal men, and the Nez Percé tribe a like delegation, it being a joint delegation of both tribes. In addition to this delegation a young Nez Percé came along. When they came to Council Bluffs, two of the Flat-Heasd

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17 It has been objected that the description "two old and venerable men" does not fit the two Indians that died in St. Louis in 1831, as one of them is described by Edmond Saulnier as being about forty-four years old. Yet, in the estimation of a mere boy, as the narrator was at the time, forty-four years may have seemed to be sufficiently advanced to merit the epithets old and venerable. And the Indian called Paul may have been much older for all we know, his age not being mentioned in the Record.

18 Who the trader was we cannot say, but as the great majority of them were French Catholics, we may assume that the one mentioned was of the Faith also.

and one of the Nez Percé returned home, and the other Flathead, the chief, and the Nez Percé chief, and the remaining one of the delegation, and the young Indian (Nez Percé) came to St. Louis, where they remained through the winter. At St. Louis two of them died, and the only remaining one of the delegation died on his return at the mouth of the Yellowstone, so that there was no one to return but the young man."

According to this there were originally six delegates, three from the Nez Percé, Choppunich, and three from the Flat-Heads (Salishan) together with the Nez Percé youth, seven all told. But as two Flat-Head and one Nez Percé delegate returned home from about halfway of the journey, there were only two Nez Percé and one Flat-Head left of the delegation, four in all, if we add the Indian companion. Of these one Nez Percé and the only Flat-Head left were baptized on their death bed and buried in St. Louis. The two remaining Nez Percés left St. Louis in the Spring of 1832, but the only remaining delegate dying on the way, the volunteer companion alone returned to the expectant tribes.

We have one more testimony to offer, one we have never seen quoted, by the Rev. P. J. Verhaegen, S.J., Provincial of the Western Province of the Society of Jesus, written on May 3, 1840:

We had it in contemplation to open a new mission among the Flathead Indians, on the other side of the Rocky Mountains. During the administration of the Rt. Rev. Bishop Du Bourg, (Rosati) a deputy from them arrived in St. Louis, for the purpose of procuring a priest. This deputy died shortly after his arrival at this place. In 1835 a second deputation of a father and his two sons, reached the University of St. Louis. We could not, at that time, entertain the project, on account of the paucity of our numbers and the limited means at the disposal of the Superior of Missions. We therefore beheld with the deepest regret, the deputies returning to their remote country, without having accomplished their object. In the month of October 1839 a third deputation of two Indians, arrived at the University, having the same object in view. Moved by the ardent desires of these distant and desolate children, who called so perseveringly for those who might break the bread of life to them, we resolved to gratify their wishes and to send two Fathers in the Spring. The two deputies left St. Louis, full of joy at the happy prospect—one of them remained at Westport, (now Kansas City) to await the arrival of the Fathers, the other returned to the nations beyond the Rocky Mountains, by whom he had been sent, to report to them the success of his mission and to prepare a band of warriors with whom he was to return in the Spring to meet the missionaries and his companion at a designated point. At the opening of Spring, the time appointed for the fulfilment of our promise, when the Caravan of the Fur Company was about to start for the mountains, the want of the necessary funds rendered it impossible for us to send two Fathers. The scarcity of money was so great, that we could not obtain, on loan, the small amount of one thousand dollars, required for the outfit. In consequence of these difficulties we were enabled to send only one Father (De Smet). He left us on the fifth of April to accompany the caravan of the Fur Company.[19]

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19 Father Verhaegen's Report To the Most Rev. Archbishop and Right Rev. Bishops in Provincial Council assembled, May 3, 1840. MS. in Archives of Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis.

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[14] Father Verhaegen's Report To the Most Rev. Archbishop and Right Rev. Bishops in Provincial Council assembled, May 3, 1840. MS in Archives of Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis.

It will be noticed that Father Verhaegen speaks of but one delegate of the Flatheads arriving and dying in St. Louis. According to Whitman's account there was but one Flathead, the other three being Nez Percés, and Father Verhaegen is speaking exclusively of the Flathead mission. The second deputation was on its way, when Whitman wrote, and the third and last brought permanent results in the mission established among the tribe by Father De Smet, S.J.

It is hardly necessary, in the face of this testimony corroborating Bishop Rosati's account as contained in his letter of Dec. 31, 1831, to advert to the legendary story with a slight foundation in fact, that these Indians really came to secure a Book, the Protestant Bible, and departed with the wild lament, that they had come for the "Book of Heaven," the "Book of God," but that the Book was not there where General Clark had brought them; that they had been loaded with gifts, but that the Book was not among them, that no white man would go with them, and no white man's Book would make the way plain. This Protestant embellishment of the historical facts, originating as we have seen, with the Wyandot half-breed William Walker Jr., who stated that the Flatheads and Nez Percés on the far away Columbia River had been told, that the white men far to the rising sun had a book containing directions "as to the way of pleasing the Great Spirit." Here was a call for Protestant enlightenment; for, of course, the Catholics of St. Louis, had not the Book, or at least would not give it.[20] The Protestants of St. Louis, at that time, must also have been short of Bibles: for living at St. Louis about half a year, and being led here and there, the white man's book, alas, was not among the gifts they had been loaded with, and the "Book of Heaven" would not make their way plain. The whole story has such an unnatural tone, and is so plainly gotten up for a special purpose, that the author of *The Evolution of a Lament*[21] comes to the conclusion that, "in the historical garden of the Pacific Northwest, in the course of years, these rootless flowers will die out, and there will yet remain strength and beauty in abundance." Mr. Elliott's words seem but an echo of the prediction made by one of the early Fathers in these missions, the Rev. F. X. Kuppens, S.J.: "These rocky hills will bloom like a garden of roses."

The real flowering and fruitage of these remarkable embassies are to be found in the celebrated Catholic Oregon Missions founded by Father Peter De Smet, S.J., in 1840, and continued to the present day by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus of the California Province.[22]

It would be a most pleasant task to sketch the origin and the early triumphs and vicissitudes of the Oregon missions: yet that subject is a very wide one, and has been ably treated by such historians,

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20 Of course, there was no shortage of Bibles in St. Louis at the time, at least not among the Catholic priests and people. But what good would a Bible in any of the languages of the world, except, perhaps the Salishan tongue, have done the poor Indians, who could very probably neither read nor write? The talk about the Book which the Indians came to get and carry with them is mere camouflage, *i. e.* an untruth with a sinister purpose.

21 C. T. Johnson, or rather J. M. Elliott.

22 Cf. L. B. Palladino, S.J., *Indian and White in the Northwest*, Baltimore, 1894, of which noble monument of a noble work, we understand, a new edition is in preparation.

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as Father Palladino,[23] Bishop Blanchet,[24] Father Van Rensselaer,[25] Ronan,[26] Chittenden and Richardson,[27] and by the Founder, Father De Smet[28] himself. These authors give us a comprehensive view of the grandest missionary work of the nineteenth century in its religious, social, economical and political aspect. In regard to its civilizing influence I would quote the generous words of a man, who for many years held the highest position of honor and trust our State could confer, and whose name is enrolled among the truly great men of the nation, Senator George G. Vest. It was in the summer of 1884, shortly after my ordination, that I had the honor of making the acquaintance of Senator Vest. Impressed as I was by the historical importance of a former member of the Cabinet of President Jefferson Davis and the present United States Senator, I was, of course, delighted when a few weeks later, in my quiet country mission of Portage des Sioux, I received a copy of a speech delivered by him in the Senate on the burning question of the appropriations for the Catholic Indian Schools. From this speech I would quote a few passages of praise and just acknowledgment of what the Jesuit Fathers of the Oregon Mission have accomplished in civilizing and christianizing the Indians in the Oregon country, and what they would have accomplished in the Indian Territory as well, if they had been given a free hand and a little more generous support. Senator Vest had been apointed a member of a Special Committee sent out to investigate the Indian Reservations in the West. On May 12, 1884, the question as to the appropriation for the schools came up in the United States Senate, and the Senator from Missouri made his report in an impressive speech, from which I quote:

> "In all my wanderings in Montana last summer I saw but one ray of light on the subject of Indian education . . . the system adopted by the Jesuits is the only practical system for the education of the Indian, and the only one that has resulted in anything at all."

Realizing that there was an anti-Catholic feeling at the bottom of the opposition to the Jesuit Schools, Senator Vest thought proper to state his own position in regard to the Catholic religion:

> I was reared in the old Scotch Presbyterian church; my father was an elder in it, and my earliest impressions were that the Jesuits had horns and hoofs and tails and that there was a faint tinge of sulphur in the circumambient air whenever one crossed your path. Some years ago, I was assigned by the Senate to duty upon the Commitee of Indian

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23 *Indian and White in the Northwest*, L. B. Palladino, Baltimore, John Murphy, 1894.

24 Blanchet, *Notes on the Oregon Mission*, Portland, Oregon, 1883.

25 Van Rensselaer, S.J., *Sketch of the Catholic Church in Montana.* American Catholic Quarterly Review, Phil. 1887.

26 Ronan, P., *History of the Flathead Indians.* Helena, Montana, 1876.

27 Chittenden and Richardson, *Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, S.J.* 1801-1873. (Four Volumes). New York, Francis Harper, 1905.

28 Of De Smet's works, the most important in this connection are the *Letters and Sketches*, Philadelphia, 1843, *The Origin, Progress, and Prospects of the Catholic Missions of the Rocky Mountains*, Philadelphia, 1843, *Oregon Missions and Travels over the Rocky Mountains* 1845 and 1846, New York, Edward Dunnigan, 1847, and lastly, *New Indian Sketches*, New York, Sadlier (1885).

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[73] Palladino, L. B. Indian and White in the Northwest. Baltimore, John Murphy, 1894.

[74] Blanchet, Alexis. Historical Sketches of the Catholic Church in Oregon. Portland, Oregon, 1878.

[75] Van Rensselaer, S. J. Sketch of the Catholic Church in Montana. American Catholic Quarterly Review, Phil. 1882.

[76] Ronan, P. History of the Flathead Indians. Helena, Montana, 1879.

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Affairs, and I was assigned by the committee, of which Mr. Dawes was then the very zealous chairman, to examine the Indian schools in Wyoming and Montana. I did so under great difficulties and with labor which I could not now physically perform. I visited every one of them. I crossed the great buffalo expanses of country, where you can now see only the wallows and trails of those extinct animals, and I went to all these schools. I wish to say now what I have said before in the Senate, and it is not the popular side of the question by any means, that I did not see in all my journey, which lasted for several weeks, a single school that was doing any educational work worthy the name of educational work unless it was under the control of the Jesuits. I did not see a single government school especially these day schools, where there was any work done at all.

Something has been said here about the difference between enrollment and attendance. I found day schools with 1500 Indian children enrolled, and not ten in attendance, except on meat days, as they call it, when beeves were killed by the agent and distributed to the tribe. Then there was a full attendance. I found schools where there were old, broken-down preachers and politicians receiving $1,200 a year and a house to live in for the purpose of conducting these Indian day schools, and when I cross-examined them, as I did in every instance, I found that the actual attendance was about three to five in the hundred of the enrollment. I do not care what reports were made, for they generally come from interested parties. You cannot educate the children with the day school.

The Jesuits have elevated the Indian wherever they have been allowed to do so, without interference by bigotry and fanaticism, and the cowardice of insectivorous politicians, who are afraid of the A. P. A., and the votes that can be cast against them in their districts and their states. They have made him a Christian, and, above even that, they have made him a workman able to support himself and those dependent upon him. Go to the Flathead Reservation in Montana and look from the cars of the Northern Pacific Railroad, and you will see the result of what Father De Smet and his associates began and what was carried on successfully until the A. P. A. and the cowards who are afraid of it struck down the appropriation.

Go through this reservation and look at the work of the Jesuits, and what is seen? You find comfortable dwellings, herds of cattle and horses, intelligent, self-respecting Indians. I have been to their houses, and found under the system adopted by the Jesuits that after they have educated these boys and girls, and they had intermarried, the Jesuits would go out and break up a piece of land and build them a house, and that couple became the nucleus of civilization in the neighborhood. They had been educated under the system which prevented them from going back to the tepee after a day's tuition. The Jesuits found that in order to accomplish their purpose of teaching them how to work and depend upon themselves, it was necessary to keep them in school, a boarding school, by day and night, and to allow their parents to see them only in presence of the brothers or the nuns.

These Jesuits are not there, as one of them told me, for the love of the Indian. Old Father Ravalli told me, lying upon his back in that narrow cell, with the crucifix above him: "I am here not for the love of the Indian, but for the love of Christ." He was there without any pay except the approval of his own conscience. If you send one of our people, a clergyman, a politician even, to perform this work among the Indians, he looks back to the fleshpots of Egypt. He has a family, perchance, that he cannot take with him on the salary he receives. He is divided between the habits and customs and luxuries of civilized life, and the self-sacrificing duties that devolve upon him in this work of teaching the Indians.

> The Jesuit has no family. He has no ambition. He has no idea except to do his duty as God has given him to see it; and I am not afraid to say this, because I speak from personal observation, and no man ever went among these Indians with more intense prejudice against the Jesuits than I did, when I left the city of Washington to perform this duty.

These brave words of Senator Vest, whilst placing the seal of condemnation on our narrow-minded national policy in regard to the Catholic Indian schools, open, at the same time, a bright vista into a most interesting historical field. We, however, must stop here, with the conclusion, from well established facts, that the purpose of the first as well as of the second and third Indian delegation to St. Louis from the Pacific slope, was not to get "the Book," but rather to get a Black gown, in other words, was not a Protestant but a Catholic venture, leading to great results for the Country as well as for the Church.

JOHN ROTHENSTEINER

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Books and pamphlets on American History and Biography, particularly those relating to Church institutions, ecclesiastical persons and Catholic lay people within the limits of the Louisiana Purchase;

Old newspapers; Catholic modern papers; Parish papers, whether old or recent:

We will highly appreciate the courtesy of the Reverend Pastors who send us regularly their Parish publications;

Manuscripts; narratives of early Catholic settlers or relating to early Catholic settlements; letters:

In the case of family papers which the actual owners wish to keep in their possession, we shall be grateful for the privilege of taking copies of these papers;

Engravings, portraits, Medals. etc;

In a word, every object whatsoever which, by the most liberal construction, may be regarded as an aid to, or illustration of the history of the Catholic Church in the Middle West.

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HISTORICAL

The question as to the exact spot within the present city limits of St. Louis, where the sacrifice of the Mass was first offered, may not seem so easy of solution.

Edwards, in his *Great West,* seems to imply that it was the "Church block" between Market, Walnut, Second and Third streets, probably on account of the fact that it really did contain the first church edifice ever erected in St. Louis. Father L. Kenny, S.J., in establishing the claims of the long-forgotten village of "La Rivière des Pères" as the earliest white settlement in Missouri, and incidentally placing it on the north bank of the river of that name, must, of necessity, claim that the first Mass in St. Louis was celebrated by some Jesuit Father at the mouth of the River des Peres about December 3, 1700.

But there was an earlier encampment of priests, though only a temporary one, on the site of St. Louis, when the Priests of the Foreign Missions, Montigny, Saint-Cosme, Davion and Thaumer de la Source voyaged down the Mississippi in 1699. We quote from Saint-Cosme's letter to the Bishop of Quebec: "The next day (i. e., December 7, 1699), about noon we reached the Tamarois. . . . As they had given trouble to some of Mr. de Tonty's men, a year before, they were afraid, and all the women and children fled from the village (Cahokia); but we did not go to it; as we wished to prepare for the Feast of the Conception, we cabined on the other side of the river. Mr. de Tonty went to the village and, having reassured them a little, he brought us the chief, who begged us to go and see him in his village (Cahokia). We promised to do so, and next day, Feast of the Conception, *after saying our Masses,* we went with Mr. de Tonty and seven of our men armed. . . . The Tamarois were cabined on an island lower down than their village." (Shea, *Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi,* p. 66).

Now, the village of the Tamarois was in the neighborhood of the present Cahokia, opposite about the foot of Arsenal street; the island on which they cabined at the time was our Arsenal Island. The place where the first Mass was said in St. Louis is the river bank somewhat north of Arsenal Street, and the day was December 8, 1699, Feast of the Immaculate Conception. Four priests were in the company: Montigny, Saint-Cosme, Davion and Thaumer de la Source; and most probably, all four celebrated the holy sacrifice on that day, two hundred and twenty-one years ago next December.

Various references are made to Father Angelo Inglesi in the correspondence exchanged between Bishop Du Bourg and Propaganda dur-

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ing the years 1821 and 1822, published in the pages of the REVIEW. Little is found there, however, touching the activity of the Bishop's envoy on behalf of the Louisiana Mission. To his credit must be ascribed in part the organization of the Lyons Association for the Propagation of the Faith, and the sending to America of several bands of zealous laborers, one of whom was to occupy a place of prominence in the American hierarchy as first Bishop of Galveston and Archbishop of New Orleans—John Mary Odin. Inglesi secured money, too: donations and loans. Of the latter one, the "Montmorenci loan," indirectly at least, was to play a part in the financing of the Cathedral on Walnut Street. The story of this loan is a curious aftermath of Inglesi's embassy.

While in France, Bishop Du Bourg's envoy who, thanks to his family connections, obtained entrance into the most exclusive circles and rubbed elbows with the nobility, contracted with Duke Matthew of Montmorenci and his consort for a loan of 30,000 francs ($6,000) in the name of his Bishop. There was, it appears, an understanding between the prelate and his agent that the latter would eventually, after his return to America, pay off the debt out of his own patrimony. For reasons sufficiently explained in the Notes accompanying the Correspondence, Inglesi did not come back west; he remained some time in Philadelphia, where he became involved in the Harold controversy, and left shortly afterwards for Haiti, where he died June 13, 1825, of yellow fever contracted in attending the patients stricken with the epidemic.

His estrangement from Bishop Du Bourg in 1823, and still more his death, put the prelate in a rather delicate position. The Montmorenci loan had been negotiated in his name; and, indeed, as soon as he had received the money, he had invested it in the purchase of a piece of property on the River des Peres, which he intended as an endowment for the See of St. Louis. After his return to France in 1826, in one of his first letters he promised to Bishop Rosati to make over to him all that he had acquired for the Mission. Months passed, however, before he spoke again of this settlement. The reason was that he considered himself in honor bound personally for the Montmorenci debt; and though no mortgage had been given, he regarded it as a matter of equity that the land in St. Louis County should be kept by him as a guarantee of the loan. From Montauban he confided his scruples on this score to Bishop Rosati on April 22 and November 29, 1827:

> I carry in France a heavy debt, contracted in my name by Father Inglesi, the amount of which (it was to be paid back by him) was used for the purchase of the St. Louis land. It is a matter of 30,000 francs ($6,000). I have devoted to its payment all that I hope to get from my patrimony in San Domingo. But how much will this bring. I know not; still, on the other hand, I must not neglect a transaction wherein my honor is involved. Now, this will eat up all my savings for years. . . . Fortunately, the deal was made with people of high rank, very rich and very pious, who do not want me *to bother myself about* it, and ask for no interests, although they do not renounce the principal. . . .
>
> I consider the land on the River des Peres as mortgaged *de jure* (although it is not *de facto*) to the Montmorenci family, which furnished the money for it—until I am able to pay it back.

As time rolled on Bishop Du Bourg saw that savings he could realise none, as, despite the strictest economy (he even lived some time in his seminary to save expenses), the paltry salary which the French royal government doled out to its Bishops was but a miserable pittance, scarcely enabling them to live. Moreover, it became every day more evident that nothing was to be expected from San Domingo. He had not as yet made conveyance to Bishop Rosati of *any* of his American holdings, and the St. Louis prelate felt all the more uneasy that he was then planning his Cathedral. On January 28, 1829, Du Bourg wrote to him:

> I have qualms of conscience on the matter of leaving the Montmorenci family without any other security to cover the 30,000 francs which I mentioned tot you, but the land on the River des Peres. It would be a sorry return for their zeal and generosity Hitherto I had reckoned on my savings to gradually pay off that debt. But I am not yet out of the debts I had to make for settling here. . . . The indemnity which I had been hoping to receive in compensation for our losses in San Domingo will, it seems, dwindle down to nothing. For these reasons have I hesitated to make a pure donation of the various holdings I still have in America.

He accordingly proposed that Rosati buy from him the property on the Des Peres, "Henry's family" (of negroes), his library[1] and whatever articles of furniture he had left behind—the whole for 20,000 francs, payable in four yearly notes of 5,000 francs each, in favor of the Montmorenci family. There would thus remain to him (Du Bourg) only 10,000 francs to pay, for which he deemed the furniture of his episcopal residence to be sufficient security. This was, he added, for the Bishop of St. Louis an excellent bargain, as the whole was practically worth twice as much as the price asked for.

The offer looked good to Rosati; he accepted it, and early in the summer, 1829, sent the four notes payable March 1, 1830, 1831, 1832 and 1833 (the date of maturity of the last three notes was, the following year, on Du Bourg's advice and for reasons of convenience, changed to July 1st). Still Bishop Du Bourg in return did not release the property on the Des Peres, as we learn from his letter of September 25, 1829:

> I am forwarding your four notes to the Duchess Matthew of Montmorenci, together with two from myself, to complete the 30,000 francs due her and thus put an end to a matter of honor which has caused me much trouble. . . . Life's uncertainty, however, compels me to maintain the mortgage on the property until the last cent is paid.

Rosati's first note was honored at maturity by the treasurer of the Association for the Propagation of the Faith, out of the allowance to the Diocese of St. Louis. The arrangement was that the other three notes would be paid in the same way. During the first months of 1831, however, Bishop Rosati found himself in sore need of money for push-

[1] Thus did Bishop Du Bourg's library become the possession of the Bishops and Archbishops of St. Louis. It forms the bulk of the "St. Louis Diocesan Library," the home of which was formerly at St. John's Rectory, and is now at the Kenrick Seminary.

ing on the work of the Cathedral. In such circumstances, $1,000 yearly meant a great deal. On March 12, 1831, he proposed to Bishop Du Bourg a new arrangement in regard to the remaining two notes.

> "I see," replied the latter on June 13, "your great difficulty to get ready money for the construction of your Cathedral, and I realize how critical your position is. . . . I shall neglect nothing in order to help you. According to your wishes, I will assume your obligation for your two notes (July 1, 1832 and 1833) yet due to Mrs. de Montmorenci, that is, 10,000 francs. I am going to try to sell some government bonds left me by my poor brother, Louis[2] to the amount of 20 to 22,000 francs, in order to put the proceeds at your disposal. I trust I may be able to sell them without difficulty. . . . The whole means a loan to you of the sum of 30 to 32,000 francs (about 6 to 7,000 dollars), for which I am willing to take as payment a bonded interest of 6 per cent, covered by a mortgage on the interest of the Church property you have just sold to Morton, of St. Louis. In other words, you will be selling me for 30,000 francs, for instance, 1800 francs of the interest owed you by Morton on said property, and so on in proportion to the funds I may procure you; for it is possible that there are still some large outstanding notes due to my brother Louis, in which case I shall be happy to put eventually the returns at your disposal. But as, on the other hand, the inheritance of this dear brother was given me only in trust on behalf of some of our nephews who are in poverty; and, on the other hand, French government bonds yield now at least 6 per cent, I should be guilty of injustice in their regard, did I not stipulate for this interest.

Three months later Bishop Du Bourg announced to Father Saulnier, who was his proxy in this business, that, instead of 30,000, it was 35,000 francs which he put at the disposal of Bishop Rosati; for this sum Saulnier could draw at once on Mr. Huguenin, of Bordeaux; for the remainder of the Morton loan on half of the Church property (the whole loan represented a principal of 44,000 francs), he (Saulnier) would sign two notes of 4,500 francs each, payable, the one after one year, and the other after two years. In the beginning of August, 1832, all these transactions were concluded, and Bishop Du Bourg sent the following statement to St. Louis:

Dr. L. W. Du Bourg, Bishop of Montauban, to Rt. Rev. Rosati, Bishop of St. Louis, Mo.		Cr.	
To sale of a land interest at 6 % of 2640 francs.....	44,000	By interest at 6 % on 35,000 from April 1, 1831, to April 1, 1833 (two years)	4,200
To yearly interest payable April 1, 1833.....	2,640	By d° on 6,000 francs since April 1, 1833 (1 year and 9 months).....	450
		By d° on 2,000 francs from July 1, 1832 to April 1, 1833	80
Balance due to L. W. Du Bourg	1,095	By principal paid at above-mentioned dates	43,000
	47,735		47,735

[2] Louis Joseph Du Bourg, "le Beau Du Bourg," as he was surnamed in New Orleans, was, after his return to Bordeaux, the unofficial, but most active agent in France for the Louisiana Mission. He died at the old family mansion, 7 Rue St. Seurin, at Bordeaux, on November 4, 1830. As he was a bachelor, his estate went to the Bishop, his sole surviving brother.

> Agreed on the amount of the present account, amounting to *forty-seven thousand seven hundred and thirty-five francs*, whereby, beside the interest of 2640 francs, maturing on April 1, 1833, there remains due to L. W. Du Bourg a balance of *one thousand and ninety-five* francs, which he begs Bishop Rosati kindly to accept as an humble offering for his Cathedral. Montauban, August 13, 1832.
>
> ✠L. Wm. Du Bourg, Bp. of Montauban.

But what of the Montmorenci notes? It will be recalled that Du Bourg, besides the two which he took in 1831 from Bishop Rosati, had subscribed two in his own name. The two turned over from St. Louis matured on July 1, 1832 and 1833, respectively; his own were payable in 1834 and 1835. He paid at maturity the Rosati notes; but when he died at Besançon, on December 12, 1833, his own notes were still due. We must, therefore, turn to his last will, dictated to Canon Querry, his secretary, from his death-bed, just a week before his demise, to find out his dispositions in regard to this debt:

> I owe two notes of 5,000 francs each, which I, out of an excessive tenderness of conscience, which I have much regretted, consented to the widowed Duchess of Montmorenci, maturing, the one about next May or June, and the other a year after. Believing I am about to appear before God, I do not hesitate to declare solemnly to said Lady, that, in conscience, she has no right to that money. A few reflections on the origin of this pretended debt will suffice, if needs be, to convince her of that. My executor shall make for her a copy of the present article of this, my last will; if My Lady insists on the payment of these notes, my signature must be honored; at all events, he should not neglect to take back the notes.

Whether "My Lady" insisted or not on the payment of these notes, we know not. At any rate, the issue, one way or the other, was not to benefit any either Bishop Rosati or the Diocese of St. Louis: a codicil to Archbishop Du Bourg's will stipulated that, in case the Montmorenci notes were canceled, Father Leclerc and Canon Querry were to receive one thousand francs each out of that money, the remainder going, according to the tenor of the will, to the Archbishop's niece, Caroline Du Bourg de Sainte-Marie, who was a widow and in very moderate circumstances.

From Cardinal Gibbons' book, *A Retrospect of Fifty Years*, we will quote the following words in just appreciation of our great Archbishop Kenrick, with whom he was on intimate terms: In describing the proceedings of the Vatican Council, he says:

> Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis was among the most noteworthy prelates from the United States. Archbishop Kenrick spoke Latin with most admirable ease and elegance. I observed him, day after day, reclining in his seat with half-closed eyes, listening attentively to the debates without taking any notes. And yet so tenacious was his memory that, when his turn came to ascend the rostrum, he reviewed the speeches of his colleagues with remarkable fidelity and precision without the aid of manuscript or memoranda.

In regard to the question that the Vatican Council had to settle as to where the true seat of infallibility lies, he again refers to Archbishop Kenrick, who was opposed to the definition of papal infallibility, but when the council decided in favor of it, "then he most nobly accepted it and published it in his diocese. Years afterward somebody spoke of the Archbishop to Pope Leo XIII, and criticised his attitude during the Vatican Council to the Holy Father, upon which the Holy Father replied, indignantly, "The metropolitan of St. Louis was a noble man and a true Christian Bishop. When he sat in council as a judge of the faith, he did according to his conscience and the moment the decision was taken, although it was against him, submitted with filial piety of a Catholic and a Christian." And from this Cardinal Gibbons comments upon the theory of some that the Catholic Church has no freedom of thought. He quotes Archbishop Kenrick again as saying that "the Pope's power was given for edification, not for destruction; if he used it for love of domination scarcely will he meet with obedient populations."

In this connection it is proper to refer to the fact that Cardinal Gibbons is the last "living Father of the Vatican Council." "Now alone upon this earth," he says, "I can report what happened within these sacred walls." It will prove interesting to compare the Cardinal's opinion with that rendered by Father Granderath in his great *History of the Vatican Council.*

To Mr. Scannell O'Neill, who kindly contributed the interesting *Notes on Sister Mary Theonella Hite and her Family,* published in our last number (pp. 97—100), we are once more indebted for the following, dealing with a member of one our old St. Louis families—the Garesché famliy, so well represented to this day among the Catholics of our city. This genealogico-biographical note was first printed in *The Catholic Columbian* (Columbus, O.), of July 30, 1920:

THE CATHOLIC DAUGHTERS OF LOUIS McLANE

In the year 1811, James Peale, the famous American painter, placed on enduring canvas the "Rencontre Between Colonel Allen McLane and Two British Horsemen." Colonel McLane (1746-1829) was a valiant patriot of the Revolutionary era who took an active part in many of its principal battles. In personal combat with three British dragoons near Frankford, Penna., he killed one, wounded another, and compelled the third to flee. Two of Col. McLane's granddaughters, Juliette and Mary, have peculiar interest for us, for the reason that both of them became Catholics. Juliette McLane Garesché and Mary McLane Hobbins (let their names be held in reverent affection) were the daughters of Louis McLane (1786-1857) and Catherine Mary Milligan. Their father, whose handsome features adorn our old Treasury Notes, was successfully member of Congress, United States Senator. twice Minister to England, on the last occasioin of which he had as his Secretary of Legation no less a personage than Washington Irving; Secretary of the U. S. Treasury, 1831-1833; Secretary of State, 1833-34, and president of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. They were the sisters of Robert M. McLane (1815-1898), member of Congress, envoy to Japan, China, Korea, etc., Minister to Mexico, Governor of Maryland and Unitetd States Minister to France; of Rebecca, wife of Philip Hamilton, son of the

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great Alexander Hamilton; and of Lydia, wife of General Joseph E. Johnston, the noted commander of Confederate forces during the Civil War.

Juliette McLane was born at Wilmington, Delaware, in 1826, and died at St. Michael, La., in 1885. The prospect of marriage with a Catholic gentleman of St. Louis, Mr. Bauduy P. Garesché, brought her into intimate relations with her future sisters-in-law, who endeavored to enlighten her concerning the saving truths of the Catholic religion. Finding that she was unable to reply to their criticisms of Protestantism, Miss McLane procured books and began a long and systematic study of the controversy between Protestantism and Catholicity. The result was that she lost faith in her own creed and absented herself from the services of her denomination. Her parents, noting her change of views, suggested to their parish clergyman that he do something to bring her to a knowledge of the "error of her ways." To this end he one Sunday preached a virulently anti-Catholic sermon. To show her disapproval, Miss McLane arose right in the middle of the sermon and walked out of the church. Her family spent the following winter in New York City, where Juliette followed with closest attention and profit to herself the eloquent sermons then being preached in the Cathedral by Archbishop Hughes. Her doubts now having been entirely set at rest, she was, with the reluctant consent of her parents, received into the Church by the Archbishop in the following spring. Her father was shortly afterward appointed United States Minister to England, and while resident in London, Miss McLane came to know and to reverence the Religious of the Sacred Heart. Her marriage to Mr. Garesché occurred on September 25, 1849, after which she left Baltimore, to which city her family had returned, to live in St. Louis. Two of her daughters—Lily and Catherine—having become Religious of the Sacred Heart, and Mrs. Garesché now being a widow and her other two children in the bosom of God, she entered the Convent of the Sacred Heart at Grand Coteau, La., on May 5, 1876, pronounced her vows in St. Louis in 1878, and made her solemn profession at the Mother House of her Order in Paris in 1881. After having served God faithfully in this country and New Zealand, Madame Garesché closed her eyes on the world at St. Michael, La., in 1885.

Madame Garesché's sister, Mary, married Dr. Joseph Hobbins (1816-1894), founder of the Medical Department of the University of Wisconsin, and eminent as a horticulturist, to whose efforts Madison, Wisconsin, owes the possession of so many fine trees. Dr. Hobbins was a native of England and became a Catholic through the influence of his future wife. Indeed from the day she was received into the Church Mary McLane Hobbins was ever a most zealous apostle of Jesus Christ, and to her edifying life and example many owed their grace of conversion. She often recounted her recollections of the great men and women she met in her father's house in London, including Tom Moore, and of having as a child sat entranced on the lap of Washington Irving as he spun his fascinating stories of the Alhambra and Sleepy Hollow. Mrs. Hobbins died at Madison, Wis., in 1897.

The above note supplements excellently those given on the Garesché family by Joseph Willcox in elucidation of the *Extracts from the Diary of Rev. Patrick Kenny,* published by him in the Records of the American Catholic Historical Society (Vol. IX, No. 3, pp. 338 and foll.).

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From the *Registre des Mariages* of the parish of St. Landry of Opelousas, La., was culled the following entry:

1812. September 16.
CHARTRAN, Louis, a native of St. Louis, of the Illinois, legitimate son of . . . (*paper water-worn*) . . . Chartran and Marie Gerardin, was united in matrimony to Zoe Courtableau, daughter of James Courtableau and . . . widow of Mr. Luke Collins.
Michael Bernard BARRIERE, Rector.

We are in receipt of *The Catholic Citizen's* Golden Jubilee Souvenir. This is, in size, a tiny booklet, but its few pages, as a short inscription on an historic landmark, brim over with the nervous energy which has inspired the valiant Catholic editors from the now long-distant day when the *Star of Bethlehem* arose over the green waters of the Bay of Milwaukee (October 1, 1869), and the *Catholic Vindicator* came forth, armed cap and pie, from the Rectory of Rev. John Casey, at Monroe, Wis. (November 3), 1870). Fifty years is a long span of life for any newspaper; and for a militant Catholic organ to attain this mature age is in itself evidence of a powerful vital principle animating the whole being. Humphrey J. Desmond has been, for well-nigh thirty years, *The Catholic Citizen's* life-principle. To the able, valiant and staunchly Catholic Editor and to the newspaper to which he has consecrated the best of his life, we offer our sincere congratulations and our earnest wishes.

Perhaps of all the charitable organizations of to-day none is so well known and so widespread as that of the St. Vincent de Paul Society. Founded upon prinicples of charity laid down by the illustrious Saint whose name it bears, as a kind messenger, it has brought and is still bringing help and succor to the needy of every color and creed throughout the world. Far back in the sixteenth century there was born in Pouy, Gascony, France, Vincent de Paul, whose charity and love of the poor has confounded the world. Led on by a true love of God, which is best evinced in the love of neighbor, he devoted his best endeavors to the service of the needy and the afflicted. Calling about him bands of noble men and women, he formed them into conference and through them collected and distributetd the necessaries of life to the starving thousands of Paris and its surrounding regions. It is his spirit and principles that have guided the Catholic charities since his time. It was not, however, until May, 1833, that the organization that bears the name of St. Vincent de Paul was founded and elevated to its present high standard and efficiency. Frederick Ozanam, a brilliant young lawyer and author in Paris gathered about him seven of his youthful companions and formulated plans for the organization of a society whose object should be to administer to the wants of the poor and thereby answer the taunts of an irreligious world which was proclaiming the death of the Christian spirit of charity. The rules then formulated upon the principles of St. Vincent are those by which our conferences

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are governed to-day. The society quickly gained in membership; new conferences were erected, so that to-day it can claim over two hundred thousand members, and there is no country on the globe whose poor do not feel its kind and benevolent influence.

Just twelve years after the inauguration of this noble work, Dr. Timothy Papin, returning from his studies in Paris, enthused by the achievements of the society in France and aided by Mr. Bryan Mullanphy, called together the prominent Catholic laymen of St. Louis, and in the same room in which the present Conference of the Old Cathedral meets, was organized the first Conference of the St. Vincent de Paul Society in America, Thursday evening, November 20, 1845. In the minutes of this meeting, still extant, we read that Bryan Mullanphy presided; an election of officers took place. Dr. M. L. Linton was elected president; Bryan Mullanphy, first vice-president; Dennis Galvin, second vice-president; James Maguire Jr., secretary, and Patrick Ryder, treasurer. Glancing over the roster of members we find there many names pominent in the history of our city.

Missouri, though a *de facto* State since 1820, was admitted as such into the Union in 1821 by the proclamation of President Monroe. Admission into the Union was the necessary seal set upon the people's action by the national authorities. In 1820 Missouri had elected, as Walter B. Stevens remarks, "State officers who entered upon their duties. It had a Legislature which passed statutes. It chose, in due form, senators and representatives in Congress. It created a code which was interpreted by a Supreme Court. Congress, however, delayed the final recognition while statesmen wrangled over the technicalities of a compromise on the slavery question." The coming year, 1921, is, therefore, the Centennial year of our Statehood. A great civic celebration is contemplated to mark the auspicious event. The Church, that has proved itself the greatest civilizing influence in the State during its long and varied course will, no doubt, have a leading part in the proposed festivities.

The following account of the finding of the petrified body of a priest on the banks of the Arkansas River cannot claim any degree of historical certitude, as neither the correspondent's name, nor the precise locality of the incident are given; yet as a possible clue to further investigations it may prove of interest and value. We copy from the *Sunday Visitor*:

PETRIFIED BODY OF MISSIONARY

Acorrespondent of an Eastern paper gives this account of the finding of the petrified body of a Catholic Missionary on the bank of the Arkansas (in 1890):

"The laborers on a farm near this place exhumed yesterday the petrified body of a man clothed in the habit of a Roman Catholic priest. The dress and shoes and hose had also become stone, and the figure might have passed for the cunning handiwork of some great master of sculpture. The two hands were clasped about an ivory crucifix, which

hung from a rosary suspended about the neck, while the head of an arrow still protruding from the breast told the story of how the worthy Father met his death; and the fact, so plain to be seen, that the body was hastily buried without coffin, and the grave, unmarked by the smallest token, showed that he and his brethren, or some faithful friend, were fleeing from the Indians when he was killed. The petrified body was removed to the church, where it is now visited by crowds, and when it will shortly be given burial in consecrated ground. The face is that of a young man of refined and intellectual features, and the hands and feet are of elegant proportions. Those who profess to know declare that his shoes are of a fashion worn in the latter part of the seventeenth century."

Now the fact of the finding and its circumstances being admitted for argument's sake, further enquiry would undoubtedly lead to the *Poste of Arkansas,* the earliest settlement of whites within the territory of Arkansas, situated at the confluence of the Arkansas and Mississippi Rivers. There was a Jesuit Mission established here among the Quapaw Indians on July 7, 1727, by Father Poisson, though the beginnings of the Arkansas Mission date back as far as November 26, 1689, when Tonty gave to Father Dablon, the Superior of the Canada Missions, a strip of land on Arkansas River, a little east of his fort, about eight acres, for a chapel and mission house. The Mission was to begin in November, 1690 (Cf. SHEA, *Catholic Missions,* p. 439).

The Librarians of the *Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis* are happy to report the following additions to the Library of the Society, and to express their thanks to the generous donors:

Gilbert Garraghan, S.J., Catholic Beginnings of Kansas City, Missouri. An Historical Sketch. Loyola University Press, Chicago, Ill. 1920. Donated by the Author.

Hepner, Adolf, America's Aid to Germany in 1870-71. St. Louis, Mo., 1905. Gift of Rev. F. G. Holweck.

Wm. Cullen Bryant and Sydney Howard Gay, A Popular History of the United States. Four Volumes. New York, Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1878.

John R. Spears and A. H. Clark, A History of the Mississippi Valley, from Its Discovery to the End of Foreign Dominion. New York, A. S. Clark, 1903.

The Future of Foreign-Born Catholics. St. Louis, Mo. B. Herder, 1884.

P. Oswald Moosmueller, O.S.B. Bonifaz Wimmer, Erzabt von St. Vinzenz in Pennsylvania. New York, Benziger Brothers, 1891. Donated by Rev. J. Waeltermann.

Pastoral Instruction of the Bishop of Alton. Issued April 12th, 1875. Alton, Ill., 1875. Donated by Rev. P. Kaenders, Venice, Ill.

Pastoral Instruction of the Bishop of Alton. Issued February, the 23d, 1880. Alton, Ill., 1880. Donated by Rev. P. Kaenders.

SS. Patriarchae Benedicti Familiae Confoederatae. Romae, Typis Vaticanis, 1905. Gift of Conception Abbey, Mo.

Annuario Pontificio. Roma, Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana. Seven Volumes, 1913-1919. Donated by Rev. F. G. Holweck.

Progress of the Catholic Church in America and the Great Columbian Catholic Congress of 1913. Fourth Edition. Chicago. J. S. Hyland & Company. 1893.

The United States. A Catalogue of Books relating to the History of its various States, Counties and Cities. Cleveland, O. The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1920.

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DOCUMENTS FROM OUR ARCHIVES

Correspondence of Bishop Du Bourg with Propaganda

XXVIII.

CARDINAL CONSALVI TO BISHOP DU BOURG.[1]

No. 28.

Illme ac Rme Domine

Quae nobis A. T. de florente statu, in quo res Catholica Loysianae[2] superioris versatur, ac non exiguis tam infidelium, quam heterodoxorum conversionibus novissime significavit, ea Emos Patres laetitia, ac solatio maximo affecerunt. Quare dum Deo Patri misericordiarum debitas pro tanto beneficio gratias ago, tuam etiam sollicitudinem, ac sedulitatem plurimum in Domino commendo; ac licet Ampdo Tua stimulis non egeat, eam tamen etiam atque etiam excitare non desum, ut quod tanta laude coepisti, id pari semper alacritate, ac studio perficere velis, diligenter curans, ut et sylvicolae, apud quos Missionem instituisti, in sinum S. Matris Ecclesiae, opitulante Domino, perducantur, et incolae Novae Aureliae, ubi intemperantia, et multa vitiorum seges invaluit, ad rectam semitam revocentur. Quod S. Sedes peragere potuit in auxilium indigae istius Dioecesis, id quidem praestare non defuit munifica quatuor millium scutatorum Romanorum largitione, quorum mille jam accepisse te arbitror per Rmum D. Guillelmum Poynter Vicarium Aplicum Londinensem, cui tutius visum est hanc pecuniae summam mittere; reliqua vero subinde per eamdem viam ad te perferri curabo. Accepi autem epistolae exemplum, quae scripta fertur a muliere Perret Dno Inglesi: sed quamvis etiam ipse justificari vellet a crimine, quod illi (nescio an vere, vel perperam) imputatum est, alia tamen is praebuit levitatis, ac paucae modestiae specimina tum in choreis agendis, tum usu vestium, quae Ecclesiastico viro minime congruunt. Quamobrem licet ipse dexteritate, ac rebus agendis magnopere praestet, non eum tamen tanti facias velim, ut vigilare non debeas, ejusque spiritum

[1] Original in the Archives of the St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery.

[2] The uncommon spelling Loysiana, as well as the handwriting of this document stamp it as the work of a new *minutante*.

DOCUMENTS FROM OUR ARCHIVES

diligenter probare. Quod autem attinet ad amplissimae istius Dioecesis divisionem, ea, quae proposita sunt, non satis adhuc matura videntur. Unum est, cui sine mora prospiciatur oportet, nempe neglecta Floridarum cura, quam Ampdo Tua, ut declaravit, ob magnam illius Provinciae distantiam gerere nullo modo potest. Quid autem consilii circa Floridas S. Cong. susceperit, de hoc quamprimum te faciam certiorem. Interim Deum precor ut Ampdm Tuam diutissime servet, ac sospitet.

Ampdnis Tuae

Romae ex Ædibus S. Congnis de Propda Fide Die 11. Januarii, 1822.

Uti Frater studiosissimus,
H. Card. Consalvi, Pro-Prf.

R. P. D. Ludovico Guillelmo
Du Bourg Epo Novae Aureliae
in Loysiana / S. Ludovicum in Statu Missouri /
C. M. Pedicini Secrius.

TRANSLATION.

Right Reverend Dear Sir:—

Your Lordship's latest report[3] of the flourishing condition of Catholicity in Upper Louisiana ,and of the numerous conversions of both infidels and heretics, has greatly rejoiced and consoled Their Eminences. Wherefore to God, the Father of mercies, I return due thanks for these benefits, whilst your solicitude and activity I most highly commend in the Lord; and although Your Lordship stands in no need of the spur, yet again and again I must urge that what you have so laudably begun, you should determine to achieve with the same eagerness and zeal, working diligently in order to bring, with the help of God, the savages among whom you have established missions[4] into the bosom of Holy Mother Church; and also in order that the people of New Orleans, among whom intemperance and a plentiful crop of vices are prevalent, may be turned back to the right path.

What the Holy See found itself able to do in order to help that destitute Diocese, it has not failed to accomplish by a magnificent donation of four thousand Roman *scudi;* I reckon you have received already one thousand through the Right Rev. William Poynter, Vicar Apostolic of London, through whom it seemed a surer way to send this money; I will attend shortly to the forwarding of the balance through the same channel.

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[3] We are not in possession of this report.

[4] Clearly an allusion to the mission of Father De la Croix among the Osage Indians. See J. Rothensteiner, *Early Missionary Efforts among the Indians in the Diocese of St. Louis,* St. Louis Catholic Hist. Review, 1920, p. 66 foll.

I have received copy of a letter supposed to be written by the Perret woman to Father Inglesi[5]; but even if the latter would try to

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[5] This is undoubtedly the letter of which Bishop Du Bourg gave the gist to Father Martial: "You will be glad to learn that these infamous machinations are the result of the most abominable intrigue; but God has permitted that the woman who played therein the leading role entered into herself, and made in writing to Father Inglesi, after the latter's departure from Rome, full confession of the whole matter. I have that letter in my possession. The main point of the intrigue is as follows: Father Inglesi had received $10,000 from the Torlonia Bank in settlement of some family business, which sum of money was destined for the payment for his brother's inheritance. One of the clerks of the bank concocted a plan on the basis of this. He insinuated himself into the familiarity of Inglesi, showed him many courtesies and repeatedly offered his services; and as Fr. Inglesi expressed to him his desire of finding lodgings in a healthy and quiet part of the city, the fellow offered him board and lodging in his own home. Fr. Inglesi accepted, and had his belongings and his money carried there. A few days later the clerk in question absentetd himself on purpose one evening, after arranging with his wife that the latter was to go about 9 p. m. to Fr. Inglesi's apartment, do what she could to seduce him, and manage some way or other to remain with him until about 11 o'clock, when he himself would come as to catch them by surprise, and would frighten Inglesi into buying him off with all the money he had. Divine Providence permitted that, on that very evening Fr. Inglesi returned from town only a short while before 11. At once the woman went to his quarters, and whether on purpose or because she was horror-struck by her crime she fell upon a trunk, saying she was fainting. Just as Fr. Inglesi was rushing to his wardrobe for a bottle of cologne water, her husband came in in a great fury. However, he was somewhat disconcerted by what he saw, and hence manifested some embarrassment. Fr. Inglesi profited by this hesitation to skip out of the room and leave the house. Early in the morning he sent for his trunk, which the clerk refused to give; then, without delay, he (Inglesi), went to Card. Consalvi, who ordered the trunk to be given back to its owner. The scoundrel, whose plan was foiled, lost no time in spreading the slander, which was eagerly taken up, aand received admittance even with many good people—for good people are often as credulous as others in regard to such stories. Such are the details confessed by that woman, whom remorse has prompted to trust in the generosity of Father Inglesi to give, if he wishes, publicity to tthis letter." (Archives of Propaganda. *Scritture refenite nei Congressi.* Codice 7. In letter of Martial to Billard, October 20, 1822). It should be noted that, whilst the Cardinal's judgment remained in suspense in regard to the truth or untruth of this affair, Bishop Du Bourg had no such hesitation: "I am confident," he wrote to Father Martial, "that he (Inglesi) is fully justified."

Bishop Du Bourg, by the time he received this letter (probably some time in April, 1822) was long since acquainted with the misdemeanor of Fr. Inglesi in Rome, for Propaganda has reported it to him in a letter in date of September 22, 1821 (see next letter, XXIX). He evidently disbelieved entirely the report. At any rate, writing to Father Rosati on Easter Sunday (April 7), 1822, he spoke of Inglesi in the following terms: "Father Inglesi will bring us recruits. He is not a Bishop, neither does he wish to hear of it. He was sorry to have written to me a certain letter which I communicated to you. He announces he will be here about the beginning of the year (1823). I cannot tire of admiring his devotedness and zeal. But as you may imagine, this disappointment (clearly that Inglesi was not made a Bishop) causes me some uneasiness. But it matters not! God knows what is best. We ought not to lose courage." Four months later, and certainly after he had received this letter, speaking of the unecclesiastical behavior of Inglesi ,and recommending watchfulness, his enthusiasm had not yet abated. On August 7 he wrote to Father Rosati: "Good news! Five or six subjects have just arrived from France for the Seminary. One of them is Subdeacon; the others have Minor Orders. There is, moreover, a Deacon, who, I believe, is ready

I have received copy of a letter supposed to be written by the Perret woman to Father Inglesi"; but even if the latter would try to

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[a] This is undoubtedly the letter of which Bishop Du Bourg gave the gist to Father Martial: "You will be glad to learn that those nefarious machinations are the result of the most abominable intrigue; but God has permitted that the woman who played therein the leading role entered into herself, and made in writing to Father Inglesi, after the latter's departure from Rome, full confession of the whole matter. I have that letter in my possession. The main point of the intrigue is as follows: Father Inglesi had received $30,000 from the Toronto Bank in settlement of some family business, which sum of money was destined for the payment for his brother's inheritance. One of the clerks of the bank concocted a plan on the basis of this. He insinuated himself into the familiarity of Inglesi, showed him many courtesies and repeatedly offered his services; and as Fr. Inglesi expressed to him his desire of finding lodging in a healthy and quiet part of the city, the fellow offered him board and lodging in his own home. Fr. Inglesi accepted, and had his belongings and his money carried there. A few days later the clerk in question absented himself on purpose one evening, after arranging with his wife that the latter was to go about 9 p. m. to Fr. Inglesi's apartment, do what she could to seduce him, and manage some way or other to remain with him until about 11 o'clock, when he himself would come as to catch them by surprise, and would frighten Inglesi into buying him off with all the money he had. Divine Providence permitted that, on that very evening Fr. Inglesi returned from town only a short while before 11. At once the woman went to his quarters, and whether on purpose or because she was horror-struck by her crime she fell upon a trunk, saying she was fainting. Just as Fr. Inglesi was reaching to his wardrobe for a bottle of cologne water, her husband came in in a great fury. However, he was somewhat disconcerted by what he saw, and hence manifested some embarrassment. Fr. Inglesi profited by this hesitation to skip out of the room and leave the house. Early in the morning he sent for his trunk, which the clerk refused to give; then, without delay, he (Inglesi) went to Cand. Consalvi, who ordered the trunk to be given back to its owner. The accounted, whose plan was foiled, lost no time in spreading the slander, which was eagerly taken up and received admittance even with many good people—for good people are often as credulous as others in regard to such stories. Such are the details confessed by that woman, whom remorse has prompted to cause in the generosity of Father Inglesi to give, if he wishes, publicity to this letter." (Archives of Propaganda, Scritture riferite nei Congressi, Collegi, In letter of Martial to Billiart, October 20, 1823). It should be noted that, while the Cardinals judgment remained in suspense in regard to the truth or untruth of this affair, Bishop Du Bourg had no such hesitation: "I am confident," he wrote to Father Martial "that he (Inglesi) is fully justified."

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justify himself of the grave misdemeanor which is imputed to him (right or wrong, I know not), still, he exhibited other signs of levity and impropriety, both by taking part in dances and by a mode of dress in no way befitting an Ecclesiastic. For this cause, clever and most skillful in business though he be, yet I do not wish that your high estimate of him should dispense you from watching and from carefully investigating his character.

In regard to the division of your vast Diocese, the proposals made do not appear to have as yet attained maturity. One thing, however, should be attended to without delay, namely the fact that the Floridas are not taken care of, as Your Lordship has declared that, owing to the great distance of that territory, you are totally unable to look after it. Whatever course of action the S. Congr. resolves to take about the Floridas, I shall let you know at the first opportunity. Meanwhile I pray to God to keep Your Lordship yet many years, and in good health.

Your Lordship's Most Devoted Brother,

H. Card. CONSALVI, Pro Prefect.

Rome, Palace of the S. Congr. of Propaganda, January 11, 1822

To the Right Rev. William Du Bourg, Bishop of New Orleans, Louisiana.

St. Louis, Missouri. C. M. Pedicini, Secretary.

XXIX.

CARDINAL CONSALVI TO BISHOP DU BOURG.[1]

No. 21.

Ill.me, ac R.me D. ne.

Jamdudum est, ex quo proposita fuit Amplit.i Tuae vastissimae istius Dioecesis divisio; non enim in tanta dissitarum regionum amplitudine unus tantum Episcopus adauctorum Fidelium curam exercere facile potest; ideoque maxime profuturum visum est, si Dioecesis ista in tres saltem Ecclesias divideretur, quarum una inferiorem Luisianam, altera superiorem, tertia Floridas complecti posset. Cum vero nullum adhuc habitum fuerit abs te responsum, vereor, ne Sac.ae Cong.nis Litterae ad te pervenerint. Quare Ampl.m Tuam rogo, ut quid de hujusmodi divisione sentias, mihi quantocius indicare velis; et quoties in ea, ut spero, convenias, mens esset Sacrae Cong.nis, ut, una ex iis a te

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for Ordination. . . . This reinforcement which has just come to us from Europe is but the forerunner of another including four or five, perhaps even ten, priests. You understand that it is the indefatigable Father Inglesi who is sending them to me. I expect him towards the end of this year." The following month (September 6), very much the same note is sounded. "I am in a quandary in regard to St. Genevieve" (it was only a few days after the death of Father Pratte). "The thought came to my mind to keep that place for Father Inglesi. I have strong reasons for so doing."

[1] Original in Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery.

retenta, duabus aliis praeficeretur vel D. Ludovicus Sibourd Vicarius tuus Gn.lis, cujus merita tantopere extulisti, et quem primo in tuum Coadjutorem postulasti, vel etiam D.nus Rosati, aut Dnus Rossetti, qui ita probati sunt, ut nulla in eos cadere videatur exceptio. Quoad D. Angelum Inglesi, accepisse te arbitror Sacrae Congnis litteras datas die 22. 7mbris elapsi anni, quibus certiorem te fecimus, quanto dedecore idem Romae se gesserit, ideoque non est, cur de illo promovendo jam cogites. Quod vero valde me angit, illud est, quod nobis ex Nova Aurelia nunciatum est, nimirum diffusa ibi voce, quod Amplitudo Tua illum sibi Coadjutorem adscire vellet, magnam in tota Luisiana perturbationem obortam, omnesque operarios ita animo cecidisse, ut aliqui ex ista provincia migraverint, alii vero, pristino posthabito studio, ac sollicitudine, remisse atque incurie se gerant. Quamobrem Ampl.m Tuam hortor in Dno, ut perniciosam hanc vocem dissipare cures, clerumque ad officium revocare, ne quod tanto labore, et cura aedificasti hac de causa ruat. Quod dum sedulo te praestiturum esse confido, Deum O. M. precor, ut Ampl.m Tuam diutissime servet, ac sospitet.

Amplitudinis Tuae.

Romae ex aedibus Sacrae Congnis de Propaganda Fide die 27. Aprilis 1822.

Uti Frater studiosissimus,

H. Card. Consalvi Pro Praef.

R. P. D. Ludovico Guillelmo Dubourg
Neo-Aurelianensi Episcopo in
America Septli.

S. Ludovicum in Territorio, Illinensi

C. M. Pedicini, Secrius.

TRANSLATION

Right Reverend Dear Sir:—

Some time ago was proposed to Your Lordship the division of your most extensive Diocese,[2] for the reason that in such a large territory with places far apart it is difficult for one Bishop to take care of the increasing number of the faithful; wherefore it was deemed that it would be for the interest of that Diocese if it were divided into at least three Churches, the one including Lower Louisiana, the second Upper Louisiana, and the third the two Floridas. As, however, no answer of yours has been as yet received, I am afraid that the letter of the Sacred Congregation failed to reach you. For this reason I beg Your Lordship to let me know as soon as possible your opinion about this division; and in case it is agreeable to you, as I hope, it is the intention of the S. Congregation that, while you shall keep one of these Churches, to the other two should be appointed either Fr. Louis Sibourd, your Vicar General, whose merit you have so much commended and whom you first asked

[2] Reference is here made obviously to Letter No. 15 of Propaganda in date of June 2, 1821 (St. Louis Catholic Historical Review, Vol. II, Nos. 2-3, pp. 141, foll.).

for your Coadjutor, or even Father Rosati, or Father Rossetti,[3] who have given such proofs of their sterling qualities that no objection can be raised against them. In regard to the Rev. Angelo Inglesi, I reckon you are now in possession of the letter of this S. Congregation in date of September 22 last,[4] in which we informed you of his improper demeanor in Rome; hence you must no longer be thinking of his promotion. One thing in this connection vexes me very sorely, namely that we heard from New Orleans[5] that, as the rumor was spread there that Your Lordship wanted him as Coadjutor, a great deal of trouble arose throughout Louisiana, and all the missionaries were so downhearted that some left the Diocese, while others, forgetful of their former zeal and solicitude, became slack and careless in the discharge of their duties. Wherefore I earnestly beg you in the Lord to do everything in your power to suppress that evil rumor, and to recall the clergy to their duty, in order that what you have built up with so much pain and care may not, on this account, fall in ruins. Trusting that you will spare no efforts to this end, I pray Almighty God to keep Your Lordship yet many years, and in good health.

Your Lordship's Most Devoted Brother,

H. Card. CONSALVI, Pro-Prefect.

Rome, Palace of the S. Congr. of Propaganda, April 27, 1822.

To the Right Rev. Louis William Du Bourg, Bishop of New Orleans, North America. St. Louis of the Illinois.

C. M. Pedicini, Secretary.

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[3] On Father John Mary Rossetti, see above, Vol. II, No. 1, p. 50, note 4; also below, the end of Letter XXXI.

[4] This letter is not extant. It must have been the Propaganda Letter No. 18 or 19, which, as was noticed above (p. 147), are missing from the collection. The fact is that none of the documents dealing *ex professo* with the Inglesi affair have been preserved. Bishop Du Bourg either destroyed them, or else kept them in a secret place with other personal papers. Why he should have done so is easy enough to understand.

[5] There can scarcely be any doubt that the information referred to here was furnished by Father Martial, who was in correspondence with one Billard, a friend of his at the French Embassy. Several letters of Martial to Billard, written with ultimate purpose that their contents should be made known to the ecclesiastical authorities, are preserved in the Archives of Propaganda. In one of them, dated July 13, 1822, Martial alludes to a former letter written some months before to Billard "for himself alone," for, as he adds: "I did not think you cared to communicate it, lest the friendship between Bishop Du Bourg and myself should be altered." This letter apparently had nevertheless been handed to Propaganda. At any rate Martial adds: "The opposition which manifested itself at the time when it became known he (Bishop Du Bourg) wished to have Father Inglesi for coadjutor rent his soul asunder to such an extent that he fulminated a Circular Letter to frighten the priests; but he was very sorry for it when he saw the effect it had produced; clever men may sometimes make great mistakes. There remains in the heart of some missionaries a wound which will be hard to heal. I tried, but in vain, to stotp some from going away; they replied to me: 'One's first duty is to save one's self. Assure us that in exercising the ministry as we do here, we can save ourselves. . . .' There can be no doubt that the infatuation of the Bishop for the clever young priest, and his well-known desires in regard to his promotion caused a great deal of dissatisfaction among the clergy of Lower Louisiana.

XXX.

CARDINAL CONSALVI TO BISHOP DU BOURG.[1]

No. 24.[2]

Illme ac Rme Domine.

Perjucundae mihi fuerunt Litterae Tuae, ex quibus intellexi Ampdm Tuam ultro assentiri, ut tam Floridarum provinciae, quam Louisiana superior a Neo-Aurelianensi Dioecesi distractae, in novas erigantur Ecclesias. Tua enim accepi consilia, nimirum ut nova pariter Episcopalis Ecclesia instituatur in Oppido Sanclarensi, vulgo Detroit in Agro Michigan; et altera etiam in media Louisiana, quae Missisipi statum complectitur, et Arcansas, postquam A. T. ea omnia paraverit, quae ad constituendum ibi antistitem necessaria sunt; demum ut Nova Aurelia in Metropolim erigatur. Haec omnia Emorum PP. judicio quamprimum subjicienda curabo, et inde Ampdm Tuam de illorum sententia certiorem facere non praetermittam. Petitam interim tibi adjungo renovationem facultatis, dispensandi scilicet in secundo cognationis gradu ad sexaginta casus extensam, nec non dispensationem in primo affinitatis gradu, quae ex Summi Pontificis indulgentia benigne concessa est pro Laurentio Millaudon et Maria Francisca Stella, ac te monens, ut conditionibus, quae in utroque documento appositae sunt, te accurate conformes, D. O. M. precor ut Ampdm T. diutissime servet, ac sospitet.

Ampdnis Tuae

Romae ex Aedibus S. Congnis de Prpa Fide Die 28. Septembris, 1822.

Uti Frater studiosissimus

H. Card. CONSALVI, Pro-Prf.

R. P. D. Guillelmo Du Bourg,
Epo Neo-Aurelianensi in
Louisiana. | Novam Aureliam |

C. M. Pedicini, Secrius.

TRANSLATION

Right Reverend Dear Sir:—

The greatest pleasure was afforded me by your letter[3] from which I understand it to tbe perfectly agreeable to your Lordship that the State of Florida and Upper Louisiana[4] be dismembered from the Diocese of

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[1] Original in Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery.

[2] Again two letters from Propaganda are missing. It may well be that one at least contained no more than the renewal of certain Episcopal faculties.

[3] Card. Consalvi has unquestionably in view Du Bourg's letter dated February 8 of that same year, 1822, given in our last issue, pp. 148 foll.

[4] With regard to the erection of a new Episcopal See in Upper Louisiana Bishop Du Bourg had, however, requested a delay—one year at the outside. The next letter informs us that shortly after advising Propaganda on February 8, of his consent to the dismemberment, he had retracted it. Evidently this subsequent communication had not yet reached Rome. Another was sent from St. Louis during the first days of September. Of this new letter the Bishop wrote to Rosati, on September 12: "I have written again to forestall the division of the

XXX.

CARDINAL CONSALVI TO BISHOP DU BOURG.[1]

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Perjucundae mihi fuerunt Litterae Tuae, ex quibus intellexi Ampdm Tuam ultro assentiri, ut tam Floridarum provincias, quam Ludovisiana superior a Neo-Aurelianensi Dioecesi dismembretur, in novam erigendam Ecclesiam. Tua enim accepi consilia, mirum ut nova pariter Episcopalis Ecclesia instituatur in Oppido Sanctae Mariae, vulgo Detroit in Agro Michigan; et altera etiam in media Ludovisiana, quae Missisipi statum complectitur, et Arcansas, postquam A. T. ea omnia pervenerit, quae ad constituendum ibi antistitem necessaria sunt; demum ut Nova Aurelia in Metropolim erigatur. Haec omnia Emorum PP. judicio quamprimum subjicienda curabo, et inde Ampdm Tuam de illorum sententia certiorem facere non praetermittam. Petitam interim tibi adjungo renovationem facultatis, dispensandi scilicet in secundo consanguinitatis gradu ad sexaginta casus extensam, nec non dispensationem in primo affinitatis gradu, quae ex Summi Pontificis indulgentiis benigne concessa est pro Laurentio Millaudon et Maria Francisca Stella, ac te monente, ut conditionibus, quae in utroque documento apponitur sunt, te accurate conformes, D. O. M. precor ut Ampdm T. diutissime servet, ac sospitet.

Ampdis Tuae

Romae ex Aedibus S. Congnis de Prpa Fide Die 28. Septembris, 1822.

Ut Frater studiosissimus

H. Card. Consalvi, Prn-Prf.

R. P. D. Guillelmo Du Bourg,
Epo Neo-Aurelianensi in
Ludovisiana: | Novam Aurelian |

C. M. Pedicini, Secrius.

TRANSLATION

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[3] Card. Consalvi has unquestionably in view the Bourg's letter dated February 8 of that same year, 1822 given in our last issue, pp. 193 foll.

[4] With regard to the erection of a new Episcopal See in Upper Louisiana Bishop Du Bourg had, however, requested a delay—one year at the outside. The next letter informs us that shortly after advising Propaganda on February 8, of his consent to the dismemberment, he had retracted it. Evidently this subsequent communication had not yet reached Rome. Another was sent from St. Louis during the first days of September. Of this new letter the Bishop wrote to Rosati, on September 12: "I have written again to forestall the division of the

New Orleans and erected into new churches. I have taken good note of your recommendations, to wit: that a new Episcopal See should be likewise instituted in the town of St. Clair (Detroit) in the Territory of Michigan; and another in Central Louisiana, comprising the State of Mississippi and that of Arkansas, when Your Lordship has prepared in that district everything required for the establishment of a Bishop; also, that New Orleans be erected into an Archbishopric. I shall see to it that all these recommendations are submitted at the first opportunity to the judgment of Their Eminences, of whose opinion I will not fail to advise Your Lordship. Meanwhile I herewith enclose the renewal you asked of your faculty to grant dispensation of the second degree of relationship—this faculty extends to sixty cases—; I add also the dispensation of the first degree of affinity, kindly granted by the Sovereign Pontiff in favor of Lawrence Millaudon and Mary Frances Stella; and enjoining you to conform most exactly with the conditions marked in these two documents, I pray Almighty God to keep Your Lordship yet many years, and in good health.

Your Lordship's Most Devoted Brother,

H. Card. CONSALVI, Pro-Prefect.

Rome, Palace of the S. Congr. of Propaganda, September 28, 1822.

To the Right Rev. William Du Bourg, Bishop of New Orleans, Louisiana. New Orleans.

C. M. Pedicini, Secretary.

XXXI.

BISHOP DU BOURG TO THE CARDINAL PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA.[1]

Eminentissime Cardinalis:

Baltimorum urgentissimis meae Dioeceseos negotiis vocatus, ab Arch. nuper reduce, summo cordis dolore, audivi Rev.um Rosati ad administrationem Statuum Alabamae et Mississippi, cum titulo Episcopali a Sac. Cong. nominatum. Longius ab eo distans, nescio quae fuerit mentis ejus conditio, cum ad eum hujusmodi nuntius pervenerit; sed probe novi quis futurus sit hujus acceptationis effectus. Ruet in tota Louisiana Missionis Cong. quae jam ejus cura multum florescere coeperat, et cui nullus alius praeter eum adhuc praeesse potest. Ruet seminarium clericorum, unica spes immensae illius regionis; ad illam ruinam perculti undequaque dispergentur Sacerdotes et alumni, quos ego tot sumptibus comparavi. Quod ad me spectat, videns conatus meos frustratos, sin dolore conficiar, certe desperatione tabescam. Oh!

Diocese, as premature. My letter is very strong. It is the fruit of the most serious reflections; and my soul is much quieter since I wrote it. A Coadjutor is all that we will need for a long time. Fortunately, even in case the division should already be made, I am sure that Fr. B. (who is this Fr. B.?) would not accept the appointment."

[1] Copy by Bishop Du Bourg's own hand (sent to Rosati in a letter to the same), in Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery.

Eminentiss. Patres! quid fecistis? Quis vobis suasit hujus modi consilium, ut a pauperrimo Episc.o adimeretis ultimam et unicam suae spei anchoram? Episcopatum una hac lege susceperam, quod mihi Congregationis Miss. Sacerdotes in auxilium darentur. Duos solum qui eam in Dioecesi mea efformari possent accepi DD. de Andreis et Rosati. Unus morte ablatus est, et nunc alterum a me surripitis, postquam ego immensos labores et sumptus maximos in ipsorum Societatis fundationem absumpsi. Una die pereunt sudores et conatus septem annorum. Jam satis est; si ad effectum perducatur illa nominatio, nihil mihi amplius sperandum, nihil ultra moliendum. Sedens sedebo, lugens ruinam aedificii quod jam, Deo juvante, tanto labore meo assurgere coeperat. Sed quidni potius sperarem humillimis meis supplicationibus profusisque lacrimis movendas esse Eminentias Vestras? Certe cum agebatur Romae de subtrahendo a R.mo Ep.o Bardensi ipsius unico et praecipuo coadjutore Rev.o D.o David, quem ad Sedem Philadelphiensem promovere volebant, venerandi Praesulis exauditae sunt querelae. Mutata est mens Sac. Cong. et quem ab eo auferre cogitaverant, ipsi in Coadjutorem dederunt. Ita unione duorum illorum virorum in dies floret Bardensis Dioecesis. Eminent.imi Patres, meis precibus similiter annuetis. Ecce me prostratum habetis pedibus vestris, ejulatus edentem super contritione filiae populi mei; non surgam donec nominationem illam retractaveritis. Coadjutorem mihi date eumdem Rev.um Rosati; et alio, quo placuerit, modo, providete Statibus Mississippi et Alabamae. Cur destruetur Louisiana ad fovendam alibi Ecclesiam, quae forsan cum formari coeperit, similiter in foetu praefocabitur?

Sed attendant Eminent.ae Vestrae sequentibus observationibus.

Florida Episcopali Sede procul dubio indiget, sed huic, propter propinquitatem annecti convenit Statum *Alabamae,* in quo nunc perpauci sunt Catholici, ferme omnes in oppido *Mobiliensi.* In Statu Mississippi, unica est cathol. cong., scilicet in civitate *Natchez,* triginta ad summum familiis constans, quae cum duorum solummodo dierum spatio a Nov. Aurelia distet, facillime potest ab Ep.o istius urbis, vel ab ipsius Vic.o gen. administrari. Praedictis duabus congregationibus, sive in *Natchez,* sive in *Mobili* jam provideram, optimo in utraque sacerdote constituto. Quid amplius faciet Administrator Episcopali caractere insignitus? Sed undenam ipse, non dicam dignitatis subsidium, sed communem victum comparabit, cum hi duo sacerdotes aegre ab illis catholicis sustentari possint?

Jam de erigenda Sede Floridiensi mecum pluries egit Sac. Cong. Huic propositioni non solum annui, sed eam saepius ipse suggesseram, ut testantur varia scripta mea, quae in scriniis Sac. Cong. forsan asservantur. Non ita pridem mentem meam aperui de variis ad hujus sedis erectionem postulatis, et sacerdotem ad eam implendam proposui, nempe R.um Enochum Fenwick Marylandiensem Soc. Jesu, alias Rev.issimi Arch. D.ni Joan. Carroll Vic. gen., nunc praesidem Collegii Georgiopolitani. His omnibus peractis, putabam finem mox illi negotio datum iri; sed mihi maximam admirationem fecit quod a Rev.mo Arch.o Maréchal nunc audio, nempe dubium Romae exortum fuisse utrum Florida meae an Havanensi Sedi pertineret, cum constet in Bulla erec-

tionis *Sedis Neo Aurelian.* (data 27 ap. 1793) eam ipsi, postulante Hisp.ae Rege, *cum expresso Havanensis Episcopi consensu,* annexam fuisse. Equidem post deditam Foederatis Statibus Louisianam, et translatum ab ea Episcopum Hispanum D. de Peñalver, Jussu Regis Hispaniarum, Episcopus Havanensis utpote vicinior, jurisdictionem in Floridas resumpserat, virtute, ut opinor, concordatorum inter illam coronam et Sanctam Sedem, quibus sancitum est ne unquam Episcop.s alienigena in ullam Hispani Dominii partem jus dicere valeat. Sed tandem Floridis Americanae jam Foederationi unitis, renunciavit dictus praesul, et suos ab eis sacerdotes retraxit. Nihil igitur remanet quod vel levissimo dubio locum dare queat, nihil quod erectionem illius Sedit debeat remorari, cum ego, solus earum partium Ordinarius, ipsi toto corde assentiam.

Rebus ita constitutis, supererit peragenda ulterior divisio meae Dioecesis, in duas partes, Inferiorem scilicet et Superiorem Louisianam. Jam, importunitatibus victus, consensum huc dederam, quem paulo post retractavi. In hac ultima mentis dispositione, gravissimis fretus rationibus, persevero, nempe quia nondum consolidatis fundationibus quas in utraque jacere coepi, praematura mihi videtur divisio et Religionis utilitati summe adversa. Haec in posteriori Epistola fusius explicavi, supplicans ut mihi daretur Coadjutor in partem immensi mei laboris. Si his annuat Sac. Cong. spondeo ante quinque annos omnia parata fore ad propositam divisionem, sin minus, certo sciat Sac. Cong. omnia in confusionem casura.

Jam vos pro Coadjutore D. Bruté Sacerdotem S.ti Sulpicii benemeritissimum postulaveram, verens ne D. Rosati, si ad illud munus eligeretur, a regimine suae Soc. arceretur. Nunc autem quoniam ad episcopatum iste jam nominatus est, peto ut posthabito D.o Bruté Ipse D. Rosati mihi Coadjutor assignetur, et simul Cong. suae praeesse pergat donec alius praesto sit, qui ipsi in hoc officio suffici valeat. Ita facili negotio, omnia conciliabuntur. In Superori Louisiana residens D. Rosati, quae suae Cong. et Seminarii sedes est, illam partem, Episcopali auctoritate, meo nomine administrabit, simulque nascentem Societatem suo sinu fovebit. Ego inferioris Louisianae praecipue curam gerens, simul exiguo gregi Mississipiensi providere pergam; demum Alabamae et Floridarum Catholici proprium Episcopum habebunt.

De D.nis Sibourd et Rossetti quorum mentionem pluries fecit Sac. Congr. unum dicam: prior jam aetate provectus, et viribus fractus, polypio insuper in naribus afflictus, Episcopatus laboribus penitus impar evasit. Posterior nulla neque corporis nec animi dote, huic dignitati unquam aptus fuit. Multo minus ex quo prorsus *amens* factus est, quod duobus retro annis summo omnium nostrum dolore et molestia evenit. Post annum itegrum in illo deplorabili statu transactum, ratione partim recuperata, non Religionis sensu, quem in amentia conspuerat, Mediolanum sua sponte regressus est ubi eum incolumem appulisse precor.

TRANSLATION

My Lord Cardinal:—

Being now in Baltimore, where I was called by most urgent affairs concerning my Diocese,[2] from the Archbishop just returned from abroad, I have heard, to my heart's most grievous sorrow, that the S. Congregation has appointed the Rev. Rosati to the administratorship, with the title of Bishop, of the State of Alabama and Mississippi.[3] As I am far away from him, I know not what he will think when he receives this news[4]; but I know full well what will surely be the conse-

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[2] The object which induced Bishop Du Bourg to undertake this journey is explained by him in a letter to Propaganda March 29, 1823. But before he started even with his friends he was scarcely ever more explicit than he is here as to his purpose. Thus, for instance, writing to Father Bruté from St. Louis on July 6, he said: "We shall have the opportunity to converse *os ad os*, for affairs of the highest importance will oblige me to visit your quarters this coming fall." (Original in *Catholic Archives of America*, Notre Dame, Indiana. Case *Bishops of New Orleans*). In his letters to Rosati we find no allusion to this intended journey; but, no doubt, the subject was discussed during the two visits made by the Bishop to the Barrens during the summer. The trip commenced rather ominously. From Bardstown, where he stopped a few days, Du Bourg wrote to Rosati on October 30: "So far I have had a most unpleasant trip; the roads were in a wretched condition, and the weather was abominable for several days, a circumstance which detained us three days in an inn. But it's an ill wind that blows no one good: this rain gave the Ohio water enough for the steamboats to run. I am sailing tonight for Wheeling, and, barring any mishaps, we expect to be in Baltimore sometime between the 10th and the 15th of November" (Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery). It was, by the way, during this stay of Bishop Du Bourg in Kentucky that for the first time was broached the subject of bringing to Missouri a colony of Sisters of Loretto. Here is what the Bishop says of this project, which was to come to realization the following year, on his trip back to tSt. Louis: "I noticed the great use which the Bishop (Bishop Flaget) is making of the Sisters, especially those of Father Nerinckx. And the thought came to my mind to ask some of these Sisters for the Barrens. These nuns would be a treasure of edification: they would teach the young girls and, moreover, they would supply the seminary with clothes, and all this practically at no cost, for they also do some farming. I did not wish to do anything without consulting you; if you wish to have them, talk it over with your parishioners, and write to Father Nerincks. A few buildings would have to be put up for them, but I think that the parish would be glad to help you. The matter is worth thinking over.—Another great advantage which would accrue from these holy women is that, as they would multiply, we could find among them some for the domestic department of our colleges. The Bishop has seven of them in his establishment of Bardstown."

[3] The Brief appointing Father Rosati was issued August 13, 1822. It was confided to the care of Archbishop Maréchal, then in Rome, who was to forward it, together with a number of other papers, to the Vicar Apostolic elect. It reached the Barrens on November 20, almost two weeks before Bishop Du Bourg heard of the appointment. Archbishop Maréchal seems to have had a great deal tot do, if not with Rosati's appointment, at least with the creation of the new Vicariate Apostolic (See Manuscript *Life of Rosati*, quoted in *Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 13).

[4] We know Rosati's feelings from a letter written by him to Father Baccari, V. G. of the C. M. at Rome, the very next day after he received the Brief of his appointment: "Yesterday evening I received your letters sent me through the Archbishop of Baltimore. The joy and delight first experienced on reading them have given place to the greatest affliction, which assailed me on unfolding a document from the S. Cong. of Propaganda despatched to me through the same channel, notifying me that I have been appointed Bishop *in partibus* and Vicar

quence, if he accepts. It is the downfall, in all Louisiana, of the Congregation of the Mission, which, under his care was beginning to flourish nicely, and at the head of which no one, besides him, can be put for the time being. It is the downfall of our Ecclesiastical Seminary, our only hope for this immense country; and this downfall will bring about the dispersion of excellently trained priests and of the pupils, whom I had secured at so great a price. As to me, seeing my endeavors frustrated, if I do not die of sorrow, I will at least languish in despondency.[5] Oh! Your Eminences! What have you done? Who ever prompted you this advice to take from the poorest of Bishops the last and only anchor of his hope? I had accepted the Episcopate only on the condition that priests of the Congregation of the Mission would be given me to help me. I got only two capable to build up that Congregation in my Diocese, Father De Andreis and Father Rosati. One was taken away by death, and now you are depriving me of the other, when I have consumed immense labors and a great deal of money for the foundation of their Society. In one day are annihilated the fatigues and efforts of seven years. It is all over: if that appointment takes effect, there is nothing more for me to hope, nothing to attempt. Dejected I shall sit, bemoaning the ruin of the edifice which, with the help of God, my labors had begun to erect. But why should I not rather hope that my most humble supplications and my abundant tears shall move Your Eminences? It gives me courage to think that, when there was question in Rome of taking away from the Right Rev. Bishop of Bardstown his only and main co-laborer, Father David, then destined for the See of Philadelphia, the complaints of the venerable Prelate were graciously heard: the S. Congregation changed their minds, and the very man whom they had thought of taking from the Bishop was

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Apostolic of the Territories of Mississippi and Alabama. That was "truly for me a thunderbolt. I did not hesitate for a moment to resolve to refuse a burden which is beyond my strength in every regard. To this end I warmly recommend myself to you, in order that you may obtain that the Holy Father and His Eminence Card. Consalvi grant me the favor of accepting my refusal." (*Archives of the Procurator General C. M., Rome.* America, p. ii, Monsig. Rosati, pp. 31-32; quoted in *Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. III, No .1, p. 14). The letters sent through Archbishop Maréchal, reached the Barrens before Du Bourg's letter of December 3, which was mailed only after Dec. 6.

[5] To Father Rosati Bishop Du Bourg wrote (December 3): "I pray God to direct you in your answer; but in my opinion all is lost in the whole of Louisiana if the thing comes to effect. And, besides the damage caused to Religion, what an injustice to me! and what motive of despondency for all the Bishops! God preserve me from ever believing that this affair may be consummated! Did I believe it I would not go back to my Diocese, but I would go and tender my resignation at the feet of the Pope" (*Archives of St. Louis Archdioc., Chancery*). The thing, in so far as Rosati was concerned, was already settled: On November 26 the Bishop-elect had written to Card. Consalvi: "Knowing my strength, and feeling it to be absolutely unequal to bear the burden of the Episcopate, I cannot persuade myself that it is safe for me to assume it. Therefore, most instantly do I pray and beseech Your Eminence to spare my infirmity and to have somebody else appointetd to the government of the churches of Mississippi and Alabama."

given him as Coadjutor. And thus, thanks to the union of these two men, the Diocese of Bardstown is flourishing more and more. Your Eminences, you shall likewise, I trust, accede to my prayers. Behold me prostrate at your feet, loudly moaning for the destruction of the daughter of my people: I shall not arise until you revoke this appointment. Give me for Coadjutor that same Father Rosati, and provide any other way you wish for the States of Mississippi and Alabama. Why should Louisiana be sacrificed in favor of another Church which shall perhaps, when it begins to take shape, be likewise ruthlessly strangled?

At any rate, may it please Your Eminences to take into consideration the following observations:

Florida, no doubt, needs an Episcopal See; but to that State it will be good to add, because of the nearness, the State of *Alabama,* in which there are now very few Catholics, practically all in the town of *Mobile.* In the State of Mississippi there is only one Catholic Congregation, namely in the city of *Natchez;* it consists of at most thirty families, and as it is only two days from New Orleans, it may be very easily looked after by the Bishop of this place, or by his Vicar General. As a matter of fact, I had provided for the two aforementioned parishes, namely of *Natchez* and of *Mobile,* by establishing in each of them an excellent priest. What more may do an Administrator with Episcopal character? Nay, wherefrom will he get, I shall not say wherewith to uphold his dignity, but simple maintenance, when these two priests can scarcely be supported by those Catholics?[6]

Several times already has the S. Congregation mentioned to me the erection of a See in Florida. This proposal, not only did I consent to, but in fact I had repeatedly suggested myself, as may be seen from various letters of mine possibly preserved in the Archives of the S. Congregation. Not long since I spoke quite plainly concerning several things demanded for the erection of that See, and even proposed a candidate for it, namely the Rev. Enoch Fenwick, S.J., from Maryland, former Vicar General of the Most Rev. Archbishop John Carroll, and now President of the College of Georgetown. After having done all this, I thought that this affair was to be finished shortly; but I am immensely surprised to hear from Archbishop Maréchal that doubts have been raised at Rome as to whether Florida belonged to my Diocese or to that of Havana. It is clear from the Bull of erection of the *See of New Orleans,* in date of April 27, 1793, that Florida was annexed to this See, at the request of the King of Spain, and *with the express consent of the Bishop of Havana.* True, after the sale of Louisiana to the United States, and the transfer from New Orleans of the Spanish Bishop, the Right Rev. De Peñalver, the Bishop of Havana, being the

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[6] On December 8, writing again to Father Rosati, the Bishop expressed himself somewhat more sharply on the same subject: "Truth to tell, I do not understand anything in the decisions of Propaganda. It seems to them they need only to appoint Bishops and to send them, without inquiring whether there are parishes to receive and support them, and without providing them with any means, even to work. What, pray, would you do as a Bishop in Mississippi and Alabama, and what would become of you there?"

nearest Bishop, resumed, by order of the King of Spain, jurisdiction over Florida, by virtue, I suppose, of the Concordats between the Spanish Crown and the Holy See, whereby it is enactetd that no foreign Bishop can ever have jurisdiction over any part of the Spanish Dominion. But when finally Florida was added to the United States, the Bishop of Havana renounced his jurisdiction over it, and recalled his priests who were there. There remains, therefore, no room for the slightest doubt, no impediment capable of delaying the erection of that See, inasmuch as I, the sole Ordniary of that territory, am giving my hearty consent.

When this is settled, there will remain to effect the further division of my Diocese into two parts, to wit: Lower and Upper Louisiana. Already I had, yielding to imortunities,[7] given my consent to this division; shortly afterwards I retractetd it.[8] Very grave reasons urge me to remain in the latter disposition of mind, and the reason is that, as the foundations I have startetd in both parts of the Diocese are not yet well grounded, the division appears to me premature and most prejudicial to the interests of Religion. These motives I explained at length in my last letter,[9] begging that a Coadjutor be given me to share in my immense labors. If this request is granted by the S. Congregation, I promise that within five years everything will be in shape for this intended division; but should my request be turned down, the Sacred Congregation may consider it as certain that everything will be thrown into confusion.

In a former letter I asked that Father Bruté, a Sulpician priest of the highest merit, be given me for Coadjutor,[10] as I was afraid that if Father Rosati were appointetd he would be taken away from the superiorship of his society. But now that he has already been designated for the Episcopate, I ask that he be given the preference over Father Bruté for the Coadjutorship,[11] and may continue at the same time to

[7] It must be confessed that Du Bourg's letter of February 8, 1822 (St. Louis Catholic Historical Heview, Vol. II, p. II. p. 148 foll.), does not leave the impression he was then "yielding to importunities." His words are worth recalling: "As to the erection of another See in the City of St. Louis, Missouri, no one certainly can be pleased with it and desire it more than myself (*nulli certe magis quam mihi ipsi arridere et in votis esse debet*), as it means for me relief from immense labors and cares. Still, there is one reason why I delay asking at once for it namely, the most earnest desire I have to free from all debts and obligations certain quite extensive properties which I have bought as an endowment for that See: I trust that, God helping, I may within a year reach this happy goal. When this is accomplished, I shall most gladlv resign this part of my solicitude into the hands of the Sovereign Pontiff (*libentissime tunc partem illam meae solicitudinis in manus Summi, Pontificis resignabo*), hesitating at no sacrifice in order. . . ."

[8] We do not know when this change of views was manifested the first time; it was pointed out above that the Prelate wrote again in that sense from St. Louis in the first days of September.

[9] The one just alluded to in the preceding Note (September, 1822).

[10] When this proposal was made to Rome, we do not know, but we do know from the Bishop's letters to Bruté, that he was anxious to have him come west.

[11] In view of this and of the many proposals made to Rome at different times in regard to the Coadjutorship since the question was first agitated, one.

be Superior of his Congregation until someone else may take his place in this office. This is an easy way of reconciling every interest. Father Rosati, residing in Upper Louisiana, where are the headquarters of his Congregation and the Seminary, will administer, in my name, with Episcopal authority, that portion of the Diocese, while at the same time he will foster the progress of the infant society. I, on the other hand, shall principally take care of Lower Louisiana, and continue to provide for the little flock in Mississippi; finally, the Catholics of Alabama and Florida will have their own Bishop.

Touching Fathers Sibourd and Rosetti, who were repeatedly mentioned by the S. Congregation I have only this to say: The former, who is now advanced in years and infirm, is, moreover, afflicted by a polyp of the nose, so that he has become quite incapable to stand the work of the Episcopate. As to the latter,[12] he never had the bodily and mental qualifications fitting one for that dignity. Still less since he has become *insane*, a calamity which, to the extreme sorrow and annoyance of us all, occurred two years ago. After one full year of this deplorable condition, as he recevored partly his reason, but not the sense of Religion, which in his period of madness he had cursed, he determined to return to Milan, where, I trust, he arrived safely.

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cannot help feeling the good Bishop was slighlty overstating the truth when he wrote to Rosati from Washington on February 6, 1823: "The ill-wind will blow us some good, if all these transactions bring you to the point whither I have been —unknown to you—working steadily to lead you. I then received a formal refusal; no motives were alleged. . . . Your actual promotion cannot but end as I desire." (Original in *Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery*).

[12] See St. Louis Catholic Historical Review, Vol. II, No. 1, p. 50, Note 4; also above, Letter XXIX; already from St. Louis, two months before, October 1, Bishop Du Bourg had written (we have only a short excerpt from this letter taken in 1882 by Father Van der Sanden; this is the reason why we have not assigned to these few lines a place and number apart in the correspondence): "To discharge this office (of Coadjutor) the Rev. L. Sibourd is now too old and broken down. As to Father Rossetti, from Milan, the fact that the Sacred Congation has twice already proposed him to me as Coadjutor is clear enough evidence that this priest is very little known to it. Indeed, besides being disgraced by a deformity of body which would make the mere sight of him an object of ridicule to our Americans, he is woefully devoid of all culture, either profane or ecclesiastical, and incapable to speak either French or English. But, what is still worse, two years ago, to the extreme sorrow and annoyance of us all, he became completely insane believing he was the king of England, and forgetful of all rules of decency and Religion. Finally, after a whole year spent in this deplorable condition, as he partly recovered his reason, he wished to go back to his native country, where I hope he must, at the time of this writing, have arrived safely." In *Catholic Historical Review* (Vol. III, No. 1, p. 10), part of this letter was quoted and assigned the date October 1, 1821; this is a misprint, and should be read 1822.

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Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, etc. required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912,

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State of Missouri } ss.
City of St. Louis }

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Edward Brown, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of the St. Louis Catholic Historical Review, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse side of this form, to wit:

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Sworn to and subscribed before me this 29th day of September 1919.

(Signed) H. M. CLAPP, Notary Public

(My commission expires Jan. 21, 1922)

NOTICE

✠

The entire issue of the First Volume of the ST. LOUIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW was limited to 500 copies. The available supply of back numbers is about exhausted. The Society holds in reserve 100 copies of Volume I, which will be bound in cloth and offered for sale at $4.00 per volume while they last.

Those desiring to secure a copy should send in their orders promptly.

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Established February 7th, 1917

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THE OLD CATHEDRAL CONFERENCE OF ST. VINCENT DE PAUL SOCIETY

Perhaps of all the charitable organizations of to-day none is so well known and so widespread as that of the St. Vincent de Paul Society. Founded upon principles of charity laid down by the illustrious Saint whose name it bears, as a kind messenger, it has brought and is still bringing help and succor to the needy of every color and creed throughout the world. Far back in the sixteenth century there was born in Pouy, Gascony, France, Vincent de Paul, whose charity and love of the poor has counfounded the world. Led on by a true love of God which is best evinced in the love of neighbor, he devoted his best endeavors to the service of the needy and the afflicted. Calling about him bands of noble men and women he formed them into Conferences and, through them, collected and distributed the necessaries of life to the starving thousands of Paris and its surrounding regions. It is his principles and spirit that have guided the Catholic Charities since his time. It was not, however, until May, 1833, that the organization that bears the name of St. Vincent de Paul was founded and elevated to its present high standing and efficiency. Frederick Ozanam, a brilliant young lawyer and author in Paris, called about him seven of his youthful companions and formulated plans for the organization of a society whose object should be to administer to the wants of the poor and thereby answer the taunts of an irreligious world which was proclaiming the death of the Christian spirit of charity. The rules then formulated upon the principles of St. Vincent are those by which our Conferences are governed today. The society quickly gained in membership; new Conferences were erected, so that today it can claim over two hundred thousand members, and there is scarcely a country upon the globe whose poor do not feel its kind and benevolent influence.

Just twelve years after the inauguration of this noble work, Mr. Bryan Mullanphy returned from his studies in Paris, full of enthusiasm for the achievements of the society in France, called together a few of the prominent Catholic laymen of St. Louis, and in the little school-house attached to the Cathedral,—a building destroyed in the great fire of 1849—established the first council of the St. Vincent de Paul Society in America. In the minutes of this meeting we read that Mr. Mullanphy presided; an election of officers took place. Dr. M. L. Linton was elected President; Bryan Mullanphy 1st Vice President; Dennis Galvin 2nd Vice President; James McGuire Jr. Secretary and

Patrick Ryder Treasurer. A committee was at once appointed to wait upon the Bishop to acquaint him with the establishment of the Society and ask his approbation, which was gladly given in the following letter read at the meeting one week later.

"Beloved Brethren: I have learned with great satisfaction, that you have formed yourselves into a society which takes its name from the apostle of charity, St. Vincent de Paul, and which has for its object to relieve the poor of Christ, whose spiritual or corporal wants may render them subjects for that charity which loves not in word and tongue but in deed and truth. I approve most warmly of your holy undertaking and hope that your society, which as I am informed, has been aggregated to the parent Society in Paris, will be the means, with the divine blessing, of promoting the practice of Christian charity as successfully here as the other branches of that Society have proved themselves to be wherever they are established. I have read the rules you have adopted for the government of your Society, and most cordially approve them. They breathe a deep spirit of piety, and appear to be the result of much reflection and experience. They indicate the means most likely to render your united efforts efficient in aiding the poor. They are also well calculated to keep alive within you the spirit of holy fervor which will not permit you to grow weary of doing good. Invoking on you the Divine blessing, and cherishing the hope that God, who has inspired you to commence the good work, will enable you to accomplish it, I subscribe myself,

Yours most devotedly in Christ,
Peter Richard, Bishop of St. Louis."

With the approbation of the Bishop obtained, their next step was to gain affiliation with the General Council in Paris. Accordingly on the 11th day of December 1845 the following application for aggregation was forwarded to France.

Dear Sir and Confrere:—A Conference of the St. Vincent de Paul Society has been established in the city of St. Louis under the approbation of the Most Rev. Peter Richard Kenrick, Bishop of St. Louis, and under the spiritual direction of the Rev. Ambrose J. Heim. This Conference desires to be aggregated to the Society in Paris and thus secure the benefit of indulgences granted by our Holy Father to the faithful members of the Society. We have adopted your rules and regulations, also those of the Society in Dublin. All the members of the Conference join in this letter."

Their application was kindly received by the General Council in Paris which at once, forwarded the following communication which reached St. Louis early in April 1846.

"Paris, Feb. 10. 1846.

The letter which you wrote to us Dec. 15, 1845, and which announced to us the formation of a Conference of the St. Vincent de Paul Society in St. Louis, gave us great joy. We hasten to express it to you and to inform you at the same time that the General Council admitted your Conference into the Society on the second day of the present month (February). From that moment our new brethren are partakers of all the precious benefits and abundant indulgences which the Holy Pontiff has been pleased to grant our Society. Nor do we doubt but these great advantages will be a powerful encouragement for you in the way of charity which your zeal has opened before you.

We give thanks to God for this favor which permits the humble family of St. Vincent de Paul to plant its root even in the New World. Even before he inspired you in the United States to establish the Conference, the admittance of which into our Society rejoices us today, from another part of that great continent, Mexico, we had also the happiness to receive new brethren. This we believe cannot fail to give you pleasure.

At the same time other blessings were accorded to the Society in Europe, by the establishment of a Conferenc in Protestant Geneva, whilst the foundation was laid of our institution in the heart of Islamism at Constantinople.

This consoling spectacle to which your piety adds in some degree by your welcome into the Society, causes you and us legitimate hope for the propagation of works of Christian charity; that after your example they will be spread over the soil of America, where, since some years, the spirit and practice of the True Church find reception under such providential dispositions. We have confidence that our wish will be realized, when we consider what has been done around us. It will be a great honor to the city of St. Louis, to which religion already owes much, for having been the cradle of the work in North America. We beg you not to be sparing in your communications to us, concerning your Conference. All that interests you will be of interest to us. At the same time we shall try to send you all that may be of interest to you, also all the publications.

It is this that will cement and fortify more and more the hearty and perfect union, which notwithstanding the great distance, must bind together all the divers branches of the great family of the Society. It is with delight theat we place here the foundation of that union which nothing will be able to change. In virtue of a Brief of the Sovereign Pontiff dated Jan. 10th 1845, a plenary indulgence is granted to those conferences newly received by the General Council. This Council has decided that this indulgence will be gained by the conference of St. Louis the Sunday after the first meeting after the reception of this letter.

Greetings etc.

Jules Gossin
Pres. General."

The exortation contained in the latter part of the letter was faithfully carried out. Not only was there a frequent exchange of letters, but appeals from the Mother Council were promptly answered by generous contributions from the Infant Conference in America. Many of these letters we have at hand. It was through them that the little band in St. Louis was directed and encouraged.

On the first page of the records of the early meetings we find the following in the handwriting of Bryan Mullanphy:

"We the undersigned desire to form ourselves into a Society of St. Vincent de Paul in the city of St. Louis, in the State of Missouri." Beneath this simple declaration there are to be found the signatures of more than one hundred spirited men who pledged their time and money to the relief of the poor. But these names were not subscribed or the deeds of charity performed to gain the applause of men, and we feel that their names together with the poor they aided, the distressed they relieved and the wayward they brought back to God are written by the Recording Angel in letters of gold in the Book of Life. As a list of Catholic names in St. Louis as early as 1845 is a historical document of real value, we subjoin it in the note[1]. Still there are three

---

[1] List of early members of the Conference

Bryan Mullanphy	Joseph Murphy	George Brein
Dennis Galvin	Joseph O'Neill	Joseph O'Neil
Thos. Anderson	Wm. J. Mullin	Jacob Brookhouse
Patrick Ryder	N. Tiernan	M. Weis
Martin E. Power	Christopher Garvey	Thomas Foley
John Everhart	Singleton I. Stako	Jos. E. Gorman
Jos. Masterson	John Amend	Joseph Broeken
Jas. Maguire, Jr.	Bernard Slevin	James Rielly
J. J. Donegan	Michael Coyle	Rev. Father Badin
John Byrne, Jr.	Jerry Sullivan	John McFaddin
George Ridinam	John H. O'Neil	John F. R. McEnnis
G. A. Manning	P. Walsh	Thomas Grey
M. L. Linton	James Regan	Wm .Wheeler
J. Pelloux	Jeremiah C. Slattery	Chas. F. Blattau
John McIntire	Donat O'Laughlin	Michael Kelly
M. O'Keeffe	Peter Byrne	G. McGrade
J. C. Bury	Patrick O'Brien	Rt. Rev. Dr. Barron
John Innis	Robert O'Riely	Myles P. O'Connor
P. Slevin	Stuart Matthews	James Verdin
A. G. Heim	Francis Saler	John Mulligan
John D. Mack	John C. Degenhart	John Everhart, Jr.
John Beakey	John F. Mitchell	T. B. Bangaleyn
Wm. Doyle	John McEnnis	Bernard Korkan
J. T. Higginbotham	John Haverty	Philip M. Sandon
John Merrick	John Joseph	Owen V. Timon
Robt. S. Mitchell	Edmund P. Walsh	D. Rodier
John Mullery	James Conran	Andrew Breen
S. Summerville	C. Slevin	H. Robinson

names placed there that can scarcely be passd over in silence. Those who bore them should be remembered and honored by posterity. Their lives are worthy of emulation.—The three I have in mind are Bryan Mullanphy, Dr. M. L. Linton [2] and Rev. Ambrose J. Heim.

The name of Mr. Mullanphy needs no introduction to the people of St. Louis. Born to abundant wealth, educated in the best schools of America and Europe, he was in no way affected by pride or selfishness, but was filled with enthusiasm for all things Christian and charitable. Witnessing the work of the St. Vincent de Paul Society in Paris he was so moved by what he saw that, as he himself said, the feeling prompting him to establish a branch in St. Louis was irresistible. He was an accomplished French scholar, and it was he who conducted the correspondance for the newly established Conference here with the General Council in Paris. His purse was ever open and his generosity unbounded. It was due to him that there were no financial ailments in the infant days of the Cathedral Council. He was the "Good Angel" of the young Society and regarded it with paternal kindness to the time of his death. Of his other philanthropic activities I shall say nothing here for they are already recorded in the history of the city.

Dr. M. S. Linton was a native of Kentucky born in an humble position in life. Hard work and much sacrifice enabled him to attend the Transylvania University from which he graduated as a Doctor of Medicine. Not content with this he afterwards continued his studies abroad at Paris and Edinburg. Up to his thirty-third year he was a

---

John Kremer
Philip Fitzsimmons
Thomas Murphy
Timothy Slattery
Christopher Pieper
Frederick Kelly
William Holtermann
Augustus Laufkotter
R. F. Barry (1851)
Dr. L. B. Ganahl
Louis Ottenad
Jas. Duggan
Kaspar Brinkmann
Marshall P. Sanguinette
Jos. E. Elder
John E. Fore
J. C. Barlow
Doctor Cornyse

Hugh Ewing
Wm. Linton
James Ryan
Christopher H. Shierman
Peter Conklin (1856)
John O'Brien
Michael Lynch (1857)
P. H. Heaman (1858)
H. J. Spaunhorst
Augustine Varty
Francis Denning
John S. Healy
Graham S. Hughes
J. Pillsbury
J. Charleston
George Killian
James Riordan
M. Mitchell

D. G. Jones
Stephen Moriarty
Patrick Fox (1859)
Wm. Dunning
James B .Clancy
Peter S. Dowling
W. J. Brownson
J. Gregory
John O'Keefe
Michael O'Fallon
D. Provenchere (1860)
Wm. Roche
Patrick Lynch
Wm. Crow
Philip Karst
David Breen
Peter Barsie
Christ. J. Caffrey

[2] Dr. Linton was the first editor of "The St. Louis Medical and Surgical Journal" published by Dinnies and Radford. Monthly at $2.00 per annum. This was the first Medical Journal published West of the Mississippi. Cf. *Catholic Cabinet*, St. Louis, 1843. Vol. I, No. 3.

man of no religious convictions. In the year 1842 he was invited to fill a professorship in the medical department of St. Louis University. Two years later he became a Catholic and the following year was chosen as the first President of the St. Vincent de Paul Society. He was a man of much learning and a ready writer. The sincerity of his religion and the spirit that animated his work in behalf of the poor is well shown in a poem which he wrote and read at one of the early meetings. I shall give but the first four verses:

We are not here to secure
Our ease or earthly gain
We league together not to please
The senses proud and vain,
To dig for gold, nor dive to seek
The treasure of the Main.

We come together not to build
The monuments of pride,
To speed the rushing ships of trade
Across the stormy tide,
Nor set up banks which twice a year
Large dividends divide.

To wait upon the Lord of Heaven
Within the prison wall,
To shield from cold His sacred form,
To answer hunger's call,
And make His bed of sickness soft
And share His sorrows all;

To seek Him out in squalid huts
And miseries' wretched lairs,
To whisper to Him words of hope,
To charm away His cares,
To soothe with genial wine and oil
The bruises that he bears."

He remained an active member of the Society until his death, 1872.

Judge O'Neil, one of the charter members of the Cathedral Council, in a paper read in 1882, declares that it was to the ever attentive, amiable and gentle Father Ambrose Heim, that the Society was much indebted for its success. He was its first Spiritual Director, and each Thursday evening found him present. His reports were usually the longest, and his expenditures in behalf of the poor were invariably the greatest. To relieve distress, to assuage sorrow, to comfort and console the afflicted was the aim and the object of his life. He died in 1854, and above his quiet resting place in Calvary on a simple slab erected by the members of the Society we find written the terse, yet eloquent epitaph:

Father Ambrose J. Heim "The priest of the poor."

The Society which these noble men founded was quickly put into operation. At the first meeting two visitors were appointed for each of the four parishes of the city. John Byrne and Dr. Anderson were appointed for St. Vincent's; John Everhart and Rev. Ambrose Heim for the Cathedral; George Reidinam and John Ennis for St. Francis Xavier's; James C. Bury and M. O'Keefe for St. Patrick's. It was the duty of these to visit and report any cases of distress in the various parishes. It seems, however, that this system of relief proved too slow for the zealous members of our first St. Vincent de Paul Society; so at the third meeting some two weeks later it was decided that a certain amount of the funds to be distributed each week was to be placed into the hands of one of the visitors for each parish and he was to use the funds for the immediate relief of the distressed, regardless of color or creed, to be found in his district. Full reports of expenditures were made at each succeeding meeting. This system continued for some months. In May of the following year Rev. John Higginbotham, an assistant priest at the Cathedral, was appointed as a committee of one to visit the Pastors of the various churches of the city to solicit their cooperation and ask them to be the distributors of the funds within their respective territories. From this time the Pastors assumed a more helping attitude and the Conference grew in numbers and activities.

Dr. Linton served two years as President before giving way to Mr. Bryan Mullanphy who continued in the Chair until the Autumn of 1849. It was during the Summer of 1849 that St. Louis was visited by the terrible scourge, the Asiatic Cholera, and it was especially during this plague that the spirit of the St. Vincent de Paul Sodalists was sorely tried. They met the test courageously, and fulfilled their self-imposed duties faithfully; and none entered into the work before them with more zeal than the worthy President. Daily in the wards of the hospitals, amidst the dying and the dead and the infected poor and in all places where kind words and help were needed, this little band led by Judge Mullanphy went, prompted, as he was heard to say, by conscientious duty as member of the St. Vincent de Paul Society.

During the decade and a half following, the presidency was occupied by these worthy gentlemen: Dr. Linton, 1849, 1850, 1851; John Haverty 1852, 1853; John Byrne Jr. 1854, 1859, 1860; Joseph O'Neil 1855; Francis Saler 1856; John Amend 1857; H. J. Spaunhorst 1858; Dr. E. H. Gregory 1861; James McGuire 1862. McGuire's name continues in the records until 1878.

The Cathedral Conference was the only one established in St. Louis until 1858, when Dr. L. Silliman Ives, a convert to the Faith, delivered a stirring lecture, in the Mercantile Library Hall, on the works of the Society and strongly urged the erection of more Conferences. As the result of his efforts St. Francis Xavier's Parish at once organized an independent Conference. This example was soon followed by others. Year after year witnessed the establishment of new Councils. At present our fair city boasts of seventy.

With the multiplication of the Conferences and the establishment of the Particular Council in 1860, with Dr. T. L. Papin as its first President, the Cathedral Conference lost much of its importance. The number of its members was greatly decreased by transfers to other branches, and those members still remaining seem to have lost much of their zeal and gradually grew lax in their charitable activities. The Conference slowly declined and in the minutes of a meeting of the Particular Council June 28, 1878, we find recorded the first symptoms of its disintegration. "The Cathedral has $25.00 on hand, but attendance has fallen off greatly." This was followed by another even more discouraging report of Nov. 29th of the same year. "The Cathedral has discontinued meetings, but has on hand $20.00." These two reports, though short, tell us a great deal. The Mother Conference was struggling, dangerously near the death point, while her prosperous children indifferently looked on. The Conference struggled on, however, and a financial report of 1882, showing receipts and expenditures of more than $400,00, clearly indicates that it was far from defunct.

On January 18, 1885, at a regular meeting of the Particular Council it was moved that "the Presidents of the Annunciation, St. John's, St. Mary's and the St. Francis Xavier Conferences be constituted a committee to extend their respective parochial lines for Conference purposes so as to join all territory in the Cathedral Parish not occupied at present by a Conference, and report such change of lines to this Council for approval." The following division was announced at the next meeting, Feb. 25, 1885, "St. Mary's Conference takes the territory from Poplar St. to Locust St. East of 2nd St.—Annunciation takes the territory from Poplar to Market St. and from 2nd to 6th St.—St. John's takes the territory from Poplar to Market, west of 6th St.—St. Francis Xavier takes the territory north from Market and West from 2nd." Records are lacking to show to what extent these neighboring Conferences actually carried on their work of charity in the districts mentioned. If this division accomplished nothing more, it at least aroused the parishioners of the Cathedral from their lethargy and a short time after we find the St. Vincent de Paul Society of the Parish in a flourishing condition with Mr. Cornelius Collins as its President.

Mr. Collins resigned and was succeeded by Mr. Francis Fisher Nov. 20, 1890. The history of the next twenty-five years is a history of alternate enthusiasm and lethargy. We find in the minutes of the Particular Council for the meeting of Oct. 28, 1891. "Mr. McElrath reports through Mr. Quirk, the *one* remaining member of the Cathedral Conference, a debt of $15.00. The President announces that he would endeavor to reestablish this Conference." The following meeting the Cathedral reported with a membership of twenty. And thus we find recorded from time to time revivals only to be followed by periods of listless activity.

Upon the death of Mr. Fisher, 1910, Mr. James L. Smith assumed the office of President of the Old Cathedral St. Vincent de Paul

Society. His reports to the Upper Council often ran something like this: "Pres. James L. Smith; Secretary, James L. Smith, Treasurer, James L. Smith; Average attendance at meetings, 2. (Father Eugene Coyle the Spiritual Director usually attended). Number visiting the poor, 1. (Signed) James L. Smith."

In the Autumn of 1915, Rev. J. J. Tannrath, having been appointed pastor of the Old Cathedral, called together the men of the parish and reorganized the Society, with Mr. J. P. Collins as President, Mr. Nicholas Laughlin Vice-President, to be succeeded within a few months by Mr. James L. Smith; Mr. Isaac Conran, Secretary; Mr. Patrick O'Donnell, Treasurer; Rev. J. J. Tannrath, Spiritual Director. Upon the death of Mr. Patrick O'Donnell, 1920, Senator Michael Kinney was chosen to fill the office of Treasurer. The Old Cathedral Conference today has twenty active members on its roster. Its spirit is the same that animated the young Council seventy-five years ago and its financial condition is better than at any time since it lost its "Good Angel" and founder Bryan Mullanphy.

PAUL SCHULTE

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE PARISH OF OPELOUSAS, LA.

Opelousas is an Indian name—the name of a powerful tribe of children of the forest who lived there before the white man drew in upon them. Just what that name means, is to this day a moot question. The majority of the old inhabitants claim that Opelousa stands for "black leg man"; and in support of this contention, they appeal to a local tradition asserting that the Indians of the neighborhood had brown or black legs, in contrast to their rather light bodies.

However this may be, the remarkable natural features of the place, its healthy location far above sea level, the wonderful fertility of its soil very early, it seems, attracted the attention of the American aborigines, as they did attract later on that of the white man. Flowers in profusion, rural beauty, grassy lakes, beautiful bayous and majestic trees have always been there. There are evidences that the spot where the town now stands was once an Indian stronghold, perhaps the chief city of the Opelousas tribe. Mounds in the vicinity show that the savages used the present site as a favorite camping place and buried their dead in the adjoining hills.

The first white settlement was made some two hundred years ago—the record of civilization beginning in 1716. Like a number of old towns on the Louisiana frontier, Natchitoches, or Arkansas Post, for instance, the town of Opelousas owes its origin to a military post, located near the spot where now stands the Academy of the Immaculate Conception. The relatively large garrison maintained from the beginning at this post shows the importance which the French governors of Louisiana attached to it. Before long people began to settle around the protecting walls of the post; the garrison naturally patronized the little mercantile establishments clustering in the shadow of the Fort; thus gradually a little village developed, and to this day the quaint capriciousness of the streets of Opelousas remains as a reminder that it grew at random and was never laid off as a town. The Indians, it is said, though belonging to the fierce Attacapan (i. e. "man-eaters") family, once so much dreaded, were now quite tame and friendly; and many acres of the wonderfully fertile soil were placed under cultivation. When the fort was dismantled the soldiers were given the choice of returning to their

homes or of remaining. Quite a number chose the latter alternative, took up a plot of land and started plantations. To these discharged soldiers many of the older families of Opelousas trace back their ancestry; others are descending from the enterprising early settlers who ventured to build their homes in the shadow of the stockade; yet others to unfortunate Acadians driven out from their northern homes in Nova Scotia, some of whom reached Louisiana after years of wandering and misery.[1]

Did any priests minister in early years—at least occasionally—to the spiritual wants of the soldiers stationed at the Post? If any came, nothing is known of them. No record even speaks of any chapel existing within the palisades of the fort. Catholics these French soldiers were, no doubt; this does not mean, however, that the fort of Opelousas, any more than any other similar outpost, was garrisoned by the flower of Catholicity. The conditions which we know prevailed at the Post of Arkansas may well be regarded as typical. There no chapel was in existence for a number of years. The corruption of the French handicapped as much Father Carette in his ministerial work at the Post, as it has done his heroic predecessor, Father Davion. This ungodly spirit continued also after Father Carette was succeeded by Father Poisson. An old record sadly remarks: "At the fort there was no chapel, and no place where he could offer the holy sacrifice but a room open to all, even to the poultry, so that a hen once flew on the altar just as he was finishing Mass. Even this did not induce those in authority to erect a suitable chapel. His remonstrances actually led only to further derisions and mockery of religion."

From the documents so far available, it appears well nigh certain that, for many years after its establishment, the Post of Opelousas was destitute of all spiritual ministrations.

To Father Joseph de Arazena, Pastor of Opelousas, we are indebted for what is known of the beginning of organized Catholicity in that locality. True, there are extant some shattered remnants of parochial records of baptisms, marriages and funerals, antedating Father de Arazena's incumbency, and signed by Fray Luis del Burgo del Sto. Sepulcro, Fray Louis Maria Grumeau, O.P., and Father Gefrotin; but these early records were already in 1787 "in wretched state of preservation, being written on loose sheets of paper, and in danger of getting lost." Father de Arazena diligently gathered all that could be found of these hoary "papeles," and not only did he preserve them with religious solicitude (they are now, and possibly since his time stitched together; yet, as they are much decayed, they need handling with considerable care), but he translated them from French into Spanish and entered them in a large register. This pretentious looking tome, entitled,

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[1] In 1769 a party of Acadians bound for Louisiana was wrecked off the coast of Texas and taken to the presidio of Bahia del Espiritu Santo, now Goliad. After harsh treatment had been given some of the leaders, the party was sent overland to Natchitoches. Cf. Bolton, *Athanase de Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier*, 1768—1780, Vol. I, p. 131, 159, 173—174.

LIBRO DE BAUTISMOS DE BLANCOS
para el usso de esta Iglesia Parroquial de la Immaculada Concepcion del PUISTO DE OPELUZAS,

opens with a somewhat bombastic foreword, wherein the good Capuchin describes the work done by him to save the archives of the parish, arraigning severely, at the same time, his predecessors for their neglect.

> This parish church was founded in the year of our Lord seventeen hundred and seventy, more or less, according to the information furnished by persons trustworthy and of well-known honesty. Don Carlos III (God preserve him!) being King of Spain, Our Holy Father Pius VI ruling the Church Universal; Don Bernardo Galvez being Governor of this Province since the transfer of the same by the Most Christian King to His Catholic Majesty; and being Vicar General to His Lordship Joseph Santiago de Echevarria y Elguesua the Right Rev. Bishop of Havana, Jamaica, Louisiana and the Floridas, the Right Rev. Cyril de Barcelona, at present Auxiliary Bishop; who, in the Visitation he made of this Colony in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six, ordered expressly, as is shown by the Pastoral Letter preserved among the papers of our office that each Pastor should keep the necessary books, and in the best possible condition: which order respectfully and obediently, as it meet, on account of its conformity to the spirit of the Church, to reason and to the right method to be observed, we have adopted from the time we found it possible to have the necessary Registers, which are the present [2] in order that with greater clearness and distinction all the entries may be made, each one in the respective book, where they may easily be found in case of necessity; in like manner as we came across the few Records which were found here in wretched condition and on loose sheets of paper, exposed to the danger of being lost, as was the case of those of Father Valentin. O.M.C., the first pastor, whose writings we have not been able to see, though all diligence was used to find them; we have undertaken the work of copying over and translating herein in Spanish, which is the predominating language among us, all these scattered records, to which translation and copy entire faith and authority shall attach even more than to the originals, which are teeming with substantial defects, as may be realized by whosoever takes the trouble to consult them: we hope that God, for whom alone we undertake this work on behalf of the people, who will appreciate it all the more than they know it, will give us strength to pursue this painful task undertaken in order to remedy the defects of our predecessors: so that those who come after us shall have less trouble than he who, so to say, entered to clear up this land untilled and full of brambles. Opelousas March 15, 1787.
>
> Fr. Joseph de Arazena, O.M.C.,
> Pastor.

The good Capuchin rector certainly did excellent work in collecting, copying and translating the old scattered records of his predecessors, even though well might he have been more brief, and have made use of less stilted language in informing us of his titles to our gratitude. At all events, from the tangled maze of his words emerges one historical assertion of the highest importance: Opelousas was erected into a parish about 1770, and its first pastor was Father

[2] A word illegible.

Valentin, O.M.C. The good Father cites his authorities for the date of the foundation — they are clearly old inhabitants of the town, "trustworthy persons," he says, "and of undoubted honesty." We may take his word for this information; all the more so that the report of Father Philibert Francis Watrin, S.J., to Propaganda (1765),[3] which, though concise, aims at completeness, makes no mention of any Parish at Opelousas. It seems probable that, up to 1770, the settlement was for years an out-mission first of Pointe Coupée, and, later on, of St. Martin des Attacapas.

The first church was, as may be expected, a plain, simple, little chapel, so small indeed that only a few people, it is said, could attend divine worship. This little chapel, dedicated to St. Landry, was built "on the Bayou"; its exact location, however, has long been the object of much controversy. Father J. François Raymond who was in the parish for thirty-five years, was much inclined to believe the church was situated in or near the present town of Washington. In support of this contention, he appealed to some information gathered, some sixty years ago, from some old people who had come from Nova Scotia (Acadians). Washington, in the old days, was called Negroville, for the reason that many negroes made their homes there. The name Bayou Tesson, associated with the first church, renders this opinion improbable, as the Bayou which bears that name runs through Opelousas and does not go as far north as Washington. Furthermore, the Register of Funerals bears for the year 1798 a note, written in Father Barrière's (1813-1817) characteristic hand, which reads as follows:

> During this year the present church was removed from the Bayou, (he spells "Baillou,") to the "Pointe à M. Tesson." Mr. Michael Prudhomme, a native of the neighborhood of Strassburg, France, donated gratuitously three arpents of land by forty in length, and Mr. Tesson, a native of Xaintonge, gave one.

We find that the donation of land was made October 16, 1796; but Father Barrière either was misinformed, or expressed himself inaccurately as to its extent. Mrs.—not Mr.—Tesson's donation was one arpent wide by fourteen in length, and, continuing this picee of property were the forty arpents given by Prudhomme. The probability is that the first church was located on the Bayou Tesson, at a very short distance from the present site; in 1798 it was moved to the point of the same name.

If Father Valentin was the first permanent pastor of Opelousas, his sojourn in that parish was certainly very brief, for we find him, on April 19, 1772, at Arkansas Post, where he performed a baptism,[4] subscribing himself in the Register: "Fr. Valentin, Capucin Curé de

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[3] Archives of Propaganda. *Scritture Referite nei Congressi.* Codice I. America Settentrionale. Dal Canada all'Istmo di Panama. Dal 1673 a tto. il 1778.

[4] Register of Baptisms of the Post of Arkansas. The entry is accompanied by the following note, written in the margin on July 9, 1786: "Collationé par Nous, Fr. Louis Guignes, religieux Franciscain curé de la Parroisse Ste Genevieve."

la Paroisse de St. Louis des Illinois." He was then undoubtedly on his way to his new field of labor, as Unzaga's Report of the religious conditions of Louisiana, dated July 11, 1772, mentions him as being in the "parish of San Luis de los Ilinnesses, at the place commonly called Pancorto."[5] As Father Valentin is recorded as being in the State of Louisiana as early as 1762, it is, therefore, quite possible that he served as chaplain to the post of Opelousas for some time before the erection of the latter into a parish.

His successor was also a Capuchin, Father Luis del Burgo del Santo Sepulcro, or rather perhaps, Louis Dubourg, as he was a Frenchman, and belonged to the Capuchin Province of Champagne. He remained in Opelousas until his death which occurred in either 1777 or 1778; his body was buried in the first church on the banks of the Bayou Tesson.

A Dominican friar succeeded him, Father Marie Louis Grumeau. In his first entry in the Parish Register (as copied by de Arazena), dated in 1779, he signs himself "Curé," a clear evidence he was regularly appointed. All his entries were made in French, in spite of the fact that the Spanish authorities had ordered all records to be kept in Spanish. It seems probable that Father Grumeau, at the same time as he was "Curé" of Opelousas, was also, at least for a while, in charge of the Parish of Pointe Coupée; for his name appears in the records of that parish during the years 1781-1783. He, like his predecessor, died in Opelousas, and his remains were laid alongside of those of Father Luis del Burgo, in the miniature church on Bayou Tesson.

Following Father Grumeau's death, the pastor of the Attakapas, Father Gefrotin,[6] was placed in charge of the parish of Opelousas, on February 9, 1785. His last entry in the Parish Books bears the date April 16, 1785.

The next incumbent was that Father Joseph de Arazena, O.M.C., already mentioned above, whose name appears for the first time in the Baptism Register on July 24, 1785. It seems he had succeeded Father Valentin as Parish Priest of St. Gabriel's, on February 25, 1781; and on November 12, 1784, we find him in charge of the Church of the Purísima Concepcion, at Mobile, Ala. His zeal in preserving valuable records which otherwise might have been lost or destroyed, has been sufficiently expatiated upon. His patient efforts to place the entries of his predecessors in correct chronological order were usually successful. When he had almost come to a close, however, with the copying of the entries of 1782, suddenly he stumbled upon twenty or more of the preceding year. Here was for his patience and love of order a sore trial; for rather than to mutilate the huge tome of which he had already filled a score of pages with his

[5] Louis Houck. *History of Missouri.* Vol. II, p. 306, n. 48.

[6] His baptismal name is unknown and never mentioned in his records either at St. Martinville or at Opelousas.

large handwriting, he had to resign himself to enter these records after those of the following year. But he would not have us ignorant that this incongruity was due to no fault of his:

> Note—says he—that the entries are out of place; that we have well nigh broken our head—*pucheramos la cabeza*—in setting in order papers which could not be placed properly; and that, let it be well understood from now on and for evermore, we are in no wise responsible for such incongruities; also that we sacrificed enough of both our time and our patience in undertaking a work which should have been accomplished —*evaquada*—by others.

St. Landry was, to this son of Spain, too French and plain a title for the parish: henceforth it was to be known as the *Iglesia Parroquial de la Immaculada Concepcion del Puisto de Opeluzas.* So loyal was Arazena to his mother contry and to its laws regarding the discipline of the Church, that he actually felt he had to make excuses, in a marginal note to a marriage record, for having permitted the entry to be made in the French language:

> NOTE that the second last entry was made in French, contrary to our usual custom—*contro nuestra usso costumbre*—, because at the time of the celebration of said wedding we were seriously ill, and consequently placed in the absolute impossibility of writing this act myself. Hence I was obliged to make use of the instrumentality of a person who was ignorant of our idiom, being compelled to accommodate myself to time and circumstances. This, however, is mere accident, and does not alter the substance of the act, which I have signed.

May 27, 1798, is the date of the last entry — the Record of a Funeral — made by Father de Arazena. Father Pedro de Zamora, his successor had already arrived. Father Zamora seems to be the first secular priest to have charge of the parish. He had accompanied the Marquis de Casa Calvo to Louisiana. A note in the Baptism Register gives us the date of his arrival: "I took charge," he says, "of this church of Opelousas on the fifth day of May, 1789." As his last written record was entered on June 24, 1801, his pastoral activity in Opelousas extended over the space of twelve years. It seems that after his departure from the parish he became a military chaplain; at any rate John G. Shea mentions, as one of the last acts of the Very Rev. Thomas Hassett, that, "on the 11th of April, 1804, he gave faculties to the Rev. Peter de Zamora, who had been assigned as chaplain to a Louisiana regiment (of Spanish soldiers) on its way to Pensacola." [7]

Father Zamora had a beautiful handwriting and kept a very exact record of the parish; all his entries are perfectly legible and the ink is as fresh as if it was used recently, instead of upwards of one hundred and twenty years.

Among the marriages celebrated and registered by him, one is of particular interest for the early history of Grand Coteau, namely

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[7] History of the Catholic Church in the United States, Vol. II, p. 584—585.

the marriage of Charles Smith, the founder of the last named parish, which on his account, was erected under the title of St. Charles.

1792.

Monday, the thirtieth of April, I, Fr. Pedro de Zamora, have united *in facie Ecclesiae, et coram testibus,* Charles Smith, legitimate son of Leonard Smith and Isabelle Nil,[8] natives of Maryland in America;[9] and Mary Sancthi,[10] legitimate daughter of Iorge[11] Sancthi and Mary Cars, natives of America. I likewise conferred upon them the blessings of the Church in the presence of the witnesses whose signature is hereinafter, and who were the Sponsors of the above-mentioned lady, who was baptized the same day, month and year.[12] Fr. Pedro de Zamora.

(Said lady was born and raised in the Sect of Calvin)

It was during his pastorate that the church was moved from its old location on the Bayou Tesson to the "Pointe à Tesson."

Another notable event, which occurred during Father de Zamora's incumbency, is the first canonical visitation of the parish, made by Bishop Peñalver on October 23, 1796. Strange as it may seem, the Act makes no mention whatever of the Prudhomme-Tesson donation, which had been concluded just a week before (October 16); but it approves Father de Arazena's copy and translation of his predecessors' records, and declares them to have the same documentary authority as if they were the originals. A rule also is established in regard to marriages of non-Catholics: such marriages should be recorded, in the absence of a separate Book, in a section apart of the ordinary Marriage Register, with a cross reference at the proper place in the Record of Catholic marriages. It is ordered, moreover, that the names of paternal and maternal grandparents should be mentioned in all Baptismal records, — a regulation which, as we shall see later, was disregarded as soon as Louisiana was retroceded to France by the Spanish Crown. We subjoin here a transcript and English rendering of this important document:[13]

Parish of St. Landry of Opelousas,[14] October 23, 1796.

In the course of the Visitation of this parish, were examined the three Books, to wit: of Baptisms, Marriages and Funerals, of

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[8] The name should be spelled 'Neal' or 'Neale'.

[9] Be it remembered we are in 1792; Louisiana was then outside of the United States.

[10] So writes Zamora; the name, however, as we know from better sources, was 'Sentee'.

[11] Clearly 'George'. Zamora does not appear to have been at all familiar with English.

[12] It is to be noted that no corresponding entry is to be found in the Register of Baptisms.

[13] The original is in Spanish.

[14] Note that the change of title made by Father de Arazena (see above, page 19) is not taken into account by the Bishop, who very likely held that, great and edifying as might be the good Capuchin's devotion to the Immaculate Conception, it was not altogether according to knowledge.

the white people; and, besides, the books of Baptisms and Marriages of the colored people, and finally the book of Funerals of the same since the beginning of the Parish, which seems to have been in seventeen hundred and seventy. Examination was made likewise of many acts, which were indited in the beginning of the aforementioned Books by Father Fr. Jose de Arasena, the late pastor, who noted how he had collected various old loose papers, which were written without order or serviceableness by his predecessors Father Valentin, O.M.C., Fr. Luis del Burgo del Sto. Sepulero, and F. Louis Grumó;[15] and notwithstanding whatever defects we have noticed in this manuscript, which defects may come, after all, from the originals, we wish to give these transcripts all authority, which may be attributed them by law, and is usually attached to such original papers, in all intents and purposes for which they may serve; the present Pastor Fr. Pedro Zamora shall continue entering the records as he has been doing the above, except that, in the baptismal records of white persons, he shall put also the family and Christian names of the grandparents, unless the parties do not know them. We ordain him to mention in every Act the day, month and year of the same, without sending back to the preceding entry; also to enter in a separate quire, when there is no special Book, the marriages of Protestants, making at the proper place in the Book for Catholic marriages, a cross reference to the entry by a marginal note destined to indicate by what disposition he does it; and he shall continue to write them in this quire or Register after the record of the funeral of Andrew Mondon, which, owing to forgetfulness he failed to register at the proper place, and added afterwards on a separate paper; and we express to him at the close of this decree, by this note, the satisfaction we have had in examining the said books.

The Bishop of Louisiana.
By request of His Lordship the Bishop,
Isidore Quintero
Pro-Secretary and Notary.

Among the noteworthy entries of Father Zamora in the Baptism Register, must be mentioned the Baptism of Charles Sallier, surnamed "le Savoyard". There seems, however, to be a discrepancy regarding this name, and Father Barrière, later on, inserted a note to the effect that it was not "le Savoyard," but a son of Charles Anselm Sallier, who was baptized by Father Zamora. Charles Sallier himself and a Mr. Pithon, came to Opelousas from Savoy: Sallier was then a very young boy. Lake Charles was named in his honor after his death.

When Louisiana and the Floridas were dismembered from the Diocese of Havana and erected into a separate Church, Father Zamora thought it advisable to devote half a page in his close handwriting to the proceedings at the Cathedral of New Orleans. This entry not only was as elaborately worded, and the language as flowery as the occasion

[15] He always signed his name 'Grumeau'.

demanded, but the handwriting is made to harmonize with the text, and the initial *R* of the first word *Reynando* spreads itself magnificently with a great flourish. The note reads in part as follows:

> In the reign of Sr. Don Carlos IV, King of Spain and of the Indies, the eighth year of his happy administration; the bark of St. Peter being steered by Our Most Holy Father Pius VI, in the twenty-first year of his Roman Pontificate; Sr. Don Juan Luis, Baron of Carondelet, Knight of St. John, Brigadier-General of His Majesty, being Governor of the Province of Louisiana; was to the honor of God the parochial church of St. Louis of New Orleans erected into a cathedral, with all the rights appertaining thereunto.[16] . . . The first Bishop thereof is the Sr. Dr. Louis de Peñalver y Cardenas, who . . . . took possession of this Cathedral Church Friday, the 24th of July in the year 1795 . . ., since which time this colony became independent of the Bishopric of Havana. a thing which seems to us more convenient for our successors, for the reason that they may specify this circumstance in the Registers, just as we have begun to practice it.

Important as the event was in itself, it was regarded perhaps more so by Father Zamora because of its bearing upon parochial archives. Under the Spanish regime, indeed, pastors were required to repeat in every entry their own names and titles, the name of the church and of the Diocese to which they belonged.

Father Louis Buhot succeeded Zamora on July 4, 1801, and remained in Opelousas until his death which occurred on June 23, 1813. During his administration, Louisiana was ceded back to France, only to become shortly afterwards part of the United States. Buhot's joy of belonging to France once more was boundless,[17] and he devoted a special entry to this happy event. He writes in Spanish:

"Aqui se acaba lo q.l pertenece al Gobierno Español." [18]

and adds in Latin:

"Sic transit gloria mundi . . . " [19]

and on the following page he continues, in French:

> Here begins the French Government whose taking possession of this post on the 18th of December of this year 1803, has filled with joy the heart of all true Frenchmen who form the majority of the inhabitants of Opelousas.

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[16] This practically contemporary record of the erection of the church of St. Louis, in New Orleans, into the Cathedral of the new See, had it been known later, would have set to naught the pretensions of Father Anthony de Sedella. Bishop Du Bourg (Letter of January 30, 1826, to Archbishop Caprano, Secretary of Propaganda) strongly suspected either him or the Trustees of the Cathedral of having done away with the Bull of erection of the See.

[17] It is difficult to reconcile Buhot's unrepressed feeling of joy with the statement of J. G. Shea (*History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, Vol. II, p. 582), that in reply to he circular of Hassett, of June 10, 1803, to the priests of Louisiana, to ascertain whether they wished to retire with the Spanish forces, or remain in Louisiana, Buhot declared he was for following the Spanish standard. In support of this assertion, Shea sends, in a footnote, to a letter of Buhot to Hassett, in date of October 15, 1803.

[18] "Here ends that which belongs to the Spanish Government."

[19] "Thus passeth away the glory of the world."

demanded, but the handwriting is made to harmonize with the text, and the initial R of the first word Reynando spreads itself magnificently with a great flourish. The note reads in part as follows:

In the reign of Sr. Don Carlos IV, King of Spain and of the Indies, the eighth year of his happy administration; the bark of St. Peter being steered by Our Most Holy Father Pius VI, in the twenty-first year of his Roman Pontificate; Sr. Don Juan Luis, Baron of Carondelet, Knight of St. John, Brigadier-General of His Majesty, being Governor of the Province of Louisiana; was to the honor of God the personal church of St. Louis of New Orleans erected into a cathedral, with all the rights appertaining thereunto. . . . The first Bishop thereof is the Sr. Dr. Luis de Penalver y Cardenas, who . . . took possession of this Cathedral Church Friday, the 24th of July in the year 1795 . . . since which time this colony became independent of the Bishopric of Havana, a thing which seems to us more convenient for our successors, for the reason that they may specify this circumstance in the Registers, just as we have begun to practice it.

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"Aqui se acaba lo q[illegible] perteneze al Gobierno Español" [illegible]

and adds in Latin:

"Sit tranquilla gloria mundi . . . " [illegible]

[illegible] on the following page he continues, in French:

"Here begins the French Government whose taking possession of this post on the 18th of December of this year 1803 has filled with joy the heart of all true Frenchmen who form the majority of the inhabitants of Opelousas.

" This practically contemporary record of the erection of the church of St. Louis, in New Orleans, into the Cathedral of the new See, and it been known later, would have set [illegible] the pretensions of Father Antony de Sedella, Bishop (Titular of Germanicopolis) and Vicar Apostolic, Secretary of Propaganda) strongly supported either by the Trustees of the Cathedral of having done away with the bull of erection of Dec.

It is difficult to reconcile Bishop's expressed feeling of joy with the statement of Father (History of the Catholic Church in the United States, Vol. II, p. 383), that in the circular of Lassem, of June 10, 1803, to the priests of Louisiana, in speaking of the following the Spanish standard. In support of this assertion, Bishop declared [illegible] to a letter of Bishop to Lassem, in date of October 15, 1803.

"there ends that which belongs to the Spanish Government."

"Thus passeth away the glory of the world."

That same day, December 18, 1803, a Baptismal record is entered in the French language,—the first since Fr. Gefrotin's time; and the practice was continued thereafter. With the use of the Spanish language in the Parish books was likewise discontinued at once the practice recommended by Bishop Peñalver of entering the names of the grandparents of the child baptized.[20]

All this incensed greatly later on the ire of Father Barrière, who gave vent to his feelings in a few notes added in the margin of the Register alongside the patriotic entries of his predecessor. On Buhot's tearless farewell to the Spanish regime, he comments thus, also in Spanish:

> And here likewise ends the wise ordinance of the Right Rev. Lord Bishop in regard to baptismal entries. See p. 158 of the present Register.[21]
>
> *Sic transit memoria Boni.*[22]

Barrière was consistent with his principles. After Buhot's death he reintroduced in the records the practice of entering the names of the grandparents, a practice which was continued to the last moments of Father Rossi's incumbency. But to return to Barrière's notes, he continues in French:

> What can have the French refugees to reproach the Spanish Government with? Nobody ever intimated it was a crime for us to have a French heart, or to love our motherland; only a few hot-headed firebrands were repressed; had they had their way we would have been surely thrown headlong from the happiness of peace which we were enjoying into the horrors of anarchy [I refer here to the year 1792 etc. 1803] from which we are fleeing! I speak only of Louisiana; I don't know whether any mischief was wrought elsewhere. We were expelled from our country. The government of Louisiana received us with open arms!

And, on the following page, commenting on Buhot's enthusiasm over the return of the French regime in Louisiana, Barrière, determined on having the last word, adds:

> This electric moment was of short duration, happily for this country: for Mr. Clement Laussat and his clique began very badly, and finally decamped incognito. No matter how intense the joy experienced by the author (Buhot) it ought never to have blotted out from his heart the tender memory of the sacred rights of so generous a hospitality. . . . . *Tu quoque mi Bruthe.*

Buhot took sick in the summer of 1813, and died on July 23, at the age of forty-four. The following is the record of his burial, as found in the Book of Funerals:

> DOM LOUIS BUHOT, *Pastor.*
>
> In the year one thousand eight hundred and thirteen, on the twenty-fourth of July, was buried in the sanctuary of this Church, in front of the lowest step of the altar, the body of Dom Louis Buhot, priest and

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[20] See above, p. 21.

[21] Barrière's cross-reference is to the Visitation Ordinance of Bishop Peñalver.

[22] "Thus passeth away the memory of the good."

Rector of this Parish born in the Province of Normandy, Diocese of Lisieux, deceased on the previous day in the house of Mr. Lastrape, at the age of forty-four or thereabout. In testimony whereof I have signed, together with witnesses, on the twenty-ninth of the above-mentioned month and year.

Gabriel ISABEY, *Pastor of the Attakapas*
R[aphael] SMITH, Witness
L. CARRIERES

Later on Father Barrière added in the margin and below this entry this comment:

It is worthy of note that out of *six* priests who in succession labored in this parish since its foundation, three died whilst exercizing the ministry here, and all three bore the Baptism name of Louis. This circumstance seemed to me to make a deep impression on Father Buhot during his last illness. "Two died here who were called Louis," he then said to me. "As my name is Louis, it is quite likely that I shall not recover." The first Louis was a Capuchin,[23] who died in 1778; the second, a Dominican Friar,[24] whose demise occurred in 1782; both were buried in the old church on the "Baillou," [25] which was the first church of the parish.

The letters which he [26] received from his parents were dated from Danestal, Department of Calvados, near the river named La Touque.

Mig.l Bernd.o BARRIERE Priest
Approved for the whole Diocese and at present in charge of this parish.

Father Michael Bernard Barrière never styled himself pastor of Opelousas, but clung to his formidable-looking title of "priest approved for the whole Diocese and at present in charge of this parish"; however, as he administered the parish, no matter with what title, for a period of well nigh six years (1813-1819), we may well be justified in giving him a place among the Rectors of St. Landry. He was no tiro, being on the Louisiana missions since 1794. Even before coming South, he had tasted for a few months missionary life in the wilds of Kentucky, wither he had come in company with Father Badin; but, after four months he concluded he was unfitted for the ministry in the backwoods, and abandoning the field, he, in April 1794, set out for New Orleans in a *periagua*.[27] For well-nigh twenty years he served in various parishes of the South, where he, no doubt, developed that love of order which shines forth in all his records, written in a large, very clear handwriting, and also that originality which transpires through the notes added here and there in the margin of his predecessors' entries, spreading at times an air of romance over the sternness of their official syle.

We had already occasion above to cite some of these notes. One of the most lengthy and interesting is found on p. 90 of the Register of Baptisms, in the margin of the Baptism record of Bridget (Brigida) Gradenigo and her twin-sister Eulalia Rousseau Gradenigo, under date

[23] Fray Luis del Burgo.
[24] Father Louis Grumeau.
[25] Barrière always spelled 'Baillou,' for Bayou.
[26] Father Buhot.
[27] Shea. *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 455.

of January 17, 1789. John Gradenigo — or rather Don Juan de Gradenigo, as Barrière styles him—, the father of these children, was under the Spanish government majordomo or president of the trustees of the church of the Immaculate Conception; and in this capacity his name appears on the Church Register, January 31, 1796, as giving receipt of the church revenues to Father Zamora. Barrière's note (in French) reads as follows:

> All the persons mentioned in this book under the name of Gradenigo belong to the same family, namely, the family of the same name in the Senate of Venice. This Don Juan de Gradenigo is the brother of Ambassadors, Senators, and others, in particular, of the V. Rev. . . . . Gradenigo, Canon of St. Mark, Venice, who died seven or eight years ago. This is a fact absolutely beyond doubt, as my brother, who kept up a correspondence with Venice, used to serve as intermediary, sending me the letters which I handed to said Don Juan de Gradenigo. In 1356 one Juan Gradenigo was Doge of Venice (See *Ecclesiastical History* of Fleury, 12mo., p. 154).
>
> This worthy gentleman had travelled through all Europe and the two Americas, and, having come finally to Mobile, as he became enamoured with the virtues and charms of Miss Kraps,[28] of a German family, married her at Mobile and remained in this country. The Rev. Martin Duralde and myself were his intimate friends; still we never attempted to pry into the mystery of his emigration to Louisiana. He died here and was buried the first of March, 1809.

A son, Antonio Donato, born to the couple in December 1781, was baptized at Opelousas on November 7, 1782. When he reached the years of his youth, Barrière again tells us, he was sent to relatives in Venice, probably to receive an education for which there was no opportunity in Louisiana. But when Bonaparte—Barrière writes *Bouenaparte*—set out on his Egyptian expedition (1798), young Antonio Donato ran away from the City of Lagoons to follow the Corsican to the land of the Pharaohs. After this escapade, no news, except a vague report of his death, ever reached his anxious parents in Opelousas.[29] Direct descendants of John Gradenigo still reside at Opelousas, and are numbered among the prominent families. Others settled in the neighborhood, and we find their names in the records of St. Martin, Grand Coteau and Lafayette.

Romance of another kind—indeed of various kinds—is found in some other records. Under the date of July 29, 1797, Zamora had entered the record of the Baptism of "Nanzi Nikson".[30] In the margin we read:

> This one was, I think, baptized twice; for I baptized her down Bayou Teche;[31] the mother's name is Choat,[32] and the maternal grandmother's, Sale[33] Holsten. Those people came (*Cela vient!!*) from Natchez. BARRIÈRE, Priest.

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[28] The name is spelled 'Kreps' in various entries.

[29] Barrière's note containing the story of Antonio Donato Gradenigo is dated 1814.

[30] The first name is evidently 'Nancy,' whatever may be the true spelling of the family name. We already remarked above that Zamora had a hard fight with English names. So also apparently had Barrière.

[31] The text bears in characteristic Barrière fashion, 'Baillou Tech.'

[32] Probably 'Choate'.

[33] Evidently 'Sallie'.

On April 18, 1814, Miguel Bernardo Barrière (for so he persistently signed himself, despite the fact he was a Frenchman) received the consent into matrimony of Hubert Le Jeune and Celestine Fontenau. A feature of this record strikes at once as a departure from the set protocolar formula: for mention is made in the act of the consent of the parents. The puzzle is solved on the next page, where on a separate paper, pasted on the Register we decipher these words scrawled by a hand as unskilled in writing as in spelling:

> We give our consent to Celes[tine] our daughter to marry Hubert Le Jeune and beg the Rev. Barriere to unite them in matrimony.
> Jacques Fontenaux — Baptiste Jeansonne
> Rosali[e] ✠[34] Jeansonne — Jean Jeansonne

Whereupon Barrière remarks:

> The girl had been abducted from her parents' house, though she was brought back and pardoned before the marriage; this is why I required the parents' consent in writing and signed by them and two witnesses, who are the grandfather and an uncle of the girl.

With such a stern and watchful guardian of the flock, who would not brook any trifling with the Church's

Raptave sit mulier nec parti reddita tutae,

elopements—for the pardon besought by and granted to the girl clearly points to a case of elopement, rather than of actual abduction (*raptus*) —must have been rare; still we meet a few months later, Jan. 22, 1815, with another case; here as in the instance just mentioned, a paper pasted on the Register informs us that Elizabeth Le Dé, widow of John Baptist Roujot, has given her consent to the marriage of her daughter Genevieve (spelled *Jeane Viêve*) to Lucas Fontenau, whom she pardoned for the abduction of her daughter.

Paullo majora canamus. During Father Barrière's rectorship the Very Rev. William Louis Du Bourg, then Administrator Apostolic of Louisiana, made the visitation of the parish, inditing his Ordinance as usual in the Register of Baptisms:

> We, William Louis Valentine DU BOURG, Administrator Apostolic of the Diocese of Louisiana,
> Being actually engaged in the pastoral Visitation of this Parish of St. Landry of the Opelousas: approve the manner in which the Parish Registers are kept; regret to find the church property and the Rectory grounds so badly fenced, and the church itself in such a wretched condition in so far as the roof is concerned; urge strongly upon the Trustees to make without delay the necessary repairs.
> Given at Opelousas, on the 23d of October 1814.
> Wm. DU BOURG Adm. Apost.
> By request
> Mig.l Bernd.o BARRIÈRE Secret. *ad hoc.*

[34] The cross is the mark made by the person, who was unable to write her name; the name itself was written by the same hand which penned the text.

The next day, October 24, the Administrator went to the house of Dr. Raphael Smith, brother of Charles Smith, of Grand Coteau, where he baptized Charles, a son of the Doctor, born October 10; the sponsors being Charles Smith and his wife Mary Sentee Smith, the future founders of the parish of St. Charles du Grand Coteau.

From August 24 to October 5, 1817, all the entries made in the Parish books bear the signature of Don Flavius H. Rossi, who signs himself "Curate of the Church of St. Martin des Attakapas, in charge of the parochial Church of Opelousas." Father Barrière must have been engaged in another field of labor. Once more Rossi was in charge from December 27, 1817 to the end of June 1818, after which period are recorded fourteen Baptisms signed by Father Barrière and countersigned by Father Rossi "Curé desservant," that is, apparently "Pro-Rector." Nearly one more year elapsed ere Father Rossi was definitely appointed Pastor. His letter of appointment, dated from St. Louis, March 3, 1819, states that the parish had been vacant for some fifteen months. He was installed on May 2, 1819, as we learn from our oft-cited Baptism Book:

> In the year one thousand eight hundred and nineteen, on the second day of May, I, the undersigned, Gabriel Isabey, Rector of the Parish of St. Martin of the Attakapas, by order of the Right Rev. Bishop of Louisiana, having betaken myself to the Parish of St. Landry of the Opelousas, have, in the presence of Messrs. John Baptist Jansonne, president (by *interim*) in the absence of Mr. J. Dupré, Luck Lesossier, Dupreton Déjean, Philip Richard and B. Vanhill, trustees of said parish constituted in assembly presided by one of them in the absence of the (ordinary)[35] president, read to them the document instituting canonically the Rev. Don Flavius Joseph Rossy[36] Rector of this Parish. After the reading of the aforesaid letter of institution, the said Gentlemen of of the Board of Trustees, both in their own name and in the name of the inhabitants whom they represent, have received said Don Flavius Joseph Rossy as their lawful Rector, promising and pledging themselves to vest in him all the rights and advantages accrueing from his office, in the same manner as they were vested in his predecessors. A transcript of the said letter of institution being entered, at my request, in the Parish Register, I have signed hereinafter, together with the President and members of the Board of Trustees.

Two years later Bishop Du Bourg was once more in Opelousas for the canonical visitation of the Parish. He was coming from Grand Coteeau where he had held an anniversary for the repose of the soul of the late Charles Smith.[37] This canonical visitation took place March 11 (1821). The Bishop was accompanied by Father Louis Sibourd, his Vicar General, and the Rev. Marcel Borella, then assistant to Father Isabey, of St. Martin. The ordinances drawn up at the close of the visitation, shed some light on the actual condition of things in the Parish.

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[35] This word was added in the margin.

[36] He always signed 'Flavius H. Rossi'; his second name was Henry, not Joseph.

[37] Died April 1, 1819. He is buried in the church of St. Charles du Grand Coteau, in front of St. Ann's chapel.

On the eleventh of March one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one, I, the undersigned, Bishop of Louisiana, have made my Episcopal Visitation of the Church of St. Landry of the Opelousas, accompanied by the Rev. Louis Sibourd, my Vicar General, and the Rev. Marcel Borella, assistant-pastor at St. Martin of the Attacappas. I have confirmed only some forty adults, the great distances preventing many others who have been prepared, to come for the ceremony. I have found a great deal of improvement in the dispositions of this parish; but ignorance is still causing much harm in it. This evil cannot be remedied except by means of the missions which may be eventually established in the places most distant from the church: but until it is possible to send another priest to relieve the pastor of part of his immense burden, it were useless to fix anything definitely in this regard. I recommend only to the pastor to visit as often as he is able the most distant places and to multiply there familiar instructions on the most important points of Christian Doctrine, particularly to the children. I have insisted with the Reverend Pastor, the Trustees and the parishioners assembled in the Church, that they should in earnest consider the ways and means of building a new church, of brick, and of such size as to meet the needs of so numerous a parish. I had the consolation of seeing in them the greatest zeal for this undertaking. I leave with the hope to see it soon under way. The parish Registers ought to be kept with greater care.

✠ L. WM. Bp. of Louisiana

L. SIBOURD. *Vic. Gen.* Marcel BORELLA, *priest.*

It were unjust to understand the Bishop's comment on the ignorance prevailing especially among the inhabitants living at a distance from the center of the church, as a rebuke to the remissness in duty of the pastor. Since the foundation of the parish Opelousas had always been singularly blessed with spiritual shepherds who generously "spent and were spent" for their flock.;[38] and Father Rossi was not the man to abandon this tradition of unquenchable zeal, and tireless apostolic rambles through the immense parish confided to him. But just imagine: One priest, and the territory to be covered reaching, even after the division of the parish, and the foundation of the church of Grand Coteau in 1819, from the Atchafalaya to the Sabine River, with the nearest priest to the northwest (there was none north), at Natchitoches, a distance, in straight line, of more than one hundred miles!

It must be acknowledged, though, that the prelate's stricture touching the care of the Register was far from undeserved. Father Rossi, at best, wrote wretchedly, and besides, his records exhibit very often evident signs of haste and slovenliness. How well he knew French, we have no means of ascertaining; but it is clear that he was often at sea when he had to record names pronounced in Creole fashion. Even his spelling of Christian names is frequently baffling. We cite at random: Celste (=Céleste; but this may be a mere case

[38] Just an instance, among others, revealed by the Baptism Register. A missionary excursion, undertaken by Father Barrière towards the middle of November, 1813, resulted in no less than eighteen baptisms. By means of the entries, copied after his return home, we can follow the pastor, who, be it remembered, was no longer in the prime of youth, through the "Prairie Mamou," to James Campbell's, then to Mrs. Hall's, then again to Dennis McDaniel's at the head of Bayou Chicot," hence to the place called "Bâton Rouge" (this, of course, is not the well-known city of that name, on the Mississippi River, but a spot on the outskirts of Prairie Mamou), then finally at Pierre Foret's, in the "Prairie Ronde."

of oversight), Juditte (=Judith), Magdalaine (=Madeleine), Giulien (=Julien; the Italian spelling of the name is here responsible), Elaisa (=Elisa), Jacente (=Jacinthe), Joacen (=Joachim; Rossi was influenced overmuch here by the Creole pronunciation), Silven (=Silvain), Ortense (=Hortense), Ellène (=Hélène), Chaterine (=Catherine), Hirène (=Irène), Ihon (=Ione), gemaux (=jumeaux, "twins,"), Gims (=James), Emon (=Aymon), etc.

Bishop Du Bourg had strongly urged the erection of a new church. Had he waited just a little more before leaving Louisiana for France (1826), he would have seen the complete fulfilment of his wish: for early in 1828, there stood, a little to the east of the old frame church, a beautiful new edifice, of brick, too, as the Bishop had suggested. The consecration of this new church was one of the delights experienced by Bishop Rosati, then administrator of the New Orleans Diocese, during the Visitation tour which he made in 1827-1828 through Louisiana. In his private *Diary* he penned at once this interesting account of the ceremony:

1828

March. Saturday. Said Mass in the Convent of the Sacred Heart, at
1. Grand Coteau. After breakfast we set out; our journey was made quite difficult by rain, which filled the whole prairie with water. At evening we reached, accompanied by Father Rossi, the Pastor, the rectory of St. Landry of the Opelousas.

2. Second Sunday in Lent. Said Mass in the church. Attended Solemn Mass in cope. Preached in French. Confirmed 54 persons who had received holy Communion.

After Vespers preached in English: *The Lord thy God shalt thou adore, and Him alone shalt thou serve.* . . . These words are addressed to, this precept imposed upon, all creatures endowed with reason. . . . But to serve is repugnant to free men, to men enjoying independence; it seems to them debasing. . . . Americans, your freedom is a gift of God; preserve it, fight for it, and defend it, if needs be, to the last drop of your blood. . . . But shall you, because you are free, regard serving God as a demeaning of yourselves? This will be the subject of my sermon. Necessity of worship, both interior and exterior; of revelation, of one society which . . .

3. Monday. Said Mass in the church. Saw to the getting ready of everything needful for the consecration. We waited in vain for Fathers Rosti [39] and Peyretti;[40] both were detained at home by sickness.

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[39] Pastor of Grand Coteau.

[40] Pastor of Lafayette. He sent the following letter of excuses to the Bishop:

Lafayette Parish, Vermillion Ville, March 3, 1828.

Right Reverend Dear Bishop:

I am extremely sorry that I am unable to go to Opelousas and be present at the grand ceremony of the Church, owing to my eyes, which are now swollen, and constantly watered with tears. The remedy I am making use of, however, does me a great deal of good. Still the satisfaction which I experienced on recovering my sight cannot outweigh the sorrow which I feel to be deprived of the pleasure to see Your Lordship again. In these circumstances I trust Your Lordship will kindly excuse my absence.

I am, with the greatest respect
Your Lordship's
Most humble and obedient Servant
Laurent Peyretti, Pastor.

(*Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery*)

4. I consecrated to Almighty God, in honor of St. Landry, according to the rite prescribed by the Roman Pontifical, the Parish Church, which is entirely built of brick.[41] Fathers Rossi, Pastor, and Bouillier, of the Congregation of the Mission, acted as assistant priests. An immense congregation was in attendance; indeed last Sunday and today there were counted upwards of five hundred horses and thirty carriages around the church.

A marble slab, put on the wall of the church, recalled to the generations to come the epoch-making event:

TEMPLUM HOC. D.O.M. SACRUM.
SUB INVOCATIONE. S. LANDERICI.
PIA. CIVIUM. OPELOUSASIUM. LIBERALITATE. ERECTUM.
SOLEMNI. RITU.
AB. ILLMO. AC; RMO. D. JOSEPHO. ROSATI.
S. LUDOVICI. EPO. ET NEO-AURELIAE. ADMINISTRATORE.
CONSECRATUM. FUIT.
IV. KAL.[42] MARTIAS. ANNO MDCCCXXVIII.
PAROCHIAM.
REV. D. FLAVIO. ROSSI. SENENSI. REGENTE.
ET. DD. I. ANDREWS. L. GARRIGUES. FLAUGEAC.
I. DUPRÉ. I. M. DEBAILLON. B. VANHILLE.
L. LESASSIER. ET. J. MIRAMOND.
ADMINISTRATORIBUS.[43]

The next day, Tuesday, March 5, the Episcopal visitation—this time rather a perfunctory procedure—took place, for the account of which we turn once more to the Baptism Book:

Joseph ROSATI, by the Grace of God and of the Holy Apostolic See Bishop of St. Louis and Administrator of New Orleans.

Having repaired to the Parish of St. Landry of the Opelousas for the Pastoral Visitation, we have been much gratified to see that, despite of the considerable expense caused by the building of the new church, the zeal of Rev. Father Rossi, Pastor of this Parish, was able to provide for everything that is calculated to contribute to the majesty and splendor of divine worship. In consequence, we have found no reason for leaving any Ordinances, as everything is in good order. We are most delighted to leave here a sincere testimony of the satisfaction and

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[41] In the Register of Baptisms (Vol. VII) we read in this connection the following entry, written by the Bishop: *Ego infrascriptus Joseph Rosati Congregationis Missionis Dei et Apostolicae Sedis gratia Episcopus S. Ludovici et Administrator Neo-Aureliae Parochialem Ecclesiam D.O.M. pia hujus Parochiae Opelousas liberalitate, atque indefesso Rev. D. Flavii Rossi zelo in honorem S. Landerici a fundamentis erectam, assistentibus RR. DD. Flavio Rossi Paroco, et Joanne Bouiller, solemni ritu, maxima populi frequentia, die IV Mensis Martii Anni MDCCCXXVIII Servatis omnibus a Pontificali Romano praescriptis consecravi. In quorum omnium fidem, et ad perpetuam rei memoriam praesentes litteras manu nostra scripsimus atque subscripsimus eodem die et anno quibus supra.*

† JOSEPH Epus S. Ludovici

Flavius Henricus ROSSI *Parochus* J. BOULLIER S.C.M.

[42] Obviously an error: the text should have been: *IV. DIE. MARTII*, or, beter, *IV. NON. MARTIAS*,—March 4; as it stands the date indicated is, February 27.

[43] "This Church, dedicated to Almighty God under the invocation of St. Landry, erected by the pious generosity of the inhabitants of Opelousas, was solemnly consecrated by the Right Rev. Joseph Rosati, Bp. of St. Louis and Administrator of New Orleans, on March 4, 1828: the Rev. Flavius Rossi, of Sienna, being Pastor, and Messrs. J. Andrews, L. Garrigues-Flangeac, J. Dupré, J. M. Debaillon, B. Vanhille, L. Lesassier and J. Miramond, Trustees."

pleasure which this Visitation has afforded us, not only on the score of what has just been mentioned, but yet much more by reason of the concourse of people in the Church, and the numbers of those who prepared to receive Confirmation, which we have administered, last Sunday, March 2, to 54 persons, and today, March 5, to 17.

Given at the Rectory of St. Landry, March 5, 1828.

✠ JOSEPH, Bp. of St. Louis.

There was one more canonical visitation during Father Rossi's administration of the parish. Bishop Léon de Neckere visited Opelousas on August 25, 1831. This was to him like renewing old acquaintances, for seven years before, as a young priest in quest of health, he had been for a while at Grand Coteau (September 2 to beginning of November 1824), next door neighbor, as it were, to Father Rossi. Thirteen months later there is an entry by Father Rossi to the effect that "the Right Rev. Léon de Neckere baptized on September 29, 1832, at the convent of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart of Grand Coteau Marie Xavier Athanaïs Chrétien, of the parish of St. Landry, Opelousas." Bishop De Neckere was to fall less than a year later (Sept. 5, 1833) a victim to yellow fever.

Of Father E. Rousselon's short term of incumbency (February 26 to April 21, 1840) there is nothing to say. He was succeeded by Father Jamey (April 14, 1840 to October 7, 1842). — One year after the latter's arrival at Opelousas, Bp. Anthony Blanc came to Opelousas (May 20, 1841) for Confirmation and Visitation of the parish. In the Act drawn up at this occasion, the Bishop expresses great satisfaction at the large number of persons confirmed (108), and requests the Trustees to purchase an ostensorium and buy a more decent chalice. We find in the Baptism Book under date of June 28, 1842, a lengthy entry recording the abjuration from heresy of Miss Sinette Perry, which took place at the Sacred Heart Convent in Grand Coteau. This is the first document in which Father Jamey styles himself Vicar General; his appointment to this office must have been recent; yet he remained in the parish until the following October.

After this departure we find, first as Pro-Rector, and then, as Rector, Father Charles F. Morachini, who remained only four weeks. His place was taken (Nov. 13, 1842) by Father Desgaultiers who stayed only about six weeks, and whose last record bears the date of Dec. 25.

For the next six weeks, until the middle of February 1843, the parish was without pastor. On February 17, appears for the first time on the Parish Books, the signature of Father Raviol, who was left in charge until January 21, 1855. These twelve years were really the May-day of Record-keeping in Opelousas: the Parish Registers are then a delight to the eye.

It was during Raviol's time that the parish began to have assistants. In 1848 appears the name of Father Reminger; on January 8, 1850, that of Father Thirion, and on May 21, 1854, that of the Rev. A. Beaugier. As, the same year, the mission of Ville-Platte, heretofore a dependency of Opelousas, was erected into a separate parish,

and Father Beaugier went there as the first resident pastor, the Archbishop being unable to send him a successor at St. Landry, the Rev. D. Hubert, S.J., from Grand Coteau came for some time to assist Father Raviol.

Nine years had elapsed since the Ordinary of the Diocese had made the canonical visitation, when another took place. The record is signed, this time, by "✠ Anthony Blanc, Archbishop of New Orleans," as the old Louisiana Bishopric had, meanwhile, on July 19, 1850, been erected into a Metropolitan See, and the Bishop raised to the archiepiscopal dignity. Insistence is made, in very strong terms, on writing in full, not in figures, the dates of the various entries; and whilst compliments were paid to the trustees for their compliance with the last visitation's ordinance concerning the remonstrance, a pointed remark was added to the effect that "this now makes the purchase of a chalice imperative." In like manner the congratulations extended for the praiseworthy solicitude and care displayed by the Trustees in keeping the church in repairs, led to pointing out the wretched state in which the Archbishop had found the two houses which formed the Rectory.

For the next thirty-five years the parish was in charge of the two brothers, V. Rev. Gilbert and Rev. J. François Raymond, both of whom had come from France in 1854. Father Gilbert's first entry appears January 30, 1855, and the last on March 10, 1866. Father J. François, during these eleven years acted as assistant to his brother, and took charge of the parish from the time Father Gilbert was called to New Orleans until September 1889. The two brothers were men of great enthusiasm and undaunted energy. Hence theirs was truly for Opelousas an era of intense Catholicity, marked particularly by the foundation and development of Catholic education, the true soul builder, in the old parish.

To this end was every effort directed from the outset. At once an Academy for boys was put under way. The classes were taught at the Rectory until a special building could be erected. This was opened the following year under the name of St. Mary's Academy for Boys. The dormitory could accomodate thirty boarders and was taxed to its utmost capacity. Besides as many as forty day scholars were in attendance. Father Gilbert was President of the institution, with Father François his assistant, and two lay teachers. The Academy was popular at once, because it afforded the boys of the parish a much coveted opportunity of receiving a commercial training at home. In due course the Academy expanded into a College whose influence has played a part by no means inconspicuous in the development of Louisiana. Many men which have attained prominence in the professions or politics, men of no mean intellectual endowment and of deep-rooted and practical faith, received their education in the college. That an institution which proved to be such a potent factor in shaping the affairs of this section of Louisiana, should have crumbled under the blast of adversity, is a sad ending to a beautiful story. It is to be

hoped that a new educational center in behalf of the young men will, some day not far distant, arise with the renewed vigor of youth from the ashes of the famous old Opelousas College founded by the saintly Father Gilbert Raymond.

When St. Mary's Academy for boys had become an assured fact, and began to prosper beyond the most sanguine expectations, Father Gilbert Raymond cast about to find a suitable location for a Girls' Academy. Before long a piece of ground was purchased, and, in the fall of 1856, the Academy of the Immaculate Conception was opened under the direction of the Marianite Sisters of the Holy Cross. The bright beginning of the institution, the sad days which came in the wake of the Civil War, and continued for many years after, until at last, with the erection of a new building, the old prosperity revived, make this history of more than threescore years read like an epic.

The population of Opelousas had greatly increased since the days of Father Rossi, and the church built by the latter was now too small for the congregation.[44] To enlarge this sacred edifice was another of the works which marked the early years of Father Gilbert Raymond's pastorate. Not only was the building increased in length,[45] but beautiful painting and frescoes adorned it inside, adding materially to its value.

Nor should it be forgotten that, on the arrival of the two brothers, the parish of Opelousas, though several times already divided, still extended far and wide. Today flourishing parishes with magnificent churches and excellent schools, mark the places where the two apostolic priests and their assistants administered the sacraments in rude dwellings, or in little chapels, built gradually at various places as the result of the zeal inspired by their plain, simple sermons, which reached the heart of rich and poor, young and old, black and white.

We just made in passing allusion to the assistants who shared in the two brothers' labors for the upbuilding of the parish. The records show the names of a number of priests, then young, who later made their mark in other fields to which they were transferred after having given the first fruits of their sacerdotal zeal under the care and guidance of the two brothers.

When the latter arrived from France, in 1854, they were accompanied by two seminarians, H. Picherit and René Pineau. Both were ordained in New Orleans in 1856, and sent to Opelousas to be broken into the harness. Father Picherit remained from January 17, 1856 to October 14, 1857; his companion Father Pineau was with him only a few months, from May to October 1856. Next we find on the records the names of the Revs. F. Joliet (January 15 to November 15, 1858); Charles Gutton (April 27, 1859 to September 22, 1860); Gonnellaz (January 9, 1861 to February 21, 1862); Martin (May 11 to September 7, 1861); C. Rigollet (September 16 to October 13, 1863); R. Vallée (December 16, 1863 to August 11, 1864); G. Rouxel, later

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[44] It measured 60 x 45 ft.

[45] Forty feet; so that now the church was 100 ft. long by 45 wide.

the Right Rev. Auxiliary of the Diocese (December 21, 1863 to September 18, 1864) : Bishop Rouxel had quite an adventurous career during the nine months of his stay at Opelousas, having come in contact with the famous Jay Hawkers and the Home Guards on several occasins; A. Plotin (December 18, 1864 to October 22, 1865) ; J. B. Praud (November 25, 1865 to September 22, 1868) ; A. Dubourg (January 1 to November 18, 1868) ; Al. M. Mehault (January 7—22, 1870) ; T. Guillet (February 22, 1870 to April 28, 1871) ; Crépin (April 3 to October 7, 1871) ; M. Brady (June 22, 1871 to February 13, 1873) ; G. E. Sauvageau (February 2 to April 15, 1873) ; J. Juhel and P. Vivet stayed only about one month each; but they styled themselves "Vicaire"; E. Fraering (August 24 to November 24, 1873) ; P. L. Pensier (December 2, 1873 to February 28, 1879) ; J. Lavaquerez (May 14, 1878 to January 1879) ; A. Eby (April 26, 1879 to January 22, 1881) ; C. D. Frin, S.J., (*ad interim,* September 18, 1889 to January 27, 1890).

Archbishop Blanc seems to have taken a special liking to Opelousas, for we find him at St. Landry's Church three years in succession. After his visit in 1854, he again came to the place on September 10, 1855: this time the number of persons confirmed was 175. The Archbishop was, of course, delighted at this notable increase; he also expressed his satisfaction to the trustees, for their having complied with the wishes manifested by him on his previous visit, and congratulated them for the zeal and activity displayed in enlarging the church. The Act drawn at this occasion mentions his first visit to Washington, where thirty persons were confirmed, and echoes the prelate's delight at the proposal to make an addition to the church of that place. One year later, September 1856, Archbishop Blanc was again at St. Landry's. He gave confirmation to seventy-one at Opelousas, twenty-five at Washington, and seventy-four at the chapel "au Bois Mallet," which he visited for the first time.

These repeated visits of the Archbishop are evidence of his interest in the thriving parish, and of the delight he experienced in witnessing its rapid progress under the able administration of the Raymonds. Scarcely had twenty months elapsed since they had taken charge, and during this short space of time the church had been enlarged, the boys' and girls' schools founded and put in a flourishing condition; the trustees vied with their priests in zeal and activity; the church at Washington had doubled its capacity, and a chapel had been erected among the free mulattoes of Bois Mallet; small wonder, then, that the good Archbishop had a special affection for Opelousas. The Act of the Visitation of 1856 closes the series of formal and lengthy records of Episcopal inspections.

After spending several years in New Orleans as Vicar General, the Very Rev. Gilbert Raymond returned to his old parish in 1881, giving most of his time to St. Mary's Academy and teaching in the school, which was generally spoken of as "Father Gilbert's School." He was hale and hearty and took an active part in the affairs of the parish for a number of years. He loved outdoor exercise and did a

great amount of manual labor. In March 1889, while assisting in unloading freight from a wagon, his thumb was crushed between a box and the wagon. At first he gave the wound little attention; but blood poison set in, and later on tetanus; and he died after a month of terrible suffering. The end came April 14, 1889, and cast a pall of gloom over the entire diocese.

During all the time of his and his brother's incumbency, the temporal affairs of the parish were administered by a Board of Trustees, consisting of nine members, three of whom were elected annually. They had all the revenues accrueing from the pew rent and the cemetery, out of which they contributed $150.00 to defray the expenses incident to divine worship. The pastor had to be satisfied with the revenues from the *jura stolae*. This arrangement remained in force until the new charter, drawn up by archbishop Janssens, was adopted. Father Gilbert's brother, "Father François," as he was affectionately called by the parishioners, owing to a disagreement with the trustees, was forced to resign less than a year after Father Gilbert's death. His last entry in the Parish records bears the date September 14, 1889.

The memory of these two energetic and saintly pastors will be long treasured in the parish for which they labored so much. Father Gilbert Raymond was a born leader, with wonderful executive ability which enabled him to carry out plans which to his parishioners and others seemed simply visionary.

After Father François Raymond's resignation the Rev. A. Dubourg, a former assistant-pastor, and a nephew, it is said,[46] of the distinguished first Bishop of New Orleans after the cession of Louisiana to the United States, was appointed Rector. He took charge of the Parish in January 1890, and remained until April 1895.

For a few months no pastor was appointed, until at last Father John Engberink was transferred to Opelousas from the parish of Cameron, which he had built up from a wilderness. The career of this energetic priest is so perfect a model of missionary life in Louisiana, that we must pause a moment to relate it at some length.

Father J. Engberink was born in Hasseloo, Holland, on July 14, 1855. Passing successively through the College at Oldenzaal and the Seminary of Kuilenburg, he finished his theological course at Rysenburg, and was ordained in the cathedral of Utrecht on the 10th of August, 1881. It had long been his ambition to work as a missionary. Yielding, however, to the wishes of his relatives, he remained for nine years in his native country. Finally, in 1889, he was able to see the fulfilment of his desires, and came to Louisiana. After a short stay in New Orleans, he was sent to Napoléonville to learn French, and thence to Lake Charles to learn English. On May 18, 1890, he became the first pastor of Cameron.

The people of Cameron hitherto depended upon occasional visits of the pastor from Lake Charles, seventy-two miles away, and the

[46] This relationship is, however, very doubtful.

need of a priest was urgent. There was neither place to hold services nor home for the pastor. One Mr. Leboeuf, although not a wealthy man, gave a room in his home to the priest. This room, or rather cell —eight by ten feet—was not luxurious; yet it was a welcome restful shelter to the missionary after his arduous duties. There were no rich members in the congregation, and the support of the church had to come from the meagre store of the people who, as a rule, were blessed with but a scanty share of the world's goods. An old storeroom was the only place where services could be held, unless, when the attendance was large, and the weather fair, the shadow of a majestic oak-tree near by was resorted to. The first step was to build a combination church and rectory; this was completed in 1892, and a little later an independent church-building was erected. By this time the membership of the congregation had greatly increased; and the protestant preachers who had numbered among their listeners many who actually were baptized Catholics, found their flocks so reduced by the return of these stray sheep to their rightful fold, that they had to look for new fields.

A territory one hundred and sixty miles long and thirty-five miles wide constituted the parish of Cameron. The tireless Pastor, therefore, by no means devoted his entire time and activity to the parish church itself: fifteen missions claimed and received their share of his attention and care. A fine chapel was built in Grand Chénier, and Mass was said in it for the first time on January 22, 1893. The next year (1894) Leesburg had likewise its place of worship, inaugurated on July 8. Three weeks later, a chapel was also completed and dedicated at Grand Lake. The result of these years of strenuous labor had been a wonderful growth of church membership among the white people. But Father Engberink never forgot he had yet other sheep who were not of this fold and that should be brought in. His efforts to awaken the faith, so long dormant, in the simple souls of the colored folks were rewarded. There was a relatively large settlement of colored Catholics at Cameron itself, while many more dwelt in the country and made long journeys to come to the parish church. Chapels were erected for the various settlements, and, before long, means had been found to build a church in the village for the exclusive use of the colored people. On July 7, 1895, Mass was celebrated for the first time in that new edifice.

Such a devouring activity, the fatigues caused by long and constant rambles through the length and breadth of his immense parish, the terrible ordeals which the undaunted missionary had to go through, were bound to break even his iron constitution. He was on crutches when he received from Archbishop Janssens his appointment to St. Landry's church in Opelousas. He hesitated, as well he could: much as he had accomplished in Cameron during the five years he had labored there, he saw what was yet to be done; then his knowledge of English and French was limited, and six years of privations and hardships had sapped the strength of his bulky frame; on the other hand the program of the work to be done in Opelousas, as traced by the

Archbishop was simply staggering: there was question of no less than building a new church and Rectory, erect new edifices for the existing educational institutions, revive the extinct Catholic college, and provide chapels for the remote districts. But the Archbishop knew of what mettle the man was made, to whose devotedness and energy he was appealing; he insisted, and Father Engberink yielded to his entreaties.

We need not retrace every step of the work accomplished. Suffice it to say that, with the single exception of the reopening of the Boys' College, the object of the worthy pastor's constant yearnings to his very last day, every point of the Archbishop's program was in due time faithfully and magnificently carried out. The new Rectory was ready for occupancy in the fall of 1900. Eight years later, on August 8, 1908, the Most Rev. James H. Blenk, Archbishop of New Orleans, was laying the corner stone of the new church; and so actively was the work pushed that Mass could be said for the first time in the new edifice on the first Friday of April of the following year. The pews were sold for six months, and the returns were such as to show conclusively that, despite its huge proportions (189 feet in length, 94 ft. in width at the transept and 74 in the body of the church) and its seating capacity of about 2000, the edifice was not any too large: indeed not a seat is empty at the early Mass every Sunday, and again the church is well filled at the later Mass. And the wonder of it—a wonder of financial management—is that, contrary to the forebodings of many, inside and outside Opelousas, this new church has never been a drain on the resources of the parish; Father Engberink's successors may look without anxiety at the parish exchequer, and devote their time and the revenues of the church to the upbuilding of the minds and hearts of the growing generations.

Whilst work was going on for the new church—the laying of the foundations was started in 1903—, the Marianite Sisters, under the guidance of the pastor, were fulfilling another part of the renovation program, and erecting a new Academy. During the Christmas holidays of 1906, the new quarters were occupied, and a new era, glowing with bright prospects of well-deserved prosperity, dawned for the old institution.

Father Engberink fondled other plans, as we have seen. But his had already been more than a man's share in the work for the Catholic cause in the old parish. The Master whom he had served so zealously since his coming to Louisiana, called him, on June 16, 1918, to give the account of his stewardship. He was buried, as was meet, in the church which he had built, and upon his tombstone we read this inscription:

Here lies
Very Rev. John Engberink
Dean, pastor of St. Landry's Church,
a native of Hasselo, Holland,
born July 14, 1855,
died June 16, 1918,
in the 37th year of his priesthood.

A true priest of God, he fought the good fight, he proved his zeal for the beauty of the house of God by building this church? (*sic*) and his love for his people by the sacrifice of his life.

R. I. P.

Wags—for there are wags at Opelousas—interpret the engraver's unfortunate introduction of the interrogation mark as a warning to his successors that there is still work to be done "for the beauty of the house of God." But the present, threshold of the future, is forbidden ground to history. Here her pupils must lay down their pens.

B. COLLIARD.

THE OLD ST. LOUIS CALVARY

Nothing that has ever happened on earth can be altogether obliterated by the ravages of time. If an influence was ever felt, it has left its impression somewhere upon the customs and manners of the people, in the traces of character of some descendants of the actor, in some bend of a road or street, in some crumbling, yet all the more eloquent monument, in the dry dust beneath our feet, as well as beneath the sheltering roof of the library, the garret and the cellar. Indeed God alone clearly recognizes the innumerable traces of past events; but they are certainly present with us, though often hidden from view, or unnoticed, through our lack of insight, or experience to read them aright. Yet in His own time and in His own way the Spirit of Wisdom descends and hovers over the dry bones, over the accumulated dust and debris of centuries, and in a moment all is alive, and the image of a long-forgotten period of history rises before our astonished gaze. So it was with the buried civilization of the Chaldean empire, of Ninive, of Babylon, of Persepolis, and Troy and Pompei, and so we may hope that many a bright or dark picture of hoary antiquity, now written nowhere but in the Book of Life, will be written on the pages of our histories, for our instruction, warning and edification.

Now, to come from great things to small ones, it happened, through the courtesy of the late Hon. Walter B. Douglas, the highest authority among us on all matters concerning the early days of St. Louis and Missouri in general, that the writer of this article was enabled to catch an intimate glimpse of the village of St. Louis and its primitive life during the period of A.D. 1793—1818. Twenty-five years of village life, quiet, unobtrusive, kindly, joyous and sincerely, though perhaps not deeply, religious, became present to the imagination after the lapse of more than a century; and the magic word to recall it from oblivion was a musty report of a trial, held before the Supreme Court of Missouri, in the March term, 1859, entitled "The St. Louis Public Schools vs. Greene Erskine"[1]. This lawsuit was to decide the ownership of a lot in block 87, of the City of St. Louis, being a part of Survey 372, assigned, on March 19, 1844, by the United States to the inhabitants for the support of the schools. The lot under litigation fronts forty-four and a half ft., on the south side of Olive Street, between Third and Fourth, and runs back southward of that width twenty-six feet three inches. Such a law-brief, concerning a lot 44 by 26 ft., does not

[1] Archives of the Missouri Historical Society. We quote from a transcript, and refer to its paging.

promise much historical information of an interesting kind; yet in this case it is replete with just such historical hints as are the delight of the antiquarian. This is partly on account of the original use of this lot, partly on account of the local importance and interest attaching to some of the witnesses in the case.

From the unanimous testimony offered, it appears that the northern half of the lot 87 of the village of St. Louis, contained for many years a so-called Calvary, that is, an elevation, natural or artificial, surmounted by a large cross, intended to represent the scene of the crucifixion of our Lord. This fact, in itself, is nothing extraordinary, as our Catholic forefathers, both in the Old, as well as in the New World, were in the habit of erecting such crosses in public as well as in private places. Witness the crosses erected by De Soto and his followers on a hillock near New Madrid in 1539 [2], by Marquette at Kaskaskia and elsewhere among the Illinois in 1673 [3], by Saint-Cosme and his companions near Cape St. Antoine on the Mississippi in 1699 [4], and by many other explorers of the western wilderness. But this our cross has a special interest to the people of St. Louis.

The village of St. Louis was founded in 1764 by Pierre Laclede-Liguest and his stepson, Auguste Chouteau [5], who, at the time was only thirteen years of age. Young Chouteau also made the first plat of the incipient city. According to this, there were three streets in the village, running parallel with the river, the *Rue Royale,* now Main Street, the *Rue de l'Eglise,* now Second, and the *Rue des Granges,* "Barn Street", now Third. Our present Fourth Street occupies the site of the city-wall or stockade, which was flanked by towers and bastions. The streets running east and west were eighteen in number, nine on each side of the central block, devoted to the uses of the Church. The Church-block lay between Second and Third, Walnut and Market Streets, forming the very heart of the village. During the time we are writing of, it contained the old dilapidated chapel of logs built in Father Valentine's days and the *presbytère* of stone, erected shortly after the coming of Father Bernard de Limpach. Other buildings there were none on the entire block until the advent of Bishop Louis William Valentine Du Bourg, in 1818. The Cemetery occupied the space along Market Street from Second to Third. All the buildings faced the *Rue de l'Eglise,* that is, Second Street. All the original village blocks measured 300 by 240 ft. The sequence of the streets, from the church northward, was Market, Chesnut, Pine, Olive. Now it was on Olive Street between Third and Fourth, that the Calvary with its lonely cross was situated, with no dwellings, and only a few barns, near by. But the whole village lay within sight of the Calvary, as it occupied the highest

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[2] Cf. *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States,* p. 208.

[3] Cf. Voyages and Discoveries of Father Marquette in Shea's *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi River,* p. 15.

[4] Cf. Saint-Cosme's Letter in Shea, *Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi,* p. 68.

[5] Cf. Auguste Chouteau's Journal of the Foundation of St. Louis, in *Missouri Historical Society Collections,* Vol. III, No. 4

point of ground within the walls, and its natural elevation had been enhanced by an artificial mound, eight or nine feet high and fifty feet square at the bottom, all enclosed with stone steps leading up to the base of the cross and forming a platform of about twenty-five feet. A little to the north, there was an opening in the stockade, the gateway to Florissant and the villages beyond. Just outside of the stockade, only some fifty feet distant, began the Common Field reserved for the general use of the inhabitants. Further on to the west stretched a rolling prairie studded with clumps of trees and covered with luxuriant shrubbery. The cross itself, made of cedar wood, was about twelve feet—according to some witnesses, twenty feet—high. The avenue of approach to the Calvary was on Olive Street which, within the memory of some of the ancients, had been a mere footpath and partly a gully. The usual size of a city lot was one-fourth of a block, or 150 by 120 ft. According to the plat made in 1804, the time of the Louisiana Purchase going into effect, the south half of block 87 was owned by Sanguinet and Vasquez, the N.W. quarter by Brazeau, and the N.E. portion by Picard. There were no houses even in 1812 on the entire block, only three barns, and the Calvary.

But what particular spot did the Calvary occupy? Facing Olive Street, as it certainly did, it must have stood between Picard on Third and Brazeau on Fourth Street, perhaps half-way; for some witnesses give its location as about one hundred feet distant from the corner of Third and Olive. Whether Picard, or possibly Brazeau, originally set apart the fifty or more feet necessary for the Calvary, cannot now be determined; according to one witness, "Alexis Picard consented to this cross being put there"; certain it is that later on his heirs claimed the site after the cross had been removed about 1823.

In confirmation of what has been stated so far, we will now hear the testimony of the sworn witnesses: Jacques Labie, seventy-four years old at the time of the trial, says:

> I know where the Calvary was: it was near the lot of Picard, west of it. Five or six months after the cross was put up, they made a procession, and after that the Governor ordered Picard to remove his fence. He said that it was too close to the cross. The cross was near Picard's lot. There was nothing there where the cross was, it was vacant in those times. Before 1812 there was nobody (living) there: it was all vacant (land): no streets there, all barn lots. I mean by 'vacant' that all these pieces of barn lots had only barns, but no residences before 1812. There was no Third Street (made as yet). The cross may have been 120 or 140 feet west of (what is now) Third Street. (*p.* 8).

Thus far Mr. Jacques Labie. The father of our witness, Jacques Labie, is one of the signers of the order for building the second church edifice in the village, under Piernas and Father Valentine, in 1775. He was one of the prominent citizens of St. Louis, and his son, our witness, was known to all.

Other witnesses estimate the distance of the cross from Third Street at about 100 feet or less. But all are agreed that it was on the south side of Olive Street, between Third and Fourth. Indeed

one witness places it on the roadway between Lacroix and Ruelle (Reilhe).—"Part of the Calvary was on the Lacroix lot," says Madame Ortiz, "the balance on the public roadway." This, of course, is a mistake, owing possibly to an accidental bend in the roadway at some time, which, we have seen, was but a gully, and which may have trenched on the block to the south, throwing the Calvary to the north of the actual roadway. In any case, all the other witnesses state positively that the Calvary was on the south side of Olive Street. Thomas H. West says:

> I do not think that the cross stood in Olive Street. Olive Street, in 1817, was passable, and the line of Olive Street was marked. Madame Labeaume's fence defined it, and there were houses on Olive Street. (*p.* 16).

But this was after 1817, the date of Mr. West's coming to St. Louis, whilst the recollection of the former witness, Madame Elizabeth Hortiz may refer to any period after 1773, when she came to St. Louis from Vincennes. At an earlier date the Olive Street on the plat, and the actual Olive Street may not have followed exactly the same lines: this may have caused a slight confusion in the memory of Madame Hortiz, which was otherwise very good [6].

One more testimony, that of John Pourcelli, seventy-five years old, will conclude this part of the argument:

> I know where the "old Calvary" was in St. Louis. To my knowledge it was opposite to where the (old) Custom House is now (1859): it was on the south side of Olive Street. I saw this cross from my first recollection, standing there; it was used by Catholics, they went every year in procession to that cross. I was ten years old when I first saw the space of ground occupied by the cross itself. The Calvary took about 25 feet on each side of the cross, in the way of steps on each side of it. It—that is, the cross—was twenty feet high. The last time I saw it was five or six years after the change of government. The nearest I saw anyone (living) to this cross, was on the other side of the street. Joseph Lacroix lived there, north of it. The street (Olive) was between Lacroix and this lot, and this cross street was the ordinary width they are now. The cross stood about 100 feet from Third Street, west; there was nothing on this lot between Third and the cross...there was nothing west of the Crucifix...This was an old cross. The steps were of stone, forming a base of about 25 feet square, eight or nine feet high. There were steps on either side (probably east and west), as the people had to step aside from Olive Street to go up. I passed there every day to go to the barn...They used the street after the cross was there. I never saw anyone live where the cross was, and do not know that they would have been permitted (*pp.* 4—5).

John Pourcelli, the witness, was born in 1784, of John Pourcelli, a native of Provence, who came to St. Louis that very year.

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[6] Mayor William Carr Lane in his Message of 1823 spoke as follows: "The old streets must remain somewhat irregular. To straighten them, to make them parallel and cross at right angles, and to reduce the squares to the same superficial contents would be to purchase the ground and lay it off anew, an enterprise that we are by no means prepared for. The question then is, What are we to do? I answer, We can appeal to the intelligence of the ancient inhabitants, nay, to the venerable father of the city himself, and ascertain where the streets originally were. I speak of this because I know of no authentic record of their metes, widths, and bearings, and because encroachments upon them have been so great as not only to render them generally crooked, but in some of the cross streets to nearly obstruct them entirely."

It is noteworthy that the bulk of the earliest inhabitants were, like the founder himself, from southern France.

Having now fixed the nature and the location, the *quid* and the *ubi*, of our St. Louis Calvary, we come to the questions, *Quis* and *Quando*, when and by whom was it erected. These two questions must be treated as practically one: for the erection of such a public monument could not have been accomplished except by public authority, civil and ecclesiastical. Under the Spanish and French regimes we enjoyed the union of Church and State. The Lieutenant-Governor and the Parish Priest constituted the highest authority; the erection of the cross in St. Louis must, therefore, be attributed to them. But their offices were filled in succession by a definite number of well-authenticated persons.

As already stated, St. Louis was founded in 1764 (February 14, or, as Hunt says, February 16). "In laying out the village," says Prof. S. Waterhouse, "with a wise provision for the spiritual needs of the colony, Liguest had reserved a block for religious use. On this site the first Catholic church was erected in 1770. It stood on the west side of Second Street, between Market and Walnut. It was built of upright logs, and the crevices were plastered with clay. The completion of this rude edifice was celebrated with popular rejoicing. On the 24th day of June, 1770, the church was dedicated by Father Gibault of Kaskaskia, with ceremonies of joyous solemnity"[7]. This was done under the first Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Louisiana, Don Pedro Piernas, who had arrived in the spring of 1770. Two years later, in May 1772, there came to St. Louis the Capuchin Father Valentine. Both were Spaniards, whilst the founders and settlers of the rising city were French. The reason for this anomalous condition was that, a few months after the foundation of Laclede's village, the Treaty of Paris ceded the entire territory of Louisiana to Spain.

As the Spanish power was rather slow and seemingly reluctant to establish itself, St. Louis enjoyed about five years of happy, hopeful independence under the self-chosen Governor Saint-Ange de Bellerive,[8] the former commandant of Fort Chartres. During this interval the town received occasionally visits from Father Gibault,

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7 The founder of St. Louis laid off the square where the Cathedral now stands, for a Catholic church. On this square was buried Saint-Ange de Bellerive, the French Commandant, and Fernando de Leyba, one of the Spanish Commandants, and also his wife. The first prayer and first blessing were breathed by Catholic lips. Their hands reared the first altar, and they first sang the *Exaudiat* and the *De Profundis* (the *Te Deum*) in the jubilant voices, where now our great metropolis stands. They first stood upon heathen ground and consecrated it to religion." Edwards. *Great West.* St. Louis, 1860.

8 The pioneers of St. Louis, no doubt, imagined that they were building up a French city, and when Saint-Ange de Bellerive came over with his little troop of soldiers from Fort Chartres, he was joyfully received as Governor civil and military. His grants of land to the early citizens were readily confirmed by the Spanish authorities. Saint-Ange was a particular friend of the great leader Pontiac, and received a visit from him at the house of Mrs. Chouteau. Saint-Ange died September 26, 1774, and was buried by Father Valentin in the Catholic cemetery on Market and Second Streets. In his will he bequeathed 500 livres to the church.

then Vicar General of the Bishop of Quebec, and the Jesuit Father Meurin. The church dedicated by Father Gibault in 1770 soon becoming ruinous [9], the erection of a new one was begun towards the end of Father Valentine's administration in 1775, and completed in 1776 [10]. On May 25, 1776, the first canonical pastor of the newly erected parish of St. Louis arrived from New Orleans, in the person of the Capuchin Father Bernard de Limpach, during whose incumbency the *prebytère,* or parish residence was built of stone, with dimensions 45 by 27 feet. Don Francisco Cruzat was now Lieutenant-Governor, as successor to Don Pedro Piernas, from May 1775 to June 17, 1778. Father Bernard de Limpach remained in St. Louis until November 1789, and was then succeeded by Father Ledru, a Dominican—also called Jacobin—who had withdrawn from Kaskaskia "on account of the lawlessness prevalent there at the time." At Kaskaskia and Cahokia Father Ledru had acted by authority of the Bishop of Baltimore. In St. Louis he held jurisdiction from the authorities in New Orleans. On entering upon his new duties, Father Ledru wrote to the Bishop of Quebec that the Spanish government allowed him an annual salary of $1200. Bishop Carroll writes that he had heard evil reports concerning Father Ledru, and expresses regret at having given him even restricted faculties for the Illinois country; but he makes no specific charge. Father Ledru left St. Louis in September 1793 and was succeeded by Dom Pierre Joseph Didier, of the Order of St. Benedict, who had been stationed since 1792 at Florissant, and officiated in St. Louis until April 1799. The Spanish Lieutenant-Governors of Upper Louisiana during this time were Don Ferdinand de Leyba, January 1, 1777, to June 20, 1780; Don Francisco Cruzat [11], for a second term from September 24, 1780, to November 27,, 1787; Don Manuel Perez, from November 25, 1787 to July 21, 1792; Don Zenon Trudeau, from July 21, 1792 to August 29, 1799; to be followed by Charles Dehault de Lassus, the last of the line of Spanish Lieutenant-Governors of Upper Louisiana.

Now, as our St. Louis Calvary was certainly erected during the Spanish regime, the question arises: Under what Lieutenant-Governor; under what Parish Priest? For an answer, we must go back to our Court record.

We have already cited the words of John Pourcelli: "I was ten years old when I first saw the space of ground occupied by the cross." At the time of this testimony John Pourcelli was seventy-four years old, consequently he was born in 1785 and was ten years old in 1795, during the time of Father Didier's pastorate in St. Louis, and the governorship of Zenon Trudeau.

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9 The logs being placed end downwards on the earth quickly decayed and caused the superstructure to fall. The engineer Van den Benden, who was to rebuild the fortifications of St. Louis in 1799, declares in his report that the logs could not last longer than five years, and consequently advises that they be built of stone.

10 The plans and specifications of the church building of 1776 were reprinted in the *Western Watchman,* February 18, 1917.

11 There was a brief interval between the death of DeLeyba and the arrival of Cruzat, during which De Leyba's lieutenant Cartabona carried on the government.

Jacques Labie, who has been quoted heretofore in regard to the location of our Calvary, bears testimony also as to the date of its erection:

> I was born in St. Louis. I am seventy-four years old. I always lived in St. Louis until a few years ago...I knew where the Calvary was...The cross stood on a little mound, the highest ground there, three or four feet high. This ground was selected on account of the ground being high...I saw the cross put there. I was seven, or eight, or ten years old. I saw the cross put there.

By this testimony the date of the erection of the Calvary is fixed between the years 1792 and 1795, near enough to the date fixed by the testimony of John Pourcelli, to point to Father Peter Joseph Didier as the originator of the Calvary.

This probability is raised to a certainty by the graphic description given by Madame Hortiz:

> I am ninety-two years old. I was brought to this city when I was but four years old, during the time of Mr. Saint-Ange; from that time on I have always lived here. I knew the elder Mr. Alexis Picard very well; he lived here from the beginning of the village and died here, about seventy-five years ago...He owned a barn-lot on the hill in St. Louis, on the hill where all the barns stood. He had a barn upon the lot and the lot was surrounded with a picket fence. I knew the barn well, having seen it while standing in rotten condition, and afterwards when it had fallen. The barn lot was opposite the old theatre on the hill. There was no theatre there at the time of the existence of the barn... I mean it was opposite the lot subsequently covered by the theatre. In the time of which we speak there was no street in that locality, there was only a pathway. The Picard barn lot and the common fields were side by side, they almost joined. The Calvary was on the roadway between Lacroix and Ruelle. The Calvary was not surrounded; it was a public place, an elevated cross, to which everybody went for devotional purposes...The cross was made of cedar-wood, placed on a stone wall and attainable by steps (*pp.* 5—7).

Madame Elizabeth Hortiz, or Ortez, being our star witness, deserves a more extended notice.[12] She was Elizabeth Barada, born in Vincennes, September 27, 1764, and came to St. Louis in 1768, at the age of four years. Here, in 1782, she became the wife of John B. Hortiz, or Ortez, a carpenter from Bearn in the Pyrenees, who had come to St. Louis in company with Laclede in 1764. Madame Hortiz died in 1868, having attained the remarkable age of one hundred and four years. Ortez and Cambas built the church that served the people of the village from Father Valentine's time until the coming of Bishop Du Bourg, about forty-two years.

After these biographical data, let us return to our narrative at the most interesting part of Madame Hortiz' testimony, opening, in one brief sentence, a wide perspective of stirring events: "The Calvary was built immediately after the French Revolution, and when a num-

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12 There is an elaborate biography of Madame Elizabeth Ortez in Edward's *Great West*, which work seems to owe a good part of its historical information on the early days of St. Louis to the venerable lady, the only surviver of the days of Laclede, Saint-Ange and Pontiac.

ber of French emigrants, among whom was a priest, came to the village." The French emigrants that came to the village were a remnant of the disappointed eight hundred French colonists and their families that had come to America under the leadership of Marquis Lezay-Marnezia, the Count de Barth de Walbach, the Baron de Bretèche and Pierre Charles De Hault de Lassus et de Luzières, "Knight of the Grand Cross of the Order of St. Michael," and many other gentlemen of lofty titles. The promoters of the colonization scheme, the Scioto Company [13], took advantage of the naive confidence of the French colonists, and the French settlement at Gallipolis proved a vast failure. Many of the immigrants perished; others drifted to the settlements on the Mississippi, especially to New Bourbon, about three miles distant from Ste. Genevieve, others again to St. Louis. One of their priests, in fact the spiritual head of the projected Diocese of Gallipolis, the Rev. "Peter Joseph Didier, Benedictine Religious of the Congregation of St. Maur, of the Royal Abbey of St. Denis, of the Order of St. Benedict," as he styles himself in the Baptismal Record of St. Charles Borromeo's church in St. Charles, was the very first priest of Madame Hortiz' account, coming to the village immediately after the French Revolution. This great outbreak of popular fury began in 1789; the royal family was executed in 1793, and among many other sacrileges, the ancient Abbey of St. Denis was invaded by a bloodthirsty mob, and the tombs of a long line of Kings demolished, and the ashes of the dead scattered to the winds. Father Didier was Procurator of St. Denis, and had incurred the special hatred of the revolutionists for having quartered the royal troops at the Abbey in 1789. He escaped a terrible fate by flight, and was barred from France by proscription. About 1790, the so-called Scioto Company, to found a colony on the banks of the river of that name, was formed by Joel Barlow and others, and a large number of French noblemen, that had been driven from their country, became interested and deeply involved in it. As they were, for the most part, Catholics, they desired to have a Bishop appointed by Rome for the projected colony. As the question whether the new settlement would be within the territory of the United States or not, was as yet undecided, the Propaganda, April 26, 1790, gave special powers to Dom Peter Joseph Didier as Superior of the Catholics of the French colony on the banks of the Scioto, with power to communicate faculties to other priests. "It was cautiously provided, however," says Shea, "that the powers granted for seven years were not to be used in the Diocese of any Bishop, and that, as all the United States were subject to the Bishop of Baltimore, if the French colony was established in the United States, Dom Didier was not to use his faculties, except with the express consent of Bishop Carroll."

Father Didier came over, apparently with a party of immigrants who landed at Alexandria in 1790, and proceeded to Ohio: but, to quote Shea once more, "on reaching Ohio the poor immigrants found

[13] Cf. Rev. Laurence J. Kenny, S. J. The Gallipolis Colony, in *Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. IV, No. 4.

themselves to be the victims of unprincipled land-speculators, who did not own the land they pretended to sell." A foundation, however, was made at Gallipolis, and Father Didier, after obtaining Bishop Carroll's consent to use his faculties, began his ministry. The dissatisfied settlers, in turn, seemed but little disposed to profit by it: prejudice poisoned the minds of many, dissentions arose, Indian hostilities ensued, and the settlers began to scatter. At the close of 1792, Father Didier left Gallipolis for Florissant and St. Louis. On December 9, 1793, he became pastor of the parish of St. Louis and its dependencies, and labored there faithfully until May 16, 1799 the "pioneer Benedictine of this country," as Shea calls him[14].

It was about the year 1795, as we have seen, and consequently it was by Father Peter Joseph Didier, the Benedictine, that the St. Louis Calvary was erected. As actual builder of the stone-steps leading to the cross, we have reason to consider Louis Van den Benden, a native of Flanders, and a civil engineer, who came to New Madrid from Gallipolis, and was appointed by Baron Carondelet to restore the fortifications of St. Louis in 1797.

But what was the purpose of this cross and of the so-called Calvary? The learned antiquarian Britton[15] informs us, that our tasteful, pious ancestors had erected "for ornament as well as for edification, ten descriptions of crosses: 'first, preaching crosses; second, market crosses; third, weeping crosses; fourth, street crosses; fifth, memorial crosses; sixth, as landmarks; seventh, sepulchral; eighth, highway crosses; ninth, at entrance to churches; tenth, for attestations of peace'." Now, our cross may have been intended to serve several of these purposes, perhaps all of them except two: it surely did not mark the entrance to the village church nor the ordinary place of sepulture, both of which were at least four blocks distant, on Second and Market Streets; for the cross stood hard by the stockade that enclosed the town since the Indian attack called *"le grand coup"* of 1780. From the testimony given in our trial, it appears that it was visited by the people of St. Louis, "who were all Catholics," not only for private devotion, but also for public demonstrations and processions. As Jacques Labie states, "all the people in St. Louis were then Catholics, and they went every year there (to the Calvary) in procession."

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[14] Cf. Shea. Father Joseph Didier was born in Besancon, Franche Comté. He officiated in St. Louis from December 1793 to April 1799, during which period he baptized 220 whites, 79 negroes and 16 Indians. Among the latter I find this interesting entry: "In the year 1794, the 13th of April. Peter Joseph Didier, Religious Benedictine Priest of the Congregation of St. Maur, baptized Teresa Victori, of Indian origin, of the nation of the Panis (Pawnees), about five years of age The godfather was Mr. Zenon Trudeau, Captain Commandant of the appointed Regiment of Louisiana and Lieutenant-Governor of the Western post of Illinois. The godmother was Mary Genevieve de la Marche, Religious Superioress of the ladies of Ste. Claire de Tours, who have signed this present with me the day and year above. PETER JOSEPH DIDIER.

The godmother was a high born lady driven from her cloister in France during the stormy days of the Revolution, and spending some years of her exile in St. Louis. What became of the good Sister?

[15] Cf. William Goodman, *The Social State of Great Britain during the Reign of the Stuarts*, Vol. I, 258.

This annual procession to the Calvary probably was the Corpus Christi procession which is held in all Catholic countries with greatest pomp, if possible, in the open air, and was, no doubt, so held in early St. Louis. Solemnly wending its way north on Second Street, it turned west to the Calvary, then southward between the stockade and the fence of the common field to make a turn eastward at the Tower on Walnut, and proceeding along Walnut to Second, it arrived at its starting place on Second and Market. In that case, the three stations, or altars, would naturally have been at the church itself, at the Calvary, and at the old Spanish Fort or Tower on Fourth and Walnut. This conjecture may remind some of my readers of what Scharf says in his *History of St. Louis* relative to the affair of 1780: "It was fortunate for the village that the attack by the Indians did not occur twenty-four hours earlier. The 25th day of May was a Catholic holy day. It was the festival of Corpus Christi. The day was spent in religious devotions and social festivities. In the afternoon many of the inhabitants went out into the fields to pick strawberries. Had the attack been made at this time, when the people were engaged in their holiday diversions, it might have resulted in the capture of St. Louis and the slaughter of its inhabitants" [16]. From its earliest days, as appears in the inventory of the church property left by Father Valentine [17], the church of St. Louis possessed a monstrance, as used in processions of the Blessed Sacrament. At the installation of Bishop Du Bourg a *dais* or processional canopy is spoken of as a thing of ordinary use; and the people of the village were noted for their love of processions with religious pomp. So we can easily imagine the enthusiastic congregation marching along the streets I have mentioned, to the sound of the old beautiful songs in praise of their Eucharistic God, stopping at the temporary altars to receive the Benediction, and then returning to the Church, to spend the rest of the day in innocent diversions, on the church-square or along the river front.

And now a last question: When was the cross taken down, and the Calvary destroyed?

Madame Hortiz tells us:

> The Calvary was destroyed before the incoming of the Americans; it was in existence, however, during the time of the Spaniards. The cross was going to decay, and was being hacked up and destroyed by the Indians, so the whites removed it to the presbytery. The cross was removed during the time of Mr. Delassus (that is, before 1804).

Jacques Labie, however, declares just as positively that "the crucifix was removed after the consecration of Bishop Du Bourg," that is, after 1817. There was but one cross on the Calvary: when was it removed? To settle this discrepancy of these two ancients of the

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16 Scharf, *History of St. Louis*, p.—. This account is based on Edward's *Great West*, pp. 264 and 365, and probably rests on the authority of Madame Elizabeth Ortiz.

17 Missouri Historical Society, Spanish Archives.

village, we must appeal to one that came to St. Louis at a later date: Isaac A. Letcher, an American, states:

> I came to St. Louis in the spring of 1816; I recollect seeing the old Catholic cross in old times west of Third Street, when I first came here. I cannot designate the place; it was not far from what they called the Tower. It was a little east of it. (*p.* 13).

It follows, therefore, that the life of the Calvary was prolonged to 1815 at least, the year of Bishop Du Bourg's consecration in Rome. and probably the year of his coming to St. Louis, early in 1818, a conclusion that is confirmed by Francis Flandrin, born in 1789, who says:

> I am sixty-one years old; I was born in St. Louis and have lived here ever since; I remember the old crucifix or cross...I was very young when I first went there with the priests in procession... The cross was there in 1815 or 16; it stood on very high ground (*p.* 15).

In addition to this, the testimony of Thomas H. West may be given:

> I came to St. Louis in 1817; I was familiar with a good many of monuments. I knew the old Catholic cross that stood on this block 87.

The cross, then, was still in place in 1817. When was it removed or destroyed? Jacques Labie will tell us:

> It was thrown down in 1823 or 1824. The Bishop saved the cross; he moved it to the old Cathedral.

that is, the church erected by Bishop Du Bourg in 1820 on the site of the first church.

What became of it after that, who can tell?

During twenty-five years, the great cross of cedar-wood had been an inspiration, a source of comfort, a center of attraction in the village, calling the people's thoughts from their labors and pleasures to Him who died for their salvation. May it now live on in the memory of their posterity, as a symbol of the faith the bishops and priests and people of St. Louis strove so earnestly and successfully to plant in all the regions now comprised in the ecclesiastical Provinces of St. Louis, Chicago and Dubuque.

JOHN ROTHENSTEINER

THE BEGINNING OF CATHOLICITY IN CAPE GIRARDEAU, MISSOURI

The settlement of Cape Girardeau dates from 1793. The name, originally applied to the "Big Bend" above the city, was derived, as is commonly accepted, from that of Ensign Sieur Girardot who from 1704 to 1720 was stationed with the royal troops of France at Kaskaskia, or possibly from that of his son. The name last appears on the records at Kaskaskia, signed to a marriage contract in 1775. After resigning his position in the army, Girardot became a successful trader among the Indians. Yet, although his name became associated with the cape, the honor of having made the first permanent settlement is due to a French Canadian, Don Louis Lorimier. Lorimier was a remarkable man, and, could a complete history of his life be written, it would read like a romance; but all that is positively known of his career prior to his coming to Upper Louisiana is that he was born in the parish of Etienne, district of Montreal, Canada, in the year 1748. He came to Cape Girardeau early in 1793. Prior to his coming to Upper Louisiana. Lorimier had taken for his wife a half-breed Shawnee woman, named Charlotte Pemanpieh, supposed to have been a daughter of a Canadian officer of that name, aide-de-camp to Montcalm. This greatly endeared him to the Indians, and, added to his ability and experience, gained him great power over, not only the Shawnees, but also the various other tribes with whom he came in contact. In 1795 he presented a petition to the governor-general, Baron of Carondelet, for 8000 arpents of land at Cape Girardeau, fronting on Cypress Island, which was granted. At about this time, Spain thought it advisable to populate Upper Louisiana as a barrier to the English in Canada, and, accordingly, offered great inducements to settlers, especially to those of the United States. She preferred the latter, since their prejudices against the British, which were strong at that time, rendered their attachment to Spanish interests more certain. To them lands were given gratuitously, and they were exempted from taxation. The extent of the concession was usually regulated by the wealth and importance of the settler, the size of his family and his ability to cultivate the land; except for special services, however, it did not often exceed 800 arpents which is equal to about 680 acres. The only cost to the settler was the fees of office and the surveyor's charges, amounting to about $41. This, however, did not give a complete title. When the settler had actually inhabited, possessed, or cultivated the land for ten years,

a confirmation was required. To secure this, it was necessary to certify the fact of possession for the required time to the proper officer at New Orleans, who issued a patent.

Under these inducements, people from Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, and other States came to Upper Louisiana in large numbers. Of these the great majority located in Cape Girardeau District, which soon became the most compactly settled section in the whole province. This was doubtless due to the fact that here the settlers found a country most similar to that which they had left, and no prior settlement of the French prevented their securing the best land. This was in reality the first purely American settlement west of the Mississippi. In 1799 the population of the district was numbered 416 whites and 105 slaves. In 1803 a second census was taken, which showed a total population of 1206 whites and 180 slaves.

Upon the settlement of the district, Louis Lorimier, while retaining his superintendency of Indian affairs, was made the civil and military commandant of the post of Cape Girardeau, and in this office, as elsewhere, he displayed great activity and good judgment. He continued to hold this position until the transfer of the government to the United States, and was held in the highest esteem by the governor-general and the lieutenant-governor. He remained at Cape Girardeau until his death which occurred on July 26, 1812. His remains, together with those of his Indian wife, lie in that part of the old cemetery which he had donated to the Catholics of the city and vicinity.

As has been stated, the settlement of Cape Girardeau was purely American, there not being more than five French families in the entire district. This accounts in great measure for the fact that among the first settlers there were few Catholics. Cape Girardeau was surveyed and laid off into streets and lots some time in February or March, 1806, by Bartholomew Cousin, and incorporated two years later. In 1813 Cape Girardeau County was organized.

Louis Lorimier lived in a long low frame house, which he built three or four years before the town was laid out, on the lot now occupied by St. Vincent's Academy. His son-in-law, D. F. Steinbeck, lived on the corner, now occupied by the Sturdivant Bank until 1910, when he removed to Cape La Croix Creek. Joseph McFerron, an Irishman by birth and a man of superior education, was the first clerk of the courts of Cape Girardeau District. The town continued to grow and prosper until the organization of Cape Girardeau County, when it was dealt a severe blow by the removal of the seat of justice to Jackson. It did not assume a position of much importance until about 1835, when the great increase in the steamboat business on the Mississippi gave it a decided impetus, or, in modern parlance, a "boom." Its superior location soon made it the metropolis of Southeast Missouri and the shipping point for a portion of Arkansas also. On April 27, 1869, the Cape Girardeau & State Line Railroad Company was organized to build a road from Cape Girardeau to some point on the Arkansas State Line. The city of Cape Girardeau voted a subscription of $150,000, and the township of Cape Girardeau an equal amount. With this

money the work of construction was begun, but through improvident management the funds were exhausted before a single mile of road was completed. For ten years the road was abandoned. The woodwork decayed, and the road-bed grew up to underbrush. In 1880 Mr. Louis Houck became interested in the road, organized the Cape Girardeau Railway Company, and on condition of completing the road from Cape Girardeau to Delta, a distance of sixteen miles, by January 1, 1881, received a title to the property of the old Cape Girardeau & State Line Company. Mr. Houck, with characteristic energy, fulfilled the contract, and by August, 1881, had the road in operation as far as Lakeville, now called Advance, in Stoddard County, 12 miles beyond Delta. In 1882 the name of the company was changed to the Cape Girardeau Southwestern Railway Company, and the road extended to Brownwood, a distance of four miles. Besides extending this road, in course of time, to Williamsville on the Iron Mountain Railroad, and Hunter, he also built a branch road to Poplar Bluff and a road from Cape Girardeau to Caruthersville. His latest undertaking was the building of a road from this city via Jackson and Perryville to West Chester and Farmington. This part of the system is still in his possession, whereas the other portions have been acquired by the St. Louis & San Francisco Railroad Company.

The above mentioned failure of the Cape Girardeau & State Line Railroad Company resulted most disastrously to the city. The heavy indebtedness did not present an inviting aspect to manufactures and other capitalists. The next decade, therefore, passed between hope and fear, and little progress was made. The opening of the Cape Girardeau Southwestern Railroad and the funding and gradual reduction of the bonded debt revived courage and the spirit of enterprise. It was, however, the building of St. Louis & San Francisco Railroad, the St. Louis-Memphis branch of this large system, that opened a new and wide avenue of activity and growth to the city and vicinity in 1904. Since then its population has grown from 4200 to about 12,000.

Speaking of the efforts and institutions for education and learning, we are brought into immediate contact with an event that was destined to become of vast influence on the ecclesiastical and educational development of this region. This event is the establishment of a branch of the Congregation of Mission or the Vincentians, usually called Lazarists.

In the year 1818, St. Mary's Seminary at The Barrens, in Perry County, was founded. It still flourishes as the Mother-house of the Vincentian Fathers for the western province of the United States. We may be permitted here to briefly state the facts that led to the establishment of the Congregation in our country.

When, in 1808, Pope Pius VII, had raised the See of Baltimore into an archbishopric, the Most Rev. John Carroll, the first Archbishop of Baltimore, sent Rev. Wm. Du Bourg, who was a native of Bordeaux and a member of the Company of St. Sulpice, to New Orleans,

entrusting him with the administration of that diocese. The Archbishop did, however, not long delay to petition the Holy See to appoint Father Du Bourg to fill the vacancy of that bishopric, and Pius VII, did in fact so nominate him. He did not, however, receive then the episcopal consecration. Father Du Bourg, subsequently, went to Rome, though with the intention of refusing the episcopal consecration, if he were not able to find in Europe a sufficient number of laborers, willing to assist him in the cultivation of his truly desolate diocese. Divine Providence granted his desires; he obtained the co-operation of the saintly Father De Andreis and some other missionaries, as we shall presently see.

Father Du Bourg came to Rome in 1815, and, in his efforts to attain the principal purpose of his journey, spoke urgently about the great needs of his vast diocese to Cardinal Litta, then Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda. His Eminence gave him some hopes of success, and meanwhile directed him to Monte Citorio, requesting, at the same time, the Vicar-General of the Congregation of the Mission, Father Sicardi, to provide him with suitable lodging. The first one to manifest an ardent desire to accede to the wishes of the Administrator of New Orleans and to follow him to his distant mission-field, was Father De Andreis, by whose personality Father Du Bourg had been deeply impressed in an interview. Thereupon, the Administrator entreated Father Sicardi to give him Father De Andreis and two or three other priests of the Mission, besides a few brothers, to found a house of the Congregation and a seminary in Louisiana. Father Sicardi expressed his deep regret that, on account of the then prevailing conditions, he was not able to comply with the Administrator's request. He emphasized especially the impossibility of dispensing with the services of Father De Andreis. Seeing that he could not gain the consent of the good old superior, Father Du Bourg resolved to address himself directly to the Pope, and make him a formal petition on the subject. He concluded his urgent request with the words: "Holy Father, without the help of some priests, I feel that I shall have no longer strength to bear the formidable burden of a diocese, so vast that it is almost unlimited; I shall, therefore, be obliged to resign it." The Pope consoled him with the assurance that his request should be granted, and shortly after intimated to Father Sicardi that he wished him to accede to the appeal of the Administrator by giving him Father De Andreis and some others of his Congregation.

But it was through the mediation of Cardinal Consalvi, the Secretary of State, that Bishop Du Bourg, who had been consecrated by Cardinal Joseph Doria on Sept. 24, 1815, saw finally his persistent efforts crowned with success. The Holy Father deputed Cardinal Consalvi to settle the whole affair with Father Sicardi, Vicar-General of the Congregation.

The venerable old man yielded to the wishes of the Pope, in which he saw the will of God. A memorable day was that of the 14th of October, on which Bishop Du Bourg, surrounded by his little colony of missionaries, the Rev. Felix De Andreis, John Baptist Acquaroni, and

Joseph Rosati; Joseph Pereira, postulant priest, Leo Deys, a student of the Propaganda, and Anthony Boboni, a postulant lay brother, paid their respects to the kindhearted Pius VII, and asked his blessing. In taking leave from Rome on the 15th of December, 1815, Father De Andreis, whose heart was overjoyed at the happy issue of Bishop Du Bourg's efforts in behalf of the foreign mission was accompanied with three more recruits for the mission, a priest of that city, and two young men who aspired to the ecclesiastical career; one of the latter, Mr. Dahmen, afterwards entered the Congregation. From Placentia he took with him Brother Martin Blanka. Meanwhile, Bishop Du Bourg changed his plan regarding the establishment of the Congregation in Louisiana. He concluded that the missionaries should not proceed to New Orleans, situated about a hundred miles from the mouth of the Mississippi, but to St. Louis, on the banks of the same river, about 1200 miles above. It was on this account that the first house of the Mission with its seminary was built within the present diocese of St. Louis.

On the 22nd day of May, 1816, the eve of the Ascension, Bishop Du Bourg arrived at Bordeaux, accompanied by a band of young men, partly ecclesiastics and partly secular, aspiring to the sacerdotal dignity. The final arrangements for their journey were made with the master of a brig, called *the Ranger;* and everything being satisfactorily concluded, the missionaries embarked on June 12, 1816. Bishop Du Bourg who was obliged to remain in France for the affairs of his diocese accompanied them to the harbor, and while bidding them farewell, exhorted them in the most pressing manner, to be obedient in everything to Father De Andreis, whom he constituted not only superior of this band, but also his vicar and representative in all that related to the concerns of his diocese. The following are the names of those that accompanied Father De Andreis: Fathers Rosati and Acquaroni, both priests of the Congregation of the Mission, Fathers Carretti and Ferrari, secular priests from the city of Port Maurice on the Riviera; Messrs. Francis Xavier Dahmen, Joseph Tichitoli, Leo Deys, and Casto Gonzalez, seminarists; Brother Martin Blanka of the Congregation of the Mission; and three young men who had some intention of entering the Congregation as lay-brothers. They landed safe and cheerful at Baltimore on July 26. The Sulpician Fathers received the newcomers on the American soil with brotherly kindness.

Father De Andreis has in his letters left a lengthy and touching account of the dangers and difficulties, encountered by himself and his companions on their journey to St. Louis. At Bardstown they received the welcome intelligence that Bishop Du Bourg, with some thirty priests, had arrived at Baltimore, from which place he was on his way to Louisiana. Upon his request Bishop Flaget of Bardstown proceeded with Fathers De Andreis and Rosati and Brother Blanka to St. Louis. On horseback they had to travel over 300 miles. When Bishop Flaget was in St. Louis to prepare for the coming of Bishop Du Bourg and the missionaries, two deputies from St. Mary's of The Barrens, twenty-four miles from Ste. Genevieve, came to see him. They were

sent by the parish-priest, Father M. J. Dunand, (the last Trappist then remaining in Missouri), and, in the name of all the other inhabitants, amounting to 35 families; and informed Bishop Flaget that they were sent to beg him to be their intercessor with Bishop Du Bourg on his arrival, that he might choose their parish for the foundation of the future seminary. They assured Bishop Flaget, who kindly listened to their representations, that this was the unanimous and urgent desire of all. They expressed their willingness to purchase for the said purpose 640 acres of land and to transfer it to the Bishop.

While laboring for the good of souls at Ste. Genevieve, Father De Andreis had, near the end of 1817, the great satisfaction of receiving his Bishop who came in company with Bishop Flaget. He accompanied the two Bishops to St. Louis, where they made their formal entrance on the eve of the Epiphany, 1818, and were received with acclamations of joy. When the inhabitants of The Barrens, near the present town of Perryville, heard that Bishop Du Bourg, accompanied by several priests, had arrived in St. Louis, they sent delegates to renew to him the request and the promises they had already laid before Bishop Flaget. Bishop Du Bourg, after having visited the place and examined conditions, concluded to comply with the wishes of the good people. The first and principal care of the superior, Father De Andreis, whom the Bishop wished to retain in St. Louis, was to recall from Bardstown Father Rosati and his other missionaries whom he immediately sent to The Barrens for the double purpose of taking spiritual care of the colonists and of superintending and aiding by their personal labor the building of a house of the community. The work was begun in the spring of 1818. The inhabitants of The Barrens were most generous wth their time and labor. Father Rosati became the first superior of the new house. Many of the priests whom Bishop Du Bourg had brought with him from Europe wished, very soon after their arrival, to enter the Congregation of St. Vincent. After due examination as to their calling and with the consent of the Bishop their evidently sincere desire was fulfilled. A heavy blow befell the young community when their first superior, the saintly Father De Andreis, passed away on October 15, 1820. His last act was to appoint Father Rosati his successor as superior of the American mission.

The first mention which we find of religious work done in Cape Girardeau, is in a letter of Bishop Du Bourg to Father Rosati, written from New Madrid, on November 24, 1820, a few weeks after Father De Andreis' death. The Bishop was then on his way to Louisiana, and had stopped at New Madrid, to investigate the religious needs of that interesting old town. He directed the Superior of The Barrens to send a priest to that place three or four times a year; here is what he suggested could be done at Cape Girardeau:

> He may go first to Cape Girardeau, and stop at Mr. Steinbach's, whose family are Catholic; there he will celebrate Mass for the little number of Catholics of that district. Thence....I believe that at Cape Girardeau, too, they will contribute to defraying the expense of the Priest.

The Bishop's wishes were complied with by Father Rosati, as we learn from a letter to Father F. Baccari, Vicar General of his Congregation, in Rome, written on May, 4, 1821:

> Besides the sick calls and the confessions,....Father Cellini has a French parish composed of seventy families, at New Madrid on the Mississippi River, at a distance of more than one hundred miles from the Seminary. He is going there three or four times a year, and remains four or five weeks every time....Father Cellini started to go there last March,.... and will go again as soon as the church is finished.

No express mention of Cape Girardeau is found in these lines; but there can be no doubt that the journey was made, as Bishop Du Bourg had directed, with a stop at Cape Girardeau, and another at McCoy's house, half way between the Cape and New Madrid. Whether the project to return to New Madrid every three or four months was carried out after the departure of Father Cellini for Louisiana (July 1822), and by whom, we have no means of ascertaining. When, on September 1824, Bishop Rosati sent Father Odin and Mr. Timon on an extensive mission tour to New Madrid and through Arkansas, they very likely stopped on the way at Mr. Steinbeck's, though Father Odin, in his account of the journey, mentions a stop at Jackson and says nothing of Cape Girardeau; but the three days which it took them to cover the distance suggest naturally a rest then at Cape Cruz on the way south; and another at the end of October on the return home of the two exhausted missionaries. But whatever of these occasional visits in passing, never was a thought given in these early times to the establishment of a Catholic Mission in Cape Girardeau. The field appeared simply unpromising: outside of the Steinbeck home, there were not supposed to be any Catholics in the place. That is exactly the reply given to Father Edmond Saulnier, as late as December 2, 1831, when, on his way to Arkansas Post, he stopped for a few moments at the Cape: "I asked" says he to Rosati, "in several houses if there were any Catholics at the place; I received a negative answer." This was true enough.

For an account of the early steps of Catholicity in Cape Girardeau, we are indebted to a manuscript in the Archives of the Congregation of the Mission, written in August 1861, by one of the priests of St. Vincent's Church, at the Cape, and avowedly compiled with a view to preserving, *ne pereant,* old odds and ends of papers recording the various events interesting the early history of the Parish. We subjoin now part of this manuscript, just as it is. Its sole merit—but this is great—lies in that it furnishes facts and dates, which otherwise would have long since been distorted, if they escaped the bottomless pit of oblivion.

God is wonderful in all his works:

We have only to follow the workings of divine Providence and observe attentively all His wonderful ways and the manner in which He accomplishes and brings out His designs in His own time to be convinced of this. The establishment and progress of our holy religion at Cape Girardeau, state of Missouri, is a new proof that it is God alone who can and does turn everything to His greater honor and glory. Religious prejudice at Cape Girardeau was very bitter and the few Catholics who were at this place were so intimidated that they scarcely dared own themselves publicly as such. The place was the residence of the Spanish Commandante, himself a Catholic. There are yet living in the vicinity several of the relatives and lineal descendants of the old Commandante, but by intermarrying with Protestants they have all lost the faith and, as is always the case, they are the most bitter enemies of our holy religion. In the face of all this opposition our Lord had designs of mercy for this small but rising place. Let facts speak.

In May 1828, the Rev. John Timon,[1] a priest of the Congregation of the Mission whose Mother-house was established forty miles north of this place in Perry County, Mo., was called by a man who as yet knew nothing of the Catholic religion and who was then under sentence of death at Jackson, the county-seat of this place. The culprit was in chains in a cell of the prison. While reciting to the prisoner the Apostolic Creed an outrageous attack was then and there made by a Baptist preacher on the Rev. J. J. Timon. Rev. J. J. Timon appealed to the public in behalf of the prisoner and stating that the poor man had a right to the services of any clergyman and said that he was there at the request of the prisoner.[2]

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[1] The Life of Rev. John Timon, later Bishop of Buffalo, was written and published by Charles G. Deuther, under the title: *The Life and Times of the Rt. Rev. John Timon, D. D., First Roman Catholic Bishop of the Diocese of Buffalo,* Buffalo, N. F., 1870. Although the Author had communication of a number of Timon's papers, yet his treatment of Father Timon's Life, prior to his elevation to the Episcopacy, is not as complete as could be desired.

[2] Bishop Timon, in his *Diary of our starting the Barrens,* narrates more fully the incident. "In the spring of 1828, Mr. Timon was called to Jackson, Cape Girardeau Co., about thirty miles from the Seminary, to see a murderer, who was under sentence of death, but who refused to receive any clergyman. The priest started immediately, arrived at night fall, sought admission to the prison, but on various pretexts admission was refused until the Baptist minister, Mr. Green, editor of the village newspaper and all-powerful there, was ready, with a band of anti-catholic bigots, to enter into the prison with the priest. Mr. Timon appealed to the jailer for privilege of speaking alone and in private to the condemned man on affairs of his own conscience. It was refused. The culprit lay on straw strewn over the clay floor in the dungeon, chained to a post fastened. Finding that he would only be allowed to speak in the presence of the hostile crowd, the priest laid down on the straw with the prisoner, and began in a clear and loud tone which all might hear, to expound to the poor man the truths of religion—the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, future rewards and punishments, the Redemption and the Sacraments. The culprit who, up to that moment, had laughed at all religious teaching, seemed deeply affected; tears flowed from his eyes; and the priest, judging the first lesson to be sufficiently long, fatigued, too, by the journey over a rough road, without eating from early in the morning till nine at night, told the prisoner that he would end the instruction by reciting with him the Apostles' Creed. The condemned man said the Creed aloud with the priest, until both had recited the words, 'And in Jesus Christ His only Son our Lord.' Green, the Baptist minister, then rushed and said: 'Do not deceive that poor man; do not make him lose his soul by teaching him the commandments of men.' 'Mr. Green,' said the priest, 'I am teaching him the Apostles' Creed. Do not you also hold that venerated Creed?' 'Oh!' he replied, 'but your Chudch is that idolatrous one that worships images and that gives to Mary the homage due only to God.' The priest replied: 'Mr. Green, not long since I preached in the Court House of this village on the very subject you now touch. I proved the charges against the ancient Church to be foul calumnies. You were present. I then called upon anyone, who could deny the truths which I announced, to come forward and show if there were any flaw in the evidence which I brought to prove that Catholics had been cruelly and most unjustly calumniated. You were silent. Surely that was your time, not this, when I am preparing an unhappy man who has sent for me, to aid him in meeting a death so certain

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In consequence of this attack and the appeal of Rev. J. J. Timon a religious discussion and controversy was held at the Courthouse in Jackson. The Hon. John D. Cook, judge of the circuit court, was appointed moderator.[3] The Baptist preacher (Mr. Green) took as his assistant and associate Mr. G. D., circuit attorney of the district. After three hours' animated discussion the preacher and his assistant were completely dumbfounded. G. D., the assistant, first left the place. His principal soon followed and left the field to the Rev. J. J. Timon. The audience remained and the Rev. J. J. Timon in a discourse of half an hour drew his conclusions to the entire satisfaction of the audience. This was the first triumph for the Catholics at Jackson. Could it have been followed up great good could have been done. But labourers were wanting.

The same day a timid Catholic made his confession in a room of the tavern. A Protestant had three of his children baptized. The Protestants who were, previous to this, at variance and disputing among themselves made peace and united by the advice of their ministers to resist what they considered the common enemy.

Many were fully convinced of the truth of Catholicity. Mr. Ralph Dougherty had listened to the controversy and noted its consequences; he was resolved for himself. Mr. H. S., brother-in-law of Ralph Dougherty being clerk of the circuit court, invited the Rev. J. J. Timon or any of the priests, when at Jackson, to make use of his house as their home. A few days after this the Rev. J. J. Timon without any opposition visited the poor prisoner whom he instructed and baptized, and the poor man was shortly after executed.

From this time until 1832 little was done at the Cape. Some occasional visits were made to the family of Mr. L. Byrne, a good Irish Catholic four miles southwest of the Cape. This was the only place Mass was said in the vicinity for some years.

Sept. 4th 1832. (Here I find no notes from 1828 to 1832).

Mr. Dougherty sent Mr. Marvain on the 24th of September 1832 on express to the Barrens, Perry Co., to call the Rev. J. J. Timon to baptize said R. Dougherty. This being near the time of the exhibition and distribution of premiums at the College, Rev. J. B. Tornatore,[4] then Superior, could not consent to the departure of Rev. J. J. Timon at that time.

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and so near.' The minister, after some vague and insulting charges challenged the priest to meet him in the Court House next day and to discuss before the public the merits of their respective religions. The priest accepted the challenge. The minister immediately claimed the privilege of saying night prayers, knelt with his myrmidons, and made a long extemporaneous prayer, in which, among the insulting things, he prayed thus: 'And, O God of mercy, save this poor man from the fangs of Anti-Christ, who now seeks to teach him idolatry and the vain traditions of men.' When he had finished, the priest, at the top of his voice, cried to the crowd that then filled the dungeon: 'Gentlemen, is it right that in a prayer to the God of Charity and of truth this gentleman should introduce calumny against the majority of Christians?' A deep silence proved that all felt the appeal. It was late at night; the Sheriff required all to leave the dungeon. On quitting it the preacher renewed his challenge, and it was arranged that meeting should take place in the Court House."

[3] "Each one was to speak only for half an hour at a time" (Timon's *Diary*).

[4] Born in Liguria, not far from Nice, in 1763, entered the Congregation of the Mission at Rome, on January 6, 1804; and after his novitiate, the completion of his studies and his ordination, was sent to Tivoli, where he remained only for a short time, the French occupation of the Papal States obliging all religious bodies to disband, and their members to return to their respective homes. The fall of Napoleon once more opened to him the way to Rome, and he arrived at Monte Citorio March 1, 1815. After another sojourn at Tivoli, he was called back to the Eternal City to teach Dogma and act as Director of the *Convitto* of the Propaganda. Students—the work, it will be remembered, of Father De Andreis before

The exhibition took place on the 26th of Sept. 1832. On the next day, the 27th, the Rev. J. J. Timon started for the Cape, where he arrived at dark, found Mr. Marvain, his wife and three children residing in Mr. Dougherty's house, and was informed that Mr. Dougherty was sick at his father's house, two miles below on the river. Father Timon took a small boat immediately and arrived at the elder Mr. Dougherty's and stayed there all night instructing Mr. Dougherty and family. Finding that Mr. Dougherty had been recently separated from his wife, the next morning early Rev. J. J. Timon started to see Mrs. Dougherty who resided at her father's house, Major B., to bring about, if possible, a reconciliation. Unable to accomplish his charitable design, Rev. J. J. Timon baptized here an infant child of Mr. R. Rougherty, which was then with the mother, and returned next day to the Cape, about twenty-two miles, and after due instruction baptized Mr. R. Dougherty and three of his children. The next day, at the Cape, in Mr. R. Dougherty's house he heard privately the confessions of the Marvain family, baptized a son of Miles Doyle, one of the first Catholic settlers. Then such was the prejudice of the place that he did not dare to say Mass publicly. So that the first time the Holy Sacrifice was offered at the Cape it was secretely and in the presence of only a few Catholics.

In the month of October 1832, Mr. R. Dougherty took his three children, viz., two boys and a girl to the Seminary at the Barrens. The boys were placed in the College and the girl at the Sisters' School. Before Mr. R. Dougherty could obtain the consent of his wife to this arrangement he was forced to give a certificate in writing stating that Mrs. Dougherty, his wife, could at any time visit her children without molestation or any hindrance. But the prejudices of the mother were too strong to bear this. In November Mrs. Dougherty came to the convent.[5] She had some men stationed around as guards. She persuaded the boys to leave with her and she took the three home. When the father heard of this he was furious. Rev. J. J. Timon kept him tranquil for some time by letters; but this state of things was too much for poor R. Dougherty. It preyed on his mind to think that he could not have the management and education of his own children. In the month of January, 1833, his excited mind having brought on frenzy, he made an attack on the house of Major B., his father-in-law, at whose house the children were kept. In the affray R. Dougherty was wounded and taken prisoner and confined in the jail at Jackson. Mr. R. Dougherty refused to have his wounds dressed or to hear any reason; the only person that could have any control over the poor man, they said, was Father Timon. Consequently Mr. Evan Dougherty, the brother of the afflicted man, started to Perryville to see Father Timon. No sooner does the charitable Missioner hear of the trouble of his friend and child in Christ, than he starts for Jackson. On the 30th of January he arrives and finds Mr. Ralph Dougherty confined in the same cell with a man who was sentenced to death for murder. Rev. Father Ti-

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his departure for America—, and four years later (1820) Novice Master at Monte Citorio, where he remained only a short while, for we find him afterwards successively at Perugia, and once more at Tivoli. He was at Monte Citorio, and probably destined to the house of Civita-Vecchia, according to the wish of Pope Leo XII, when Bishop Rosati, who had long desired to have him for Superior at the Barrens, succeeded in obtaining him from the Superior General in 1829. He landed in New Orleans in April 1830, and reached the Seminary during the summer; there he received on January 6, 1831 his appointment to the office of Vice-Visitor of the American Lazarists, while Bishop Rosati made him his Vicar-General. Relieved of the Superiorship at the Seminary in the fall 1837, he continued to reside there, teaching theology with great success until his death, at a ripe old age.

[5] "Bethlehem" the house of the Sisters of Loretto at Perryville.

mon succeeded in calming Mr. R. Dougherty, and as soon as he had his wounds dressed and procured comfort for Mr. Ralph Dougherty, Father Timon turned his attention to the unfortunate man who was to be executed the next day. This poor fellow had come to the sad conclusion to die drunk. Father Timon commenced to talk to the prisoner, but found him so much under the influence of liquor that all advice was lost on him. He was not capable of being instructed. Father Timon had all the liquor removed from the jail and requested the jailer not to let any more enter the jail that night. The next morning before day, Father Timon sent to the sheriff and obtained the keys of the jail, and entered the prison before any liquor could be brought to the culprit. This poor man now listened attentively to the instructions given by the holy priest. He was greatly moved. The light of hope and confidence in the mercy of God entered his soul. He professed his belief in Jesus Christ, was filled with sorrow for his past errors, shed an abundance of tears. Fr. Timon continued with the poor man and baptized him about an hour before he was led to execution. Oh! the mercy of God to come to the help of this poor man in his very last hour!

Father Timon now returned to Mr. Ralph Dougherty and succeeded in calming him completely. He then went to Major B., affected a reconciliation, obtained Mr. Dougherty's release from prison and persuaded Mr. R. Dougherty to absent himself for a time from the scene of his troubles (Jan. 31, 1833). Mr. Dougherty consented and went to New Orleans, where his health and mind was completely restored.

January 31st 1833, the old Mr. Dougherty, father of Ralph Dougherty, made his confession and was received into the Church. He became a fervent Catholic. Father Timon was again called to the Cape on the 16th of February 1833. On the next day he baptized the family of Mr. Jeremiah Able, the son-in-law of the old Mr. Dougherty and on the 18th of the same month, baptized at Jackson Paul Dougherty, oldest son of Mr. Sanford, Mr. R. Dougherty's brother-in-law.[6]

Previous to Mr. Ralph Dougherty going to New Orleans, Rev. J. J. Timon prevailed on Mr. Ralph Dougherty to give up the youngest child to the care of its mother. During Mr. Ralph Dougherty's absence his father-in-law, Major B., pushed on a law-suit against Ralph Dougherty for more than $2,000.00. Ralph Dougherty not appearing to defend the suit, judgment was given against him, and all his property was levied upon.[7]

March 24th 1833. Mr. Henry Sanford, clerk of the circuit court, and brother-in-law of Mr. Dougherty, comes on express to the Seminary of the Barrens and relates to Rev. Timon all that Major B. had done during Ralph Dougherty's absence, stating that he, H. Sanford, had offered Major B. all of Mr. Ralph Dougherty's property, on which he, Major B. had already levied, if he would give a receipt in full for all his claims against Ralph Dougherty. This Major B. refused to do. Mr. H. Sanford here declared that he now saw plainly that Major B. intended to have Ralph Dougherty's property sacrificed at sheriff sale;

[6] "Ralph Daugherty's conversion, followed by that of several members of the Sanford family in Jackson, alarmed the enemies of the Church. Mr. Dougherty became the object of persecution. In the interim the same missionary (Father Timon) had begun a Mission in Cape Girardeau. For six months, on each visit, he would say Mass, very privately at 6 A. M. and give Communion to a few converts; then at 9, he would begin catechism for all the children he could collect, and at 11, preach for the great many Protestants who flocked to hear him. This was done in Mr. Dougherty's house." (Timon's *Diary*).

[7] "It is the most beautiful property in the County. The Seminary (this was true until 1893; now only a college is there) with its noble and spacious grounds, and the beautiful Church of St. Vincent stand on part of it" (Timon's *Diary*).

that, at sheriff sale for cash, and with Major B's influence, the whole property would not in all probability bring more than fifteen hundred dollars, and that Mr. B. would keep the execution open for the balance in order to persecute Ralph Dougherty and imprison him when he pleased. Mr. H. Sanford pressed the Rev. Father Tornatore, then Superior at the Barrens, to purchase the whole property, which he, H. Sanford, offered for the cost and suit about twenty-five hundred dollars, stock and all on the farm. The gentlemen of the Seminary, thinking it wrong to profit by the misfortune of Mr. Ralph Dougherty, they gave Mr. H. Sanford a promise that they would purchase the property if Mr. Ralph Dougherty could do no better, but advised Mr. Sanford to remove the lien on the property and that then, when Mr. Ralph Dougherty was free from force, they would purchase the property at a fair valuation. Mr. H. Sanford returned to Jackson to make arrangements. On the 28th of March Mr. H. Sanford returned to the Seminary with Mr. Ralph Dougherty, who had lately returned from New Orleans. Mr. Ralph Dougherty is very anxious to dispose of his property and being no longer forced by the suit of Major B., the gentlemen of the Seminary enter into arrangements with Messrs. Sanford and Dougherty, and finally conclude to take the property or land alone for thirty-two hundred dollars. The stock makes another and separate contract. Twenty-five hundred dollars is paid on the signing of the deed [8] and by the arrangement of Mr. Ralph Dougherty seven hundred dollars are to be retained by the Seminary for the education, board and lodging of Mr. Ralph Dougherty's sons at St. Mary's Seminary. The Seminary takes possession of the house and property in the city of Cape Girardeau. The father of Mr. Ralph Dougherty, having sold his farms, the gentlemen of the Seminary agree to permit old Mr. Dougherty to live for a time on the farm, rent free.

In April and May, Mr. Ralph Dougherty made frequent visits to the Seminary, lodging for many days at a time. During this time Mr. R. Dougherty made his first Communion and was confirmed.

June 23rd Rev. Father Timon was called to the Cape by Evan Dougherty to see his brother Ralph Dougherty who was very ill. The good priest started immediately. He heard the confession of Ralph Dougherty and that of the old man Dougherty.[9] Hearing that the widow H. Smith was alarmed on account of the cholera, Rev. Father Timon started across the swamp nine miles to visit this good family, consoled them and then returned by a circuitous route to Jackson. It was dark when he arrived at Jackson. Here he was informed that old man Dougherty was dead.[10] Rev. Timon although he had ridden on horseback all day, set out immediately for the Cape and arrived at the cabin on the Swamp farm two miles below the Cape. When he arrived there, after ten o'clock P. M.,

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8 "Mr. Timon went to Potosi and negotiated with Mr. John Casey for a loan of $2,000. He went to St. Louis to negotiate it; and in passing by a village, Selma, got a rich protestant, Capt. J. N. White, to endorse the draft. When the Rt. Rev. Bishop [Rosati] first saw Mr. Timon, he showed anger at the purchase of which he had heard; but when he found that the purchase money had been found without calling upon him, he was much pleased" (Timon's *Diary*).

9 "Mr. Timon, returning from New Madrid, stopped at evening at the log-house of the aged Dougherty; as it was full of company, all protestant, the late convert walked out in the garden to unburden his conscience to his spiritual father" (Timon's *Diary*).

10 "He stopped there to refresh himself and to feed his horse, about 8 p.m. Just as he was starting to ride, as very commonly he had to do, all night, a messenger came to tell him that the old man had been struck with the cholera, and begged his spiritual father, to return. Through the rain, which began to fall, the priest hastened to the cabin, in the wild forest, which he had left a few hours before. Mr. Dougherty was already dead (*Ibid*).

he found the old man Dougherty a lifeless corpse, still in the same bed in which he had expired, his wife and family sleeping by and around the dead body. There being no other bed in the house, Rev. Timon, exhausted with fatigue, took some rest on the same bed with the cholera corpse.[11] Early in the morning Mrs. Dougherty, the wife of Mr. Dougherty, became a Catholic and made her first confession with great compunction and to the great edification of all present.[12] Father Timon arranged everything for the decent interment of Mr. Dougherty, and on his return to Jackson visited and consoled many cholera patients. Near Jackson, Father Timon administered the sacraments to Mrs. Green, who, to the great surprise of all, recovered. The daughter of Mrs. Green, though yet a Protestant, declared to the neighbors that she had been cured by the Sacrament of Extreme Unction. She declared that as soon as Father Timon finished the prayers, her mother had no more pain and recovered in a few hours her usual health.

On the 6th of July, 1833, at the request of Mr. Samuel Morton, Rev. Father Timon raised and dressed an altar in the brick house in the rear of Mrs. Ellis' house, where Mr. Morton then resided. In this place, Rev. Timon said Mass. Very few Catholics present. He gave the Holy Communion to Mrs. Morton. This is the first time Holy Communion was given publicly at the Cape.

July 7th 1833. Rev. Timon was busily occupied until late at night to arrange an old frame warehouse which stood near the river in front of our house, the former residence of the Spanish Commandante. Having finished and decorated a neat altar and seats for the congregation, the candlesticks and the altar were presented by Mr. Miles Doyle. The next day, July 8th, Rev. Timon celebrated Mass publicly and preached to a large congregation, most Protestants. He was heard with great respect and attention; and could Rev. Timon have remained here, or some priest speaking the English language fluently, all prejudice would have been removed; but for many years those stationed here were foreigners, very holy and zealous men, but not well understood. The old frame house served as chapel for some years. Father Timon before leaving made arrangements to build a good log house at the farm in the swamp, lately purchased from Mr. Ralph Dougherty. The contract was concluded with the Major. The same day Rev. Timon baptized Mr. Jeremiah Able and wife. The Rev. Father Timon went every six weeks[13] to preach at the Cape and say Mass at the frame

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11 "The forest was intensely dark, the rain began to fall in torrents: it was impossible for the priest to resume his journey; it was midnight. The convert (Mrs. Dougherty) kindly prepared a place for him to take his rest; the company had to sleep on the floor; the only bed in the house was occupied by the corpse. It was pushed up against the wall, a clean sheet spread near it, and the Missionary was invited to share the bed of the dead man. He did so, and slept soundly" (*Ibid.*)

12 The *Diary* states that Mrs. Dougherty's conversion, instruction, confession, and baptism took place in the evening, as soon as Father Timon arrived at the house. For, immediately after stating that, on reaching the Dougherty cabin, he found the old man "was already dead" (See Note 8 above), he goes on to say: "The priest said some prayers, and a few words of exhortation. The aged wife of the deceased then declared that she would wish to become a Catholic. After instructing her, as there was but one room, the Missionary requested the company to withdraw, and shelter themselves the best they could, for a few minutes. During that stay he heard the confession of the mourning wife, as she knelt against the bed on which lay her husband who had just breathed his last. The company was then called in, and the old lady was baptized *sub conditione*, and expressed her great consolation at being a member of the true Church." Then follows in the *Diary* the account of the preparations for sleeping the rest of the night, as in Note 9.

13 "At first once in three months, then once a month, Mr. Timon rode down from the Barrens, said Mass ,preached and catechized, with very happy results in dissipating the prejudices of the people" (*Ibid*).

chapel. He had the consolation to have always a large audience. Many children came to catechism and were baptized.

From this time the Gentlemen of the Seminary began to purchase lots in the Cape, and land near it, for fair prices. Poor Ralph Dougherty during the following winter, because again deranged in his mind, though the Seminary had purchased all his stock on the farm—the poor man claimed them again, and to avoid trouble and litigation, little by little the cattle were given up to Mr. Ralph Dougherty, and the seven hundred dollars left for the education of Mr. Ralph Dougherty's children was reclaimed and drawn for by himself and his mother. This sum was paid again, for peace sake, for there was no obligation to pay it. Add to this, the Seminary gave Mr. Dougherty more than another hundred dollars in different ways. (During the remainder of this year nothing particular is mentioned in the kind of journal before me).

October 1835 — Singular Coincidence —

In October, Very Rev. J. B. Tornatore went down very unexpectedly to the Cape, taking with him Rev. J. J. Timon.[14] No priest was expected at this time.[15] Shortly after their arrival[16], Mr. William Watson[17] called on Father Timon, requesting him to visit his mother-in-law, who was very ill, even dangerously ill. To the enquiries made by the priest Mr. Watson replied that neither he, nor his wife, nor his mother-in-law, nor any of the family were Catholics. The Rev. Father Timon started immediately to visit the sick person, but did not take with him the holy oils or ritual. He found the sick chamber thronged with the children and grand-children of the patient, all Protestants. After conversing with the sufferer for some time, instructing her and finding in her all the proper dispositions, for God had touched her heart, and she professed a firm belief in Jesus Christ, and firmly believed in all the holy truths explained to her, Mr. Timon seeing that no time was to be lost, as the person was in great danger, he left the room saying that he would soon return to administer the good lady all the Sacraments necessary for her present situation and to receive her into the Catholic Church. As Rev. Timon left the room Mrs. W. Watson, daughter of the sick woman, followed him and said: "Sir, there is something extraordinary in all this. My mother has never been in a Catholic church, she never but once heard a Catholic priest, she knows nothing of the Catholic doctrine, yet she has for months past been expressing a desire to become a Catholic,[18] and she frequently requested those near her to send for a priest. Last night, in a dream or vision, she said a man, clothed like you are now, entered her room and gave her what I believe you call a crucifix to kiss; at the same time an interior voice said to her, 'Do what this person tells you, and you shall be saved.' She immediately begged of us to send to the Seminary for a priest. But not thinking it necessary, and as it was very inconvenient,

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14 Their purpose was to complete some arrangements regarding the deeds of the property.

15 Because this trip to Cape Girardeau was made about only two weeks after the regular visit.

16 The two priests had reached the Cape at dusk. Mr. Wm. Watson called on Father Timon half an hour later (Timon's *Diary*).

17 "One of the most respectable citizens of the place" (*Ibid.*); he was some years later, elected Mayor of Cape Girardeau.

18 The *Diary* adds here: "Yet she has thought for months that she hears a voice saying almost continually to her: 'If you want to be saved, you must become a Catholic.' She often related this to us, and begged us to send for you; but we thought it only a childish freak of a wandering mind, and we refused."

we declined and tried to put her off. But she could not be pacified, and was just repeating and urging the same request, when we were informed that you had arrived." Rev. Father Timon hastened to procure all that was necessary for the administering of the sick. As soon as he entered the room of the patient, he presented the crucifix to her. All present were struck and observed with what fervor and emotion she pressed the crucifix to her lips. The instructions were made aloud for the benefit of the large company present. The old lady was baptized *sub conditione;* her confession was heard, and in the course of the next day, at her earnest request, all the sacraments were administered to her. She died that night in peace and joy, edifying all around her by her patience and the great confidence she expressed in the mercy of her crucified Savior. Her name was Esther Bradly, widow of Solomon Thorn.[19] The next morning two of her married daughters brought their children to be baptized. It will be seen in the sequel that all the persons in the room at the time—ten or twelve persons—became Catholics.[20]

April 9th 1836. The first colony was sent from St. Mary's Seminary to settle at the Cape. It consisted of Rev. John M. Odin,[21] Mr. J. B. Robert,[22] a Postulant, with Harry, his wife Minty and their child Juliana.[23] Under the

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19 "The priest enquired something about her antecedent life, and was told that she had always been distinguished for charity to the poor and sick. It was this, no doubt, that drew down a special mercy on her last end" (*Ibid.*).

20 "Many years after (1840), when there was a fine stone church of St. Vincent on the same spot, the Right Rev. de Forbin-Janson confirmed the last convert of that family" (*Ibid.*),

21 John Mary Odin, born February 25, 1800, at Ambierle, then in the Diocese of Lyons, France. After his classical studies first at Verrieres, he entered the Seminary of l'Argentiere for his philosophy, and thence the theological Department at Alix, where he received subdeaconship in 1821, and decided, early in the next year to enlist for the American Missions. Arrived at the Barrens in August 1822, with five companions, he completed there his theological studies, and was ordained to the priesthood by Bishop Du Bourg, May 4, 1823. Meantime (November 8, 1822) he had entered the Novitiate of the Lazarists. After his Ordination he remained at the Seminary, occupied in teaching and in the care of the parish. After his short stay at the Cape, he went back to the Seminary, which he left in 1840 for the Texas Missions. He was made, March 6, 1842 Vicar Apostolic of Texas, the title being changed a few years later into that of Bishop of Galveston. In 1861 Bishop Odin was transferred to the Archbishopric of New Orleans. In 1869 he went to Rome to attend the Vatican Council, but falling sick in Rome he left the Eternal City for his natal home in Ambierle, where he died in May 1870. There has been published in French a life of Bishop Odin: *Vie de Mgr. Jean Marie Odin, Missionaire Lazariste Archevêque de la Nouvelle-Orléans.* Paris 1896.

22 Like Bishop Odin, John Baptist Robert was a native of the Diocese of Lyons, and born in 1800. He came to America in 1835 with a number of French and Italian ecclesiastics brought by Father Odin. The following year he entered the Congregation of the Mission. It was very likely to learn English he was sent to the Cape at the same time as Father Odin. He was ordained by Bishop Rosati in 1839 and remained at the Barrens, where he worked as assistant pastor until his death, February 4, 1835. See *Catholic Cabinet,* Vol. II, p. 704; *United States Catholic Magazine and Monthly Review,* April 1845 p. 270.

23 "Heavy rains made all the creeks so high as to necessitate swimming. There was much difficulty. Mr. Timon swam across on horseback, examined, found a less difficult pass, recrossed, and brought over Mr. Odin and the company. All had to remain over night at Jackson, ten leagues from the Seminary. Early in the morning the Visitor (Father Timon; he had been appointed in 1835 Visitor of the Lazarist Province in America) started to say Mass, according to appointed time, in Cape Girardeau: the rest, who were much fatigued, remained to take breakfast. He (Father Odin) reached the Cape, twelve miles distant, at 11 a. m., during the Mass. Mr. Timon introduced Mr. Odin to the congregation as their future pastor, and alluded, as far as the well known humility of Mr. Odin permitted, to the virtues, learning and zeal of the pastor whom God gave them, and to the great services he had already rendered to religion, with hopes that Providence prepared for Cape Girardeau through him still greater blessings" (*Ibid.*).

To the above details must be added the following, which shows vividly one of the outstanding features of Father Timon's character,—the man of decision: "Some persons," goes on the *Diary's* narrative, "of bad and impure life had, without even asking permission, located themselves in an out-house; nor could the Visitor get them out by process of law that might require one or two months' time. He consulted Protestant friends skilled in the law and who already leaned to Catholicity: by their advice, and by them under his authority, the house was pulled down whilst the inmates had gone visiting; and thus Mr. Odin was saved from annoyances and responsibility."

charitable and zealous administration of Rev. Odin, the Congregation began to assume a form at the Cape. The Protestants were impressed with love and respect for the holy priest. The name of St. Vincent de Paul was given to the new and rising congregation. When Rev. Odin arrived at the Cape, the inhabitants generally manifested great satisfaction on seeing a priest stationed among them. The number of Catholics was but small. The families then known as belonging to the Church were those of Nicholas B. Miles, nine persons in number; Mrs. Nathan and her son-in-law, eight persons; Mr. Marto and two children (all the above recent immigrants from Maryland); Bernard Layton and family, five in number; James B. Hagan's family, seven in all; the widow Marvin's, four in number, lately from Perry County; John Mattingly and family, four in number, lately from Kentucky; Miles Doyle, an old resident of this place, who left Ireland when young; John Roach, who had to fly from Ireland, being a United Irisman (this man's brother, a priest, was shot by the Orange men; John was kneeling on his coffin to be shot when his reprieve came from the King); Mrs. Hannah Smith, eleven in family, from Maryland; Jeremiah Able and his mother-in-law, converts, six in number at Jackson; Mrs. Sanford and three children; two daughters of Nathan Vanhorn who were converted and baptized at Bethlehem Convent whilst at school there; the widows Atwell and Green; John Corvelle, nineteen in family, which makes altogether eighty-seven Catholics at the Cape and environs, consisting of adults, children and servants. Every Sunday the small frame chapel was crowded, and frequently on great festivities it could not contain all that came from a great distance.[24] Those of different denominations composed the greater number of the audience. They expressed a great desire to hear the word of God explained by the priest; so much so that even when a Protestant preacher held meeting in the school house, many preferred going to the Catholic chapel. They always acted with becoming decorum and listened most attentively to the explanations of holy tenets and ceremonies. Prejudices so deeply rooted in this place semed to die away gradually and even the most strict amongst the different sects declared publicly that it would be useless for them to erect a meeting house[25] as the Catholics would soon draw all the population to their church. However, two years later, they built a Baptist meeting house, which, by the way, has seldom had any regular minister, and this same meeting house has served for every kind of meetings, political speeches, railroad meetings, etc., and it is used by all sects indiscriminately. Rev. Odin was beloved by all and was welcomed whenever he presented himself, and religion was sure to be the topic of conversation wherever he went.

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24 Very early a new church was seriously contemplated. On June 14, 1836, Father Odin wrote to the Visitor: "Mr. Alton will not be able to undertake building our church. Mr. Johnson's house will keep him busy until the month of September, and then he has to build a bridge over at Cape Cruz....Try, therefore, to contract with Valerio. It would be most desirable that steps were taken at once. Our chapel is absolutely too small. A Frenchman from Louisiana, Mr. Gourrier, is decided to settle at the Cape....He subscribed $50.00 for the church; Mr. Mattingly, $25.00; Bishop Rosati has promised $100.00, and the $112.00 of Card. Weld. will furnish us, together with the old subscription, nearly $800.00. I think that, without appealing to Protestants we shall gradually find the funds needed. Once the building is under way, we will have more courage to ask. Some persons whom I went to see told me they had no confidence in subscriptions, and that they would contribute when they see the work begun" (Original in *Catholic Archives of America*, Univ. of Notre Dame, Ind., Case *Lazarists*, L. 28).

25 That it was not so from the outset, is gathered from the above quoted letter of Odin to Timon: "The Anabaptists, thanks to the instructions of Mr. Green, have taken new courage, and again are talking of building their meeting-house."

Mrs. Ellen Atwell, an old lady from Maryland, who had not seen a priest for thirty-three years, availed herself of the opportunity, made a general confession, received Holy Communion and continued faithfully to approach the Sacraments until her death. The following year many attempts were made to induce her to abandon her religion and join some sect; but she remained firm and grateful to God, who had once more given her the chance and means to discharge her religious duties. Mr. John Roach, the Irish refugee, had long resided in this neighborhood, and although he made a profession of the Catholic faith and was an able and warm defender of his faith, yet he had not approached the Sacraments for more than forty years; he was moved by the good example, returned to his duties, made a general confession and became a fervent and exemplary member, frequently walking five miles fasting to hear Mass and approach the Sacraments. The Catholics in general were very fervent and regular in frequenting the Sacraments.

Mrs. Sarah Erving, daughter of the aforesaid Mrs. Atwell, had been baptized in her infancy, but had no recollection of having ever seen a priest; she came for instructions and, after due preparation, made her first Communion. During her long illness, which terminated her earthly career, she gave great edification by her lively faith, patience, resignation to the will of God. Her holy death made a great impression on all who witnessed it.

The catechism was regularly taught every day, when some few children presented themselves. On Sunday the catechism was taught once for the white children, and a second time for colored persons, who manifested a great desire to be instructed, and many became good Catholics. These attended in great numbers. Rev. Odin visited occasionally the few families scattered about the country at Jackson, Moses Byrne's family across the big swamp, Dr. Golden at Commerce, etc. The family of Moses Byrne have all fallen off and have no religion. There were about twenty persons of different ages belonging to Protestant families baptized by Mr. Odin, and many others were preparing when he was recalled to the Seminary on Nov. 3, 1836. A few months before his departure, a few more Catholic families came to reside at the Cape, viz., Mr. John Doyle whose wife was not a Catholic, Thos. B. English, George Boarman and some few others.

Father Odin was succeeded by the Rev. John Boullier[26] and Rev. John Rosti.[27] Brother Daniel Harrington accompanied them to take charge of the

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[26] John Bouillier was born at Roanne, in the Diocese of Lyons, of a well-to-do family, on September 12, 1801. He was studying theology in the Diocesan Seminary when, a band of volunteers being formed for the American Missions, he joined it, and came to the Barrens in March 1824. Shortly after, he begged admittance into the Congregation, was received the 7th of December 1825, and was ordained a few months later. He was then sent to Old Mines, where he worked with great success, remaining until 1831, when, after his father's death, he had to go to France to settle his family affairs. After his return he stayed again for a while at Old Mines. On leaving Cape Girardeau, he was stationed at Donaldsonville, La. About 1850, owing to the precarious condition of his health, broken down by twenty-five years of missionary labors, he was sent back north, and later on, called to the Mother-House, in Paris, where he died.—His letter of appointment to Cape Girardeau is dated November 13, 1836.

[27] Was one of the young Milanese who, at the invitation of Bishop Du Bourg, came to America in company with Father Rossetti. He was then twenty years of age. Some time after coming to the Barrens (January 5, 1819), he joined the Lazarist Community, made his novitiate under Father Rosati, continued his studies and was ordained in October 1821. He first was sent to Lower Louisiana, on account of his frail constitution, and was, some time later (1826) appointed Pastor of the Parish of Grand Coteau, and Director of the House of the Ladies of the S. Heart in that parish. He remained there until 1833. He died at the Barrens the 14th of January 1839.

swamp farm. John Hutcheson and family, together with some work hands for the farm arrived the same day that Mr. Odin left the Cape. The number of Catholics began to increase. Rev. John Boullier repaired the house and garden in a very neat manner. He conciliated to himself the respect and esteem of all the inhabitants of the city and vicinity. Rev. Boullier began to make preparations for the erection of a new Catholic church when he was called to the Seminary at the Barrens.

February 2nd 1837. During this year 1837 the Cape was visited from time to time by Rev. Timon as formerly. It was on one of these visits that Mrs. Sarah Watson, wife of Wm. Watson, in consequence of what she had seen and heard at the death of her mother, as related above, applied to Father Timon, who was at the Cape on a visit of charity, to be received into the Catholic Church. Her request was granted; she was instructed and baptized by Father Timon that same day, and after some time made her first Communion. She has always persevered and remained a fervent Catholic. This family has been the constant friend of priests, and was of great assistance to our Missionaries in the commencement at the Cape. It was these good people who took care of the chapel and of the priests when sick. They still live near the church (Sept. 23, 1861).

March 17th 1838. Rev. John Brands[28] was sent to the Cape to replace Rev. John Boullier. The number of adults, viz., those who had made their first Communion was, at Cape Girardeau and vicinity, forty-three; of those who had not made their first Communion about the same: in all about eighty-six persons.

April 2nd 1838. Mary, the wife of Mr. John Doyle was baptized *sub conditione,* and on the same day, Easter Sunday, she made her first Communion. April 29th 1838, the Rt. Rev. Joseph Rosati, Bishop of St. Louis, gave confirmation at the Cape to ten persons, among whom were three converts, viz., Mrs. Doyle, Mrs. Wm. Watson and Mrs. Garaghty.[29] This is the first time Confirmation was administered at the Cape. April 30th 1838, the Rt. Rev. Bishop Rosati laid and blessed the cornerstone of the new church, assisted by the very Rev. John Timon, the Revs. Brands and Rosti. A very numerous assemblage of people of all denominations were in attendance and behaved with great respect

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[28] Came to America from the Mother-House in Paris together with Peter Doutreluingne, Van Cloostere, Lefevcre: all were recruits secured by Father De Neckere during his sojourn in Europe. He made his vows on the 10th of December 1829, being then twenty-five years of age. After his Ordination he was missioned to Old Mines, with his fellow-countryman Father Doutreluingne.

[29] He had come to the Cape on the 26th. His *Diary* informs us in detail of all that happened during the five days he stayed in the new parish:

"April 26. Thursday. At half past three in the morning we arrived at Cape Girardeau (he was coming by steamboat from St. Louis). I went at once to the house of the Congregation of the Mission, where the Revs. Brands and Rosti are stationed, together with Brother Harrington. Said Mass in the private chapel of the house. After dinner we went on a walk, and tried to find a site where to build the church, but could not determine on any. Saw Mr. Doyle.

27. Friday. Said Mass in the chapel of the house. A 8 o'clock p.m. Father Timon comes from the Seminary.

28. Saturday. Said Mass in the same place. Examined various sites inside and outside the town; and finally chose for the church to be built a place near the house where the priests of the Congregation are living. Mr. Gibbony donated twenty feet of land alongside the plot where the church is to be erected.

29. Second Sunday after Easter. Said Mass at 6 o'clock in the chapel. At 10 o'clock, we went to the church. Father Brands said a low Mass, after which and the singing of the *Veni Creator Spiritus,* I spoke in English on the Sacrament of Confirmation, and administered the same to ten persons, among whom were three converts; concluded with some advice on perseverance. At 3 p. m., Singing of the Vespers, and Sermon by Father Timon."

and attention. The Bishop preached a long sermon, in which he explained the meaning of the ceremonies used at the blessing and laying of the cornerstone.[30] Mr. Andrew Gibony, not a Catholic, gave the breath of twenty feet of the two lots adjoining ours for the purpose of building the church thereon. On the same day the Bishop baptized the wife of Miles Doyle and rehabilitated their marriage. May 1st Rev. J. Rosti left the Cape, and a short time after the Rev. John Alabau was sent as companion to Rev. J. Brands, but remained only until the feast of St. Vincent, July 19, 1838.

May 29th 1838. Rev. J. Brands crossed the big swamp to bury Moses Byrne. He found there a large number of people collected for the occasion. Before going to the burying ground, Fr. Brands explained the meaning of the ceremonies performed at the funeral and the doctrine of Purgatory and prayers for the dead, and, after having returned to the house, he gave an explanation of the principal points of the Catholic doctrine. This lasted about two hours. All were attentive and pleased. He here baptized the youngest son of Mr. Byrne and two of his grandchildren. The people of this neighborhood were opposed to the Protestants, and particularly displeased with the Methodist preachers who had ben among them, and, being well pleased with what they had heard of the Catholic religion (this was the first time they had ever heard a Catholic priest), they requested Rev. Brands to return among them and preach. To this he agreed and promised to visit them from time to time.

August 29th, Mr. Brands being across the swamp, he preached there for the third time, and hearing that a neighbor of Mrs. Byrne, named John Calhoun, was dangerously ill, and remembering that said gentleman had already listened to the instructions with great interest, and that he had even asked for books to instruct himself, Father Brands went to visit Mr. Calhoun and found him so well disposed and instructed by reading the books lent to him, that, after exhortations, he baptized the good man that same night, and next morning left the sick man very much comforted and resigned. He also baptized at this time a grandchild of Moses Byrne.

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[30] "April 30. Monday. Sail Mass in the same place. At 11, preached to the people on the blessing of the first stone; then, putting on the pontifical robes, we went to the place where the church is to built, and with the customary ceremonies I blessed the first stone, and placed it in the foundations. As a testimony thereof, I enclosed in a glass vial, put into the stone, a paper with the following inscription:

The 30th of April
of the year of the Incarnation 1838,
the 62nd of the declaration of American Independence,
under the Pontificate of Pope Gregory XVI,
Martin Van Buren being President of the U. S.,
Lilburn W. Boggs Governor of Missouri,
the Rt. Rev. Joseph Rosati Bishop of St. Louis,
assisted by Very Rev. John Timon, V. G. of the Diocese,
and Visitor of the Cong. of the Mission,
and of Revs. John Rosti and John Brands, C. M.,
solemnly blessed
this corner stone of the Church
to be built
to Almighty God
under the invocation of St. Vincent de Paul
in the town of Cape Girardeau,

and placed it in the foundations in the presence of a great concourse of people.

In the same hollow of the stone was also placed the last issue of the following newspapers: *Catholic Advocate, Cape Girardeau Patriot and Western Advocate*, and in the glass had also been put a small silver coin of the United States minted last year.

N. B.—The church will be 36 ft. wide, 69 long and 24 high; it is to be of stone."

The next morning, at 6 o'clock the Bishop left Cape Girardeau.

October 18th, Father Brands baptized James Jones, who had instructed himself in the Catholic faith. About a year after, this good man died in fine dispositions and gave great edification during his sickness. — R. I. P.

October 22nd 1838. Our day school, named St. Vincent's Male Academy, was opened with only a few scholars. Mr. M. Flinn was the first teacher.

October 23rd. The Sisters of Loretto from Bethlehem Convent, Perry County, arrived at the Cape, seven in number, with six boarders whom they brought with them. The Sisters were lodged in our house, where they remained until July of the next year. The priests removed to the small house on the opposite side of the street, which had been lately purchased from Mr. Jones. In July the Sisters removed to the house purchased for them from Mr. J. Doyle. The good Sisters commenced their school in the new house with as little human prospects as we had commenced our school for boys. Many of the citizens were still very much prejudiced against us. John McLane, a Presbyterian preacher, did all in his power to oppose our schools, and for this purpose he opened a school for boys and girls. However, his preaching and teaching so much displeased the people, that he lost all popularity and had, after some time, to give up his school and pulpit. Both our schools increased gradually and were the cause of great good in the way of removing prejudice.

November 2nd, Rev. Brands, at the request of Mr. John Doyle, paid a visit to the family of Mr. S. Glascock. Two of his children were very ill. Mr. Glascock permitted the children to be baptized. One of the children died in a short time and is now in bliss. The family of Mr. Glascock were strong Methodists, but since the death of their child they inclined to the Catholics.

During this year four marriages have been rehabilitated, and several children of Protestants have ben baptized. The number of Paschal Communions at the Church of St. Vincent, Cape Girardeau, was thirty-five. Three of these were first Communions.

At the station of Jackson, where Mass was celebrated once a month, the number of those who had made their first Communion was fourteen, of those who had not made it, eighteen; thirty-two in all. The number of adults and communicants at the station Tiwopity Bottom was fourteen, of non-communicants, thirteen; in all twenty-seven. Paschal Communions in all the Missions were fifty-one. During the year there had been but five deaths in the three places, viz., three adults and two children.

1839. The number of adults in the Congregation of Cape Girardeau at the commencement of this year was fifty-eight; of these many had not made their first Communion. The number of communicants at Jackson was twelve; those who had not made their first Communion, eighteen; Paschal Communions, nine. At Tiwopity Bottom twenty-two communicants; four first Communions. So that in the three places the Paschal Communions were seventy-five. The deaths at the three places were ten; two children and eight adults. Number of marriages, five.

January 11th 1839. Mr. Wm. Watson, son-in-law of Mrs. Esther Thorn, above mentioned, became very ill, desired to be received into the Church. Rev. Father Brands, after instructing him, heard his confession and baptized him *sub conditione*. He recovered, and remains a fervent and exemplary Catholic yet. (August 24, 1861).

February 3rd 1839. Rev. Brands was called to the farm of Mrs. Smith, where he instructed and baptized several persons of color, some children and adults. Owing to the opposition of the parents, and not to cause trouble to the children, some were baptized privately and remained Catholics until of age to act for themselves. Of these many persevered.

New Church finished at Cape Girardeau. July 21st 1839. Bishop Rosati of St. Louis consecrated the new church, a neat stone building with cut stone front and a neat steeple. There were as yet no pews and only a few benches. There were more than five hundred persons assembled from every direction and of all denominations. Whilst the ceremonies were performed with closed doors, the very Rev. John Timon addressed the large assemblage in the open air on the meaning of the ceremonies of the consecration and dedication of the church, then proceeding in the interior of the church. He also preached an appropriate sermon during the Mass in his own happy and eloquent manner. A handsome collection was then taken up, which would have been much greater, had it been previously made known.[31] Solemn Vespers were sung in the evening and the Benediction given with the Bl. Sacrament. Here again the very Rev. Timon preached. His discourse was on a moral subject and very moving; all were deeply impressed with the necessity of leading a holy and moral life. On this day Rev. Timon baptized a child of Mr. J. Morrison and a son of Nicholas Doyle. Mr. John Hutcheson's son was also baptized.

July 22nd, the Rt. Rev. Bishop gave Confirmation to six persons,[32] three of whom were converts. Mr. Wm. Watson, on this same day, made his first Communion and was confirmed. On this same day Mrs. C. Massey, a daughter of Mrs. E. Thorn, being moved by the conversion of her mother and by the sermons of the preceding day, applied to be baptized, but as she was not sufficiently

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31 Here again we may supplement this short account by the lengthy entry of Bishop Rosati in his *Diary*. The Bishop, who had celebrated the feast of St. Vincent de Paul at the Barrens, and started, with Father Paquin at three o'clock that afternoon, arrived at the Cape about noon of the 20th. Here is now his narrative of the events of that memorable day: "In the morning at half past five, I came with all the clergy to the chapel where, on the day before, had been brought and enclosed in a nicely adorned Reliquary, the relics of St. Paul and St. James the Lesser, Apostles, St. Vincent de Paul, Confessor, and St. Catherine, Virgin and Martyr, which were to be placed in the altar to be consecrated; and whilst the clergy recited the seven penitential Psalms, I put on the pontifical vestments, and, accompanied by the Very Rev. John Timon, Vicar General of the Diocese and Visitor of the Congregation of the Mission, Assistant Priest; Rev. Bartholomew Rolando, C. M., Deacon; Rev. Michael Calvo, C. M., Subdeacon; the Revs. J. B. Tornatore, Joseph Paquin, Francis James Burlando and Jerome Cercos, C. M., master of ceremonies, and Rev. James Fontbonne, we went in procession to the doors of the Church, erected to Almighty God by the priests of the Congregation of the Mission of the American Province. This church is entirely built of stone; it was completed within the space of fourteen months, the corner stone being laid by myself on the 30th of April last year. All the rites prescribed by the Roman Pontifical outside and inside the church being performed, I dedicated and consecrated it, together with the main altar in which I reverently enclosed the afore-mentioned Relics. Said Relics were carried by Rev. Hippolytus Gandolfo and Rev. Michael Demenech, priests of the Congregation of the Mission, Mr. Thomas Burke, Deacon C. M. and Mr. John Cotter Subdeacon, C. M., all in dalmatics. Various offices were performed also by Rev. John Brands, C. M., Rector of the Parish, Rev. Peter Doutreluingne, C. M., Rev. Eud. Estany, C. M., Messrs. Michael Collins, Deacon C. M., Nicholas Stehle, Subdeacon C. M., and John Broyderick, Cleric C. M. The Consecration finished, I blessed also the Sacred linen and the ornaments of the altar. Whilst I was performing the sacred rites, inside the church and with the doors closed, the Very Rev. John Timon addressed the large assemblage of people who had come to the ceremony from town, and from the neighborhood on both sides of the river, many of whom were non-Catholics; he explained these rites, brought forth their mystical meaning, and vindicated them from protestant calumnies. Finally, putting on the Pontifical vestments for Mass, I celebrated solemnly, the Revs. P. Doutreluingne and E. Estany assisting as Deacons of honor."

32 The Bishop, in his *Diary*, says seven persons.

instructed, this was postponed. She prepared and after full instructions she was baptized some weeks later.

Sept. 8th, Rev. Brands visited a poor family living in one of the houses belonging to the Congregation. They were living in great misery. Some pious ladies visited this poor family and gave them food and clothing. The next day the mother, who had been well instructed whilst at the Convent in Kentucky, was baptized with her two children. The mother and infant died a few days after.

September 15th 1839. Rev. J. Brands, by permission of the very Rev. J. Timon, blessed the chapel of St. Francis of Sales, and the grave-yard attached to it, in Tiwopity Bottom, Scott County, Missouri, about two hundred persons present. They were all pleased with the two sermons preached by the Rev. J. Brands on the occasion. Every time Mass is said at that place, the number of persons present is large, and all are respectful and very attentive.

Rev. Mr. Brands baptized Mary J. Rourke, a boarder at the Convent; this was at the request of her father who was an Irishman, living at Ft. Adams, Miss. Mr. Wm. Byrne, son of Moses Byrne, residing across the Big Swamp, was very ill, and though a man grown, had not been baptized. Rev. Healy, in the absence of Rev. Brands, went and baptized Mr. Byrne.

November 10th 1839. Rev. Brands, having previously instructed the two elder daughters of Silas Cook and his niece, baptized them, and also the daughter of Dr. Thos. Byrne. — December 4th 1839, Rev. Mr. Brands, having heard that old Mrs. Gibony was very ill, went to visit her, and in the course of conversation found that she had been a very strict Methodist, but she was not satisfied in mind. Rev. Brands instructed her. He soon found that she had been reading our books and was a Catholic at heart. She expressed a desire to be baptized a Catholic. The following day, Mr. Brands baptized her *sub conditione*, heard her confession, and gave her Holy Communion and Extreme Unction. She lived only a few days, and was very patient and edified all by her holy death. She departed this life in the eightieth year of her age. — December 12th Mr. Brands baptized two children of Andrew Gibony at the request of their mother.

Since the consecration of our church and now that we have services regularly, and that the service is performed in every way conformable to the rites of the Church, prejudices are greatly removed. Many express a desire to become Catholics, and conversions are very numerous, and our schools, notwithstanding the constant opposition, are gaining in public estimation, and the number of scholars is daily increasing.

1840. The number of communicants this year at Cape Girardeau is sixty-nine, of non-communicants eighty-two; communicants at Jackson sixteen, non-communicants thirty-three; at Tiwopity Bottom twenty-five communicants. The number of first Communions at the three places is nineteen. Number of Easter Communions at Cape Girardeau seventy-six, at Jackson eleven, at Tiwopity Bottom thirty-seven; total one hundred and twenty-four. Wonderful increase in a few years!

Mr. John Atwell, wife and child, all converts, are baptized by Father Brands at their own request. This good family had been long convinced of the truth of the Catholic Religion, but the edifying death of a relation obtained for

them the grace to overcome all human respect, the great cause of many not acting up to their convictions. Many others were encouraged by this good example.

Feb. 14th. Elizabeth Johnson, a daughter of J. Curry Watson, had, notwithstanding her conviction of the truth, always deferred being baptized; but falling dangerously sick, she sent for the priest and was baptized with her child. A lady present wished to be baptized, but not being instructed she was put off until the 8th of March. She was then baptized together with a son of Chas. Thorn of Illinois. Mr. C. Thorn is a son of Mrs. Esther Bradly, mentioned before. He is also desirous to be baptized; also his sister, Mrs. Thompson.

March 5th[33] 1840. The Rt. Rev. Bishop Rosati arrived here accompanied by Rev. J. Odin, on their way to New Madrid, and as the Bishop was to start shortly for Europe, Rev. Brands requested him to give confirmation at the Cape on their return trip from New Madrid. The 5th of April[34] was appointed for this day. Rev. Brands prepared all those whom he could collect together. On the appointed morning, eleven persons were present, six of whom were to make their first Communion. But the Bishop being detained on his way, they were disappointed, for that day all heard Mass and went to Communion and kept themselves in readiness for the arrival of the Bishop. The good Bishop arrived during the night.[35] Word was sent immediately to all and they came early the next day to the church. The Bishop, although much exhausted with fatigue, said Mass, confirmed all and gave them a very touching discourse. Among the eleven confirmed were six converts.

April 19th 1840 being Easter Sunday, we had twenty-two Communions at early Mass, the greatest number ever had at one time in this place. Among these were three converts who were not prepared to make their first Communion on the first of April. — April 3rd Rev. Brands was called for by a sick woman in the Big Bend, who had never seen a Catholic priest and was totally ignorant of the Catholic Religion. He instructed her and baptized herself and child.

May 24th, Mrs. Matty, who could not be notified in time of the Bishop's arrival, made her first Communion with one other at the Convent.—June 14th, Mrs. Hancock, who was baptized on the eighth of March, but was till now deterred from complying with the duties of her religion, by the persuasions of the enemies of our religion, and given up by the Catholics as a lost sheep, she overcame all these temptations and approached the Holy Table for the first time, and was ever after a fervent and zealous Catholic.

July 8th. His Grace, Charles Augustus Mary Joseph de Forbin Janson, Bishop of Nancy and Toul in France, who, for political reasons, being a relative of Charles X, has been exiled by Louis Philippe of Orleans from his diocese, and is now making a tour of the United States as a Missionary, arrived here at midnight accompanied by Rev. J. Timon. His main object was to see this place and to start from this place for St. Louis by the first steamer, as he was to give Confirmation on the following Sunday at Carondelet, Mo. But as some

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33 This is certainly a mistake. The Bishop's *Diary*, recording day by day the life of the prelate, is, of course, absolutely reliable in every detail. On March 5, Bishop Rosati was in St. Louis, which he left the 21st for Kaskaskia, thence for the Seminary where he arrived on Monday March 23, in the afternoon. He left the Barrens on the 26th, and the same evening reached the Cape.

34 This is scarcely exact, as may be concluded from the following note. If the confirmation took place one day later than the date appointed, the arrangements must have been made for April 1st.

35 He arrived on April 2, at 3 a. m. on the steamship *Joel Pitt;* the confirmation took place at 7 o'clock; and at 3 p. m., the Bishop departed on the *Bowling Green* for St. Louis.

persons had been disappointed by the sudden arrival of Bishop Rosati and were not ready then for confirmation, Bishop Janson consented to remain and to give confirmation at this place after a few hours' rest. He celebrated Mass for those to be confirmed, and gave them a very touching instruction in French, which Rev. Brands interpreted in English. The good Bishop gave Benediction of the Bl. Sacrament in the evening. — July 17th. Those who had been confirmed went to Holy Communion. They were eight in all and all converts. Eliz. J. Johnson and H. Pikley made their First Communion. The good Bishop paid several visits, and edified by his amiable and zealous manner all those with whom he conversed. His description of the Holy Land and the holy places at and around Jerusalem, which he had lately visited, made a very great impression on all, hearing these things from an eye-witness of all he related. Rt. Rev. Janson started the next day for St. Louis.

August 28th. Mrs. Jane Glascock, the wife of Scarlet Glascock, after full instruction was baptized *sub conditione,* made her first Communion. Our holy Religion made great progress and the zealous Rev. Brands was very much esteemed in this place. During the minth of May, 1841, Rev. Mr. Brands was sent to Ste. Genevieve, where obedience called him. The cause of this change was to make place for the novitiate of the Lazarists in this country.[36]

April 20th 1841. It would seem that our Lord has in His goodness great designs for Cape Girardeau. All is arranged to remove the novitiate from the Barrens to the Cape. On the 20th of May, 1841, early in the morning, all was prepared after an early Mass and breakfast. The baggage-waggons were started, and Rev. Paquin, Superior of the Seminary at the Barrens, Rev. T. Amat as Master of Novices, with Rev. J. F. McGerry and Rev. John Larkin as novices and three lay-brother novices set out on horse-back. All arrived safe at the Cape the same day. We found Rev. Timon on the spot ready to receive us with Rev. Brands and Collins. All was soon arranged and a chapel prepared in the old house near the church.

In a few days after our arrival here, we were joined by Rev. Mr. Andrieu and Mr. Patrick Morrison, novices from the Seminary of La Fourche, Parish of Assumption, La. There were now two priests, two students and three brothers in the novitiate. At this same date last year, Mr. McGerry was alone in the novitiate. Since this date, the number has always been on the increase. All the exercises of the novitiate were most exactly followed. Rev. H. Figari was Superior of the house. From this time the ceremonies of the church were performed with greater solemnity and the service was well attended. In the year 1842 the same house was destined to be a preparatory Seminary for those who had a desire to embrace the ecclesiastical state. Rev. Mr. Domenech was made Superior of this institution and Rev. J. Rolando Master of Novices. The day school and the preparatory Seminary were prospering. During this year it was decided to build a College for seculars of Cape Girardeau and then remove the novitiate and litttle Seminary to the Barrens. The bricks were prepared during this and timber for the new College.

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[36] "From Cape Girardeau the Missionary stationed there had gone several times on a Mission to Cairo; a post had been fixed there, with vestments, etc. In the summer of 1840, through the influence of the Visitor with Hon. E. K. Kane and C. P. Menard, Mr. Halbrock, the agent, gave a lot there for a Catholic church, and commenced building a neat frame one, at his own expense" (Timon's *Diary*).

In the spring of 1843 as early as the frost would permit, the stone foundation was commenced. The basement story, eight and a half in the clear, and the walls four feet solid masonry with cut marble front one hundred feet long by fifty wide, three stories above the basement. This building was carried on without any interruption, was roofed in November 1843 and in May 1844 the College was nearly finished; but as Rev. H. Figari had told in March, when he was in Louisiana, that the College would remove to the Cape in May, the groceries for the year were landed at the Cape; consequently it was resolved by Rev. H. Figari to set out for the Cape and take possession of the new College. The refectory was not floored or plastered, no doors made, no benches or desks prepared, not a bed or a bedstead in the house. The order to pack was given, a large number of wagons engaged: beds, books, clothes, etc., were soon in boxes, and on Monday morning, at three o'clock, the line of march commenced. Rev. H. Figari started at the head, the collegians, to the number of seventy-five, in wagons, followed. Then the professors and the prefect, Rev. McGerry, on horseback, brought up the rear. All started in great glee, the band playing lively airs as we passed through Perryville. During the morning all went on very cheerfully. At twelve-thirty, all halted at a creek half way, where we had an abundant dinner of cold ham and cold roast beef. All did justice to the dinner. Rev. H. Figari and a good number set off early, leaving the prefect to see to the provisions and to bring up the rear. Some began to lag behind and lost their wagons. This caused the last wagon to be crowded and overloaded; consequently our march was retarded, and when about two miles from the Cape, we were caught by a severe thunder-storm. The rain fell in torrents and we were all drenched to the skin. It became so dark that the drivers could no longer see the road. They were forced to take the horses from the wagons, and the Collegians had to proceed on foot about a mile, when we came to a poor log-house where we took shelter. But as our provisions were still behind, we had to content ourselves by making a large fire in the cabin and dry ourselves by the fire. All were cheerful and made the best of our position for the night. As soon as they were dried, all, from fatigue, were soon sound asleep on the floor. The horses were better off, for they had a good barn to protect them from the storm.

Early next morning we were moving by time and all in good spirit. Some thirty-five of us set off for the Cape, where they arrived dirty and fatigued for breakfast, which was provided for them by Rev. H. Figari at the house of the Novitiate near the church. During the day, mattresses were arranged on the floor in the spacious dormitories of the new College. The iron bedsteads from Pittsburgh did not arrive for more than a week; the priests' rooms were not furnished. They had to sleep for some nights on pallets on the floor. The doors were not as yet made for the rooms, but after some weeks all was in order. The classes commenced on the Friday after our arrival. Desks were made rapidly and chairs procured for each student.

The number of scholars increased every day. All was going on prosperously. This was a season of continual rain. The river began to rise rapidly in June, and continued rising until the first of July. Such an overflow of the Mississippi had never been seen. It passed the banks and overflowed all the low lands. The water was from eight to ten feet in the Big Swamp. In front of the College the river was eight miles wide and the body of water in the swamp was from

three to six miles wide and eight to ten feet deep. The College being on high ground had nothing to fear.

Our College farm in the swamps was all under water for more than three weeks. All the fine crop of corn and potatoes lost; the fences swept away; many hogs lost and some horn cattle. When the water subsided, it was too late to save anything. For this season all that could be done was to repair the fencing around some fields and sow wheat and grass for the next year. This was done.

Now comes the want, the consequences of the overflow. The bad effluvia from the deposit left by the overflow caused great sickness. There were at one time after the vacation in September more than forty persons sick with chills and fever or bilious fever. For some weeks there were not five persons in the house well enough to nurse the sick. The prefect, Rev. McGerry, and Brother Baigese were the only persons not sick. Good Mr. Figari had the chills every day and as soon as the fever abated was busy assisting to comfort the sick. Two physicians were in constant attendance. Happily we had no deaths. As the cold weather set in the sickness abated, but this had for some time a bad effect abroad. However, in time it was found that the Cape was more healthy than many other places in the Valley of the Mississippi, and far more healthy immediately on the bank of the river than at some distance from it. The students were pleased with the location, and the boys from the South were willing to come to the Cape; as the country around was not much settled, this left plenty of game which afforded them much amusement on days of recreation.

The remainder of the Diary is from now on concerned with the life in the College of Cape Girardeau during the next few years. The pages which we have cited, simple and unadorned, constitute a record which the Catholics of Cape Girardeau may well be proud of, as it shows how, in the space of fifteen years, a fervent little flock grew gradually out of nothing despite of the hostility of bigoted ignorance, and the apathy of widespread indifference. With these healthy signs of vigor exhibited from its very cradle, the later progress of the Church at "the Cape" cannot be an object of surprise, and there is reason to hope for yet greater development.

E. PRUENTE

AN APPEAL

HISTORICAL MATTER DESIRED

by the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis

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Books and pamphlets on American History and Biography, particularly those relating to Church institutions, ecclesiastical persons and Catholic lay people within the limits of the Louisiana Purchase;

Old newspapers; Catholic modern papers; Parish papers, whether old or recent:

We will highly appreciate the courtesy of the Reverend Pastors who send us regularly their Parish publications;

Manuscripts; narratives of early Catholic settlers or relating to early Catholic settlements; letters:

In the case of family papers which the actual owners wish to keep in their possession, we shall be grateful for the privilege of taking copies of these papers;

Engravings, portraits, Medals. etc;

In a word, every object whatsoever which, by the most liberal construction, may be regarded as an aid to, or illustration of the history of the Catholic Church in the Middle West.

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HISTORICAL

We recorded a year ago (Vol. II, p. 32) the foundation and organization of the *American Catholic Historical Association.* Its first annual meeting was held in the New Willard Hotel, Washington, D.C., at Christmastide, December 27—30, 1920. At the same time, in the same city and in the same headquarters was taking place the annual convention of the American Historical Association; and this shoul be understood to be no mere accidental coincidence, but a permanent measure. For some years The American Political Science Association, the American Sociological Society, The Mississippi Valley Association, the Agricultural Society have had the custom to hold their meetings at the same time and place as the American Historical Association. It was felt long ago indeed that by this means, and the intimate relations thus created and fostered, a mutual understanding and gain must be the result.

From the inaugural session in Cleveland, in December 1919, the American Catholic Historical Association had not a moment's hesitation to follow a precedent which experience had shown to result in "mutual assistance, mutual encouragement, a healthier scholarship on both sides, and a more careful appraisal of the past." The fields in which co-operation cannot help bring advantage are several. It has been justly remarked that "Medieval history with the Catholic Church omitted would be almost 'Hamlet' with Hamlet left out." May this not be said as truly of our early American History? Such an authority as Prof. Herbert Bolton, of the University of California is so firmly convinced of it that he has made himself, as it were, the tireless Apostle of this idea. On other fields historical, political, social, friendly relations are bound to be as fruitful of beneficial results for all concerned.

To foster this friendly interchange of ideas, Breakfast, Luncheon and Dinner sessions were provided for either separately, or jointly with other historical groups meeting at the same time. Thus, for instance on Tuesday, December 28, a Luncheon conference was held with the American Historical Association on the Opportunities of Historical Research in the City of Washington. The Luncheon was served in the Library of Congress and followed by a tour through the Library. Another Luncheon conference, the next day, afforded to the members of the Catholic Association an opportunity for an exchange of views with the American Historical Association, on subjects pertain-

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ng to Economic History (English and American); December 30, re-nited once more such members of both organizations as were inter-sted in the History of the Far East, or of Latin America. Let us not mit, besides, the Smoker at the Cosmos Club, and above all, the invi-tion extended to the members of the Catholic Historical Association attend the General Session of the American Historical Association.

An idea of the variety, importance and timeliness of the subjects iscussed in the various sessions held by the Catholic Historical Asso-ation during these three busy days, may be gathered from the papers ssigned to be read at these sessions:

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 28:

1. *Attitude of Science towards Religion from* 1874—1920.
   Rev. Lucian Johnston, S.T.L., Baltimore, Md.
2. *The Catholic Social Movement in France under the Third Republic.*
   Parker Thomas Moon, M. A., Columbia University, New York City.
3. *Benedict XV and the Historical Basis for Thomistic Study.*
   Rev. Henry Ignatius Smith, O.P., Ph. D., The Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.
4. *Opportunities in Historical Fiction.*
   Michael Williams, National Catholic Welfare Council, Washington, D. C.
5. *The Catholic Church in Georgia.*
   Rev. T. A. Foley, Savannah, Ga.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 29:

1. *The Compilation and Preservation of Church Historical Data.*
   Rev. F. Joseph Magri, D.D., Portsmouth, Va.
2. *Rise of the Papal States up to Charlemagne's Coronation.*
   Rev. Joseph M. Woods, S.J., Woodstock College, Woodstock, Md.
3. *The St. Vincent de Paul Society as an Agency of Reconstruction.*
   Rev. Charles L. Souvay, C. M., D.D., Kenrick Seminary, Webster Groves, Mo.
4. *The Personality and Character of Gregory VII in recent Historical Research.*
   Rev. Thomas Oestreich, O.S.B., Belmont Abbey College, Belmont, North Carolina.
5. *The National Catholic War Council.*
   Michael J. Slattery, LL. D., Philadelphia, Pa.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 30:

1. *Sisters and the Care of the Ailing Poor in the United States.*
   James J. Walsh, M.D., LL. D., K.S.G., New York City.
2. *Increase and Diffusion of Historical Knowledge.*
   Rev. Francis J. Betten, S.J., St. Ignatius College, Cleveland, Ohio.
3. *Idealism in History.*
   Condé Benoist Pallen, New York City.
4. *Religious Orders of Women in the United States.*
   Sister Mary Agnes, Ph. D., Mt. St. Joseph Academy, Mt. St. Joseph, Ohio.
5. *The Value of Mexican Archives for the Study of Missionary History.*
   Herbert Bolton, Ph. D., University of California, Berkeley, Calif.

Of the papers dealing with topics of general Church History, othing need be said here, great as is their interest for Catholics at arge. But papers such as that of Dr. Magri on "The Compilation and

Preservation of Church Historical Data" are too closely related to our own ends and purposes to be passed over without a word of comment. The writer rightly insisted that the announcements on Sundays and holydays contain extremely valuable data for history, and that, therefore, contrary to superficial views too often entertained, their preservation is very important. The custom of having the announcements written on flying sheets which afterwards were destroyed or lost, has played sad havoc with the attempts of historical students to get at details of the histories of parishes. Those who are living to-day what to-morrow shall be history seldom realize how interesting and valuable apparently unimportant details may prove to be, even a few generations later.

Every pastor in the land should be made to feel he is not only a maker of history, but also, by his very position, a contributor to the work of future historians. There should be impressed upon him the necessity for making brief, but permanent, records of important events in his parish history; in this regard he can never be too complete, and he should distrust his judgment as to the passing and trivial nature of the items registered. His announcement books should be *books,* solid and substantial enough to stand rough handling and make preservation easy—for, as urged by Dr. Magri, these books, when filled, must be preserved in the parochial Archives. The expression 'parochial Archives' may sound pompous only to such as are not conversant with Ecclesiastical law. It is no product from the mint of history-hobbyists: The law of the Church is imperative and clear on this point:

> The Parish-rector must have (*habeat*) a place for Records, or Archives, in which are to be kept the parish books (of Baptisms, Confirmations, Marriages, Funerals ,and the *Liber Status Animarum*), and also the letters of the Bishop, and other documents which reasons of necessity or of usefulness demand should be preserved. These Archives are to be submitted to the inspection of the Ordinary or his delegate, at the time of the Visitation, or at any other opportune time; and the pastor has the duty to watch religiously that their contents are kept from externs (Canon 470, § 4).
>
> At the end of every year the pastor shall transmit to the Episcopal Curia an authentic transcript of the parish Registers, except the *Liber Status Animarum. (Ibid.* § 3).
>
> The Bishop shall see to it that, of the Archives of Cathedral, Collegiate or parish churches, also of Confraternities and pious places, an inventory or catalogue is made in double expedition, one copy being kept in the respective Archives, and the other in the Episcopal Archives (Can. 383 § 1).
>
> The original Documents must not be taken out of these Archives, except in compliance with the rules laid down in Can. 379,—that is with the permission of the Bishop or of the Vicar General (and, it may be safely asserted, of the Pastor, in the case of Parochial Archives—can 379 deals with Diocesan Archives—), and the Documents should be returned after three days; to the Bishop (or the Pastor, in case of Parochial Archives) is reserved the faculty of proroguing this delay, but he should use this faculty but sparingly. Whoever borrows any Document from the Archives, should leave with the Chancellor a note signed by himself, attesting the fact. (*Ibid.* § 2).

> Documents of parochial ... Archives which need not be kept secret, may be consulted by anyone interested in them; he may likewise obtain an authentic copy of these documents, made at his own expense (Can. 384, § 1).
>
> Diocesan Chancellors, Pastors, and other custodians of Archives must, in communicating documents, taking copies of the same, and giving these copies, observe the rules laid down by lawful ecclesiastical authority; and in case of doubt, they should consult the Ordinary of the place.

A more complete, and wiser Code of rules for the formation and preservation of parish Archives could hardly be devised. Our readers will, no doubt, remember with what tireless zeal Bishop Rosati insisted, in every place where he made the episcopal visitation, upon the establishment, contents and proper care of these parochial Archives. He counted on the information thus collected and garnered, and did not hesitate to request communication of whatever items were necessary to him for working out his reports. So we find him, in a circular of September 6, 1837, asking all the priests of the Diocese to send him for the first week of January 1838, together with their report of catholicity (population, Missions, numbers of infant-baptisms, adult baptisms, conversions, funerals, marriages, first communions, paschal communions), to state: 1° when the parish or mission had been founded or erected, when the church was consecrated or blessed; the list of the Pastors or priests attending the Mission, with the dates of beginning and close of the period of their incumbency. A little later, on January 26, 1839, in the Circular announcing the future Synod to be held in St. Louis on the third Sunday after Easter, a lengthy and detailed questionnaire was sent to every Pastor; among the queries contained in this letter, we may single out the following, whose answer supposed the parish Archives to be complete and kept in good order:

> 6. Does the Church possess and real estate or any other immovable goods? What are they? What is their extent? With whom is vested the title of ownership of the Church, the Rectory, the Cemetery, and other places?
>
> Are there any written deeds of the purchase or donation of these properties?—The Pastors are requested to bring these documents when they come to the Synod.

What the new Code of Canon Law indicates generally by the expression, *aliisque documentis, necessitatis vel utilitatis causa servandis,* as contributing, together with the regular parish registers and the Episcopal letters, to make up the parish Archives, is, from the above, not hard to determine. Let us mention a few items, without aiming at exhaustiveness:

Maps of the Parish;

Charts and plats of the Church property;

Documents and deeds regarding the rights and goods of the Church; even though Canon 1523, 6° recommends the practice of filing

the originals of these papers in the Diocesan Chancery, a certified copy of them should be preserved in the respective Archives. Copies of the decisions of the Court, in case of lawsuit regarding church property, naturally come under this heading. Official Acts regarding the Church and other parochial buildings (laying of corner stone, blessing or consecration; Canon 1158); contracts (for buildings, etc.; with teaching communities, etc.);

Documents concerning foundations (Can. 1548);

Letters of appointment of the Pastors and assistants;

Matrimonial dispensations;

Letters notifying the Pastor of the Parishioners' confirmation, Marriage, Subdeaconship, religious profession (Can. 470 §2);

Accounts of notable events happening in the parish (these might conveniently be entered in a kind of *Parish Diary*) and paper-clippings referring to the same;

Announcement Books.

Parish Periodical.

Need we add that these Parish Archives should be stored in a place as immune from the eventuality of mishap as the locality may offer? A steel safe in a room of a frame house is no adequate protection against one of the greatest agencies of destruction—fire. Why not, in brick or stone churches, provide near the sacristy a little room or vault for the purpose? This has been done lately in some new or re-modelled churches, and the practice ought to be recommended to pastors and church architects. What a wealth of historical material could be thus garnered in every parish, at the cost of very small trouble! Nor will this stock of information remain idle; occasions will arise quite naturally from time to time: a jubilee, an memorial festivity, which will bring to light out of this storehouse part of the treasures it contains, to the great interest and delight of the listeners, for parishioners are always and everywhere keenly concerned about the lore of their parish.

By all means let us gather and preserve religiously every bit of ore likely to yield some day were it only but a speck of the precious metal of history. Time's hand shows itself rough enough; we must not continue, or help the havoc and destruction it has wrought; we should snatch from its clutches whatever has so far escaped its ravages. For this purpose, in part, was, at the instance and under the patronage of the Most Rev. Archbishop, our *Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis,* instituted. Its object, as stated in Art. III, of its Constitution, is "to collect and preserve materials of all kinds.... relating to the Catholic history of the Diocese of St. Louis and of whatever territories and places were at any time associated with St. Louis in the same Ecclesiastical division." Perhaps the verb, *'to preserve',* in the above sentence has not been sufficiently noted. May we not, therefore, respectfully call the attention of those whom it may concern to this portion of our program? If the parish registers and other documents which *they must* keep, absorb all the space available for parish-archives, or if the inadequate protection afforded to their

local treasures makes them afraid of destruction and loss, let not that fear stop them from garnering solicitously; but let them remember we shall gladly *preserve* for them their historical treasures, as long as they will desire or deem useful.

We seem to have drifted afield from the meeting of the Catholic Historical Association in Washington: in reality we were but musing upon Dr. Magri's paper. Professor Herbert Bolton, of the University of California, needs no introduction to our readers, nor indeed to anybody in this country who is acquainted, however so slightly, with the history of Mexico and the Spanish settlements in the southwest section of the United States. His original researches have caused a practical re-writing of many pages of that history, and he has gathreed a store of materials which will renew and increase our knowledge of the early times of those regions. Though himself a non-Catholic, he is never tired of crying from the housetops that the history of North America for two or three centuries after the discoveries of Columbus is the history of the Catholic missions, and that practically three-fourths of the cities of this country have arisen upon foundations laid by the missionaries who bore the torch of civilization at the same time as they carried the cross of Christ into the wilderness of this western hemisphere. Let us hope that the painstaking and persevering efforts of such an enthusiastic and accomplished scholar will at last stir the unconcern of the authors of popular text books into filling the page too often left blank, or bringing sinews and flesh and stretching out skin over the dry bones which are doing duty for the history of these centuries. Meantime we, of St. Louis, from whose midst went forth, some eighty years ago, missionaries to resume the *opera interrupta,* will await eagerly the appearance of Dr. Bolton's forthcoming work dealing with the labors of the pioneer missionaries in Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and California. Would that the tireless Professor had among us imitators girding their loins for the task of unraveling for us the Catholic history of Louisiana in French and Spanish times. Though much nearer to us in point of time and space than the *Padres* who evangelized and civilized the southwest, are the early missionaries of Louisiana known as they should be? What do we know, for instance, of Father Valentin, the first resident pastor of St. Louis; of Father Hilary; of Father Guignes? May we not without irreverence apply to Catholic History the words of our Savior in reference to His and his Apostles' work of salvation: "The harvest is great, but the laborers are few"?

Too few, by far, indeed, especially when we ponder and meditate Dr. Lawrence F. Flick's statement that History's development in an age and in a people really is a fair criterion of the civilization of that age and people." "History as a Science" was the title of the Address delivered by the retiring President at the final Session of the Association. It was as inspiring as scholarly, and we are glad it has come out in pamphlet form, as it is deserving to be widely known. Leaving aside the considerations of the speaker on the nature of history, and its scientific character and treatment, we may be permitted to

quote here a few lines more directly germane to our purpose in these pages and the work and aims of our own *Historical Society.*

> Intrinsically, history ranks with mathematics, medicine, and law in the fellowship of the sciences; but in development as a servant of mankind it has not kept pace with them. An explanation of this may be found in man's selfish nature and intellectual limitations. The value of history in the pursuit of happiness is equal to that of any of the other three, but the manner in which one can get that value is different. It comes to one as part of the whole mass of people in better government, better churchmanship, better society, and not as an individual, in more comfort, more pleasure, and more opportunity for self-advancement. Moreover the science of history does not lead to individual emolument, nor does its pursuit give a profitable avocation. It cannot even be followed successfully by an individual without the help of others. In its nature it is the work of many. One may put the grain in the bin, but many must garner the sheaves, thresh it from the straw and winnow out the chaff. It requires talent, patience, devotion, and a spirit of self-sacrifice, in the one who pursues it; enlightenment and understanding in those who encourage him...
>
> Since the masses are the beneficiaries of history, the masses should carry the burden of its making. There are few who can be historians; there are not many who even can be assistant historians; but every educated intelligent man and woman can be a helper; and even the humblest person can contribute his mite. For history in action organization is essential. Its field is in societies, colleges and universities. In societies congenial spirits meet, create an historical atmosphere, and help each other. Societies also attract those who cannot themselves produce history, nor even assist those who can produce it, but are interested and willing to hold up the hands of those who can...

Here is an excellent plea for the existence of organizations such as ours. We cannot but endorse heartily, therefore, and make our own, the following words of Dr. Flick, which we make bold to use as an appeal to the zeal of our co-members of the *Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis* for securing a larger membership:

> How shall the functions of our organization be performed? It takes money and men, women too, for such a programme. All of these are available, but they must be sought for in our large prosperous Catholic population. The first step is to get up a membership large and strong enough to give an adequate income for the work... Clergymen and ... laymen have joined our ranks; and many... of them would join if they understood the objects of the *Society* and were confronted with a programme which would appeal to them as worthy of their coöperation.

Do we, of the *Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis,* lack such a programme? Article III of the Society's Constitution, partly cited above, and that part of Article IV, which provides that the Society shall "take measures to procure original papers on subjects germane to its purpose; and, as often as convenient, publish or cause to be

published its transactions, papers, or works of historical value that may come under its control," are transparent enough. In just five years from now, St. Louis will hail the one hundredth anniversary of its erection into an independent Diocese. Is it not fitting that the date should be celebrated by something less fleeting than festivities, the memory of which scarcely outlasts the fragrance of the incense burned on this occasion? We want—would that be presuming too much?—that kind of memorial, which the poet declared *aere perennius,* for the work of the pen outlives all other human works: we want a History of Catholicity here in our midst, worthy of our Church and its founders, and its great past. "It takes money and men, and women too, for such a programme." Money, and men, and women,—all this is synonymous with greater membership. Money will permit to push actively the obscure work of quarrying the necessary materials, sifting them, dressing the stones as it were of the palace beautiful contemplated. To erect this palace, there must be the master mind of the architect coupled with the expert hand of the craftsman. "Who shall find a valiant *man?*" Money cannot create him; would that it could contribute to the thorough historical training of some young, energetic lover of our past, so as to render him capable of measuring himself with the task!...

The American Catholic Historical Association will follow the American Historical Association to St. Louis next winter. We shall, therefore, be given the opportunity to judge its work and progress at closer range, and the *Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis* will heartily extend to it the glad hand of welcome, and contribute to make its meeting pleasant and successful. We subjoin here the list of the officers elected at Washington for the year 1921: James J. Walsh, M. D., Ph. D., K. S. G., *President;* Rev. John J. Wynne, S. J., *First Vice-President;* Very Rev. M. S. Ryan, C.M., D. D., Ph. D., *Second Vice-President;* Right Rev. Msgr. T. C. O'Reilly, D.D., V.G., *Treasurer;* Rev. Peter Guilday, Ph. D., *Secretary;* Miss Frances Brauner, *Archivist.* The Executive Council includes the above mentioned officers, and, besides, Lawrence F. Flick, M. D., LL. D.; Carlton J. Hayes, Ph. D.; Rev. Charles L. Souvay, C.M., DD.; Very Rev. F. L. Gassler; David J. Champion, Esq.

From the pen of Very Rev. Victor F. O'Daniel, O.P., S. T. M., came forth a few months back, in a goodly volume of 473 pages, the Life of *The Right Rev. Edward Dominic Fenwick, O.P., Founder of the Dominicans in the United States, Pioneer Missionary in Kentucky, Apostle of Ohio, First Bishop of Cincinnati.* An earnest of the work had previously been given to the public in the form of three articles printed in the *Catholic Historical Review* (V, p. 156 ff; p. 428 ff.; and VI, 13 ff. respectively), so that the appearance of the volume was eagerly awaited. Father O'Daniel, indeed, had, years before the publication of these articles, won a flattering reputation as a scholar and a writer; his name alone is high recommendation; we are not surprised, therefore, that the Most Rev. Archbishop of Cincinnati casting

about for a historian of that See, had no hesitation as to the choice of the person.

The first Bishop of Cincinnati was the Founder of the Dominicans in the United States: his Life, written by one of his spiritual sons, must naturally be a tribute of gratitude and love. Gratitude and love, and admiration, however, do not mean necessarily a warping of the writer's judgement; and if we must distrust the appreciations of an enemy, because they are tainted by his prejudices, which lead the most guarded to put unfair constructions upon acts and motives, yet the reverse is often untrue: indeed the appreciations of an historian in close sympathy with his subject are all the truer, because a friend, knowing better the secret motives of action, can judge more justly. Being a grateful admirer of Bishop Edw. D. Fenwick, therefore, qualified especially Father V. O'Daniel for his labor of love. Because it was to him a labor of love, he has spared no efforts in order that the picture drawn by his pen might prove in every point true to life. Well might he make his own the words of the inspired writer: "As to ourselves, indeed, in undertaking this work, we have taken in hand no easy task, yea rather a business full of watching and sweat" (II Mach. ii, 27). The Bibliography printed at the end of the volume, imposing at it looks, especially the list of manuscript sources consulted, may not impress perhaps the general reader; but to the critical reader, particularly if he chances to be acquainted with some of these sources, the perusal of the Life of the Right Rev. Edw. D. Fenwick is a delight. Under every paragraph—we were about to say, every sentence,—he can detect the solid foundation of first hand documentary information; and he reads on the smoothly worked up narrative, being afforded all the while a constantly renewed enjoyment by the marshalling of the facts in powerful array, and the art with which the documents are weaved into the texture of the story. Still, as the volume is intended for the general cultured public, the author has refrained from loading the bottom of his pages with a stack of footnotes of no interest or use for his readers. The latter will thank him for not overpowering them by the formidable display of his undoubted scholarship; whilst the historian, professional or otherwise, will be flattered and pleased by this indirect invitation to recognize or divine for himself behind the screen of the text its rich and solid background.

If we insist that in Father O'Daniel's work, *materiam superat opus,* we do not mean for all that to belittle the outward merits of the volume: Neat appearance, clear type, careful print (we have noticed but two or three misprints in those four hundred and seventy pages), good paper; all these, which contribute to impress agreeably the reader, would not be worthy of mention, were it not that in the difficult times during which the book went through the press, they represent an achievement all the more remarkable that the price of the volume ($3.50 net) would almost make us forget the H. C .L.

Father O'Daniel would accuse us of praising his book without having read it, were we to stop after these remarks. There are in it

a few—very few—blemishes; there are also some points on which, right or wrong, our judgment is at variance with his.

The name of the Vicar Apostolic of London is given as Poyntner. Now this may be right, and we confess to never seeing any authentic signature of the English prelate. We have doubts, though, and still think the name was Poynter. So did always write our Bishop Du Bourg; so did write also our Bishop Rosati; so did read Carl R. Fish, in his *Guide to the Materials for American History in Roman and other Italian Archives;* so did likewise read the secretaries of Propaganda when they annotated and filed his letters (at least in Vol. IV, of the *Scritture Referite*). Somebody is certainly here at fault; but wherever the mistake is, it is very venial. Venial, too, is it to give the Christian name Peter to Father Barrière, the first companion of Father Badin in Ohio and Kentucky: we have seen his signature hundreds of times, and it is always Migl Berndo Barrière.

But these are petty flaws. Another is found in a footnote of p. 276, where the author speaks of Archbishop Maréchal's "well-known strong anti-Irish bias." As it stands, the statement is materially perfectly accurate; however, it is apt, we fear, to be misconstrued by the unwary. Archbishop Maréchal's anti-Irish bias was not, it seems, the outgrowth of racial prejudice—he apparently had no objection against priests of English extraction—but rather due to actual circumstances: Gallagher, Browne, Carbry and a few other ecclesiastical trouble-mongers of the time were from the Emerald Isle; other priests from Ireland behaved, as if, to use a homely phrase, "they owned the Church in America"; then again, the Archives of Propaganda afford abundant evidence of the tendency of the Irish clergy (in Ireland and Lisbon) to meddle with American ecclesiastical affairs,—a tendency which badly jostled the nerves not only of the Archbishop of Baltimore, but of other prelates as well.

A vexing question was almost regularly bound to arise, in these pioneer times, whenever the head of a Religious Order or Community was raised to the Episcopate: it came here between our Bishop Rosati and the priests of his Congregation, as it had come between Bishop E. D. Fenwick and the Dominicans. That, in these and similar cases, all parties were equally honest and working for an agreeable adjustment, is the unquestionable verdict dictated by the evidence brought forth: to state this is not to judge them charitably, but merely to be just. Now does not the historian of Bishop Fenwick strain somewhat the point when he describes the prelate, "pious, meek and just though he certainly was, rather too much inclined to get possession of the little property owned by his brethren" (p. 261, note)? The excuse adduced, namely, that "no doubt he was led to this by his straits, and felt that he was justified by the fact that most of what they had came through him," is, in the writer's mind, an extenuating circumstance, but no complete justification. We know that the adjustment of these temporal matters caused Bishop Fenwick painful anxieties of mind; not wishing to rely on his own judgment he consulted Bishop Du Bourg, who enjoyed the reputation of being a good theologian and

canonist. The answer of the latter is in the *Catholic Archives of America* (University of Notre Dame; Case: Archbishops and Bishops of New Orleans; the letter is dated April 22—no year is given, but it is apparently 1825); and the impression left upon us by this letter is that the Bishop of Cincinnati was rather inclined to scruple in his dealings with his Brethren of the Order over these temporal affairs.

Be this as may, we must now turn to the "ungrateful chapter" wherein the writer, "much against his liking," has dwelt at some length on the "unpleasantness" between the Dominicans and the early missionaries of Kentucky. Fathers Nerinckx and Badin. The first draft of this chapter, as published in the *Catholic Historical Review*, produced a painful impression of a number of readers who, however, had never thought hitherto of taking sides in the controversy. Father O'Daniel who, in his laudable desire not to envenom the debate, had refrained from using to the full all the documents bearing on the case, does not seem to have heard the buzzing roused about his ears; yet he has re-written in part and somewhat toned down this chapter and in this he has done well. We feel, however, he should have carried this work of revision and this toning down still farther.

Let it be well understood: the reviewer is no advocate of the theory that history should pass over in silence, or relegate to an obscure background the unflattering side of the life or character of her heroes. To him *Amicus Plato, Amicus Aristoteles, magis amica veritas.* Unpleasantness there was: then let unpleasantness be told. Father O'Daniel repeatedly takes to task Nerinckx's first historian for his tampering with the texts; we are with him in this: texts are texts, and should be respected. But in his love for truth, has he not forgotten a little the love for Plato and Aristotle? A more sympathetic understanding of Plato and Aristotle, Nerinckx and Badin in this instance, would have rendered his hand more gentle and deft; whereas we are afraid he may actually have somewhat irritated the wound, instead of soothing the pain. Has he sufficiently considered that insisting as he does on certain details of the "unpleasantness," was likely, in spite of his expostulations, and contrary to his intention, to cause "shock or scandal"? There is, in the American Church, a respectable body, a large, zealous and efficient religious Community holding in the deepest reverence the memory of Father Nerinckx, their founder: was it necessary, was it opportune, was it considerate to shatter this natural and well-placed feeling of filial piety? Should the "vindication of good men who have been unjustly maligned" be obtained at the cost of throwing such "a shadow on the names of two ambassadors of Christ," as casts, all protests of the writer notwithstanding, "serious reflection on their character"?

The "unpleasantness" grew out of two causes: Nerinckx's sinister opinion of the English Dominicans at Bornheim and the Jansenistic rigorism of the two missionaries. That Nerinckx credited too easily and absolutely evil reports about the Fathers of Bornheim, and that the opinion formed too readily from these slanderous aspersions warped and poisoned his judgment concerning his new neighbors of

St. Rose's, is but too true. Whether during his sojourn in Belgium (1816—1817) he was better informed, we cannot say; but certain it is that, later on, letters of his give unstinted praise to the labors and zeal of the Dominicans in Kentucky and Ohio. When, in 1820, Father Nerinckx was again in Europe, there was for some time question of his returning to America in company with Father Hill and the colony the latter expected to bring along. These are indications not to be overlooked. Granted that the Belgian priest had been, at an early period, led into error by idle gossip, and for some time was swayed in his judgment by prejudice, the above are clear hints that he was big-souled enough to change his views on finding out his credulity had been imposed upon.

We will grant, too, that Father Nerinckx' system of morality leaned towards severity, and, on that account, he must have been shocked at what he deemed laxity in the theology of the Dominicans. The Kentucky pioneers, good as they were, did not measure up with the charges of the Jesuits in Paraguay or even with the fervent Catholics of Belgium; and he missed the mark by adopting a Procustean rule untempered by a wise appreciation of time, place, persons and circumstances.

Well does Maes bid us remember the indelible impression stamped upon Nerinckx' mind by the Revolution. While it has become the fashion to misname Jansenism the relative rigorism of the clergy of Continental Europe at the end of the XVIIIth century, as a matter of fact, Jansenistic doctrines had much less to do with the shaping of the current system of morality than the reaction against the baneful principles with which the French Encyclopedists had saturated the minds. Every reaction is likely to go beyond the extreme limits of the golden mean; this one did, and every clergyman educated in that atmosphere imbibed its spirit. An instance this we have in a paragraph of the famous letter sent by Bishop Flaget to the priests of Upper Louisiana, on February 8, 1816: "As the location of the See will mainly depend on the recommendation which we, Bishop Du Bourg and myself, will make, I am determined to oppose, with all my power, the selection of St. Louis, if it be true, what has been written to me, that a theatre was opened there." Shall we mention the sermon of the same prelate in September 1814, at Ste. Genevieve, Mo., against balls—"to the great astonishment of the dancers"? Fathers Nerinckx and Badin, just like Bishop Flaget, had read theology in those strong reaction times; and in the case of the former, we may be pardoned to remind Bishop Fenwick's historian, that Dens—and Billuart—were then the oracles in the Belgian Seminaries. The English Dominicans, by their insular education, steered clear from the continental drift of the moral teaching of the times; but were the others so completely blamable? Were they responsible for the theological training they had received? Are they, who were neither professional theologians, nor perfect, but simply good, earnest and zealous missionaries, to be censured because they were firm believers in the

absolute soundness of the theology they had been taught, and applied that theology in all its unbending sternness?

We know, there were circulating in this connection stories, some weird, some rather ludicrous of strange penances, extravagant abstinences, and the like. Such as are well authenticated evince the indisputed authority which the missionaries claimed over their flocks, but do not strike overmuch by their oddity. But are all the stories which gained currency well authenticated? We venture to say that everything would have gone much better, and a great deal of the "unpleasantness" been spared, had less credit been given on either side to interested meddlers. Should implicit faith have been attached then, and be attached to-day, to malcontent parishioners and penitents who had an axe to grind? Then again, we know that Father Nerinckx, in particular, could never speak English decently, and was often misunderstood. Did not mayhap some of the spiciest stories in circulation originate from misunderstandings? At any rate, a thorough cross-examination of the *witnesses,* was in order. Until it is done we feel justified in maintaining an attitude of skepticism.

To sum up, we shall say that a little more psychological insight would have, we are convinced, rendered the author more sympathetic to the *dramatis personae,* and enabled him to pen that chapter yet more deftly; the unpleasantness could not be blotted out, but none of those implicated in it should come out with a blotch on his escutcheon.

This long review of Father O'Daniels work will convince him, and our readers as well, of the importance which we attach to the volume. Even the long space we have devoted to criticism is an evidence of our appreciation. Mediocrity we cannot couple with his name; this may be our excuse for seeming to require of him nothing short of perfection.

In the statistics gathered by Bishop Rosati a. 1837 P. Van Assche, S. J., writes about S. Ferdinand's, Florissant, Mo.:

"Regarding the establishment of this mission or parish, it seems, no priest resided here before 1821.

Before that time, its administration was taken by the following priests: On June 5, 1792 began (viz. to baptize) Rev. P. J. Didier, and ceased (to baptize) Sept. 9, 1789.

Nov. 11, 1789, began: Rev. F. Lusson, Recollect; and ceased Oct. 15, 1804.

16, May 1806 began and left off Rev. J. Maxwell.

Dec. 2, 1806 began: Rev. Flynn; and ceased Dec. 21, 1807.

June 13, 1808 began the same Rev. J. Maxwell, and ceased the following day.

Dec. 28, 1808 began together: the Rev. Joseph Dunand, P. Bern. Langlais, and P. Urbain, Trappists; they left: Rev. Bern. Langlais and P. Urbain Nov. 29, 1811. Rev. Joseph Dunand left April 5, 1820.

On Oct. 11, 1821 began: Rev. Charles Lacroix and ceased June 4, 1823.

On June 4, 1823 began: Rev. P. Vanquickenborne, S. J.; he left Nov. 8, 1829.

Nov. 8, 1829, began: Rev. Jod. Van Asche, S. J., and ceased May 18, 1835.

May 18, 1835, began: Rev. Buschotts, S.J., and left Aug. 21, 1836.

Aug. 21, 1836 again began: Rev. P. Van Asche.

The Church of St. Ferdinand was consecrated Sept. 2, 1832."

The same statistics contain the following notes on the parish of Old Mines, Mo., from the pen of Rev. Peter Doutreluingne:

"As early as 1766 some families from the town of Ste. Genevieve settled in this place; in 1821 they built a small log church; the office of pastor (curé) was filled by the following priests: Rev. Pratte 1817—1822; then F. X. Dahmen 1822—1828. In the same year (1828) Rev. J. Bouillier was appointed the first permanent and residing pastor. In 1831 he began to construct a bricmk church, which was consecrated the same year. The Rev. Bouillier had the administration of this parish to the year 1836, when he was recalled."

P. Christian Hoecken, S. J., from St. Charles, Mo., writes to Bishop Rosati, Sept. 4, 1835:

"I attend the following missions:

1. near Marthasville.
2. In New Boston, a German City (*urbs!*) the German commenced to build it, 6 miles west of Marthasville.
3. Hancock Prairie, 6 miles from Missouri.
4. Near Columbia, near the river called Pursey.
5. Boonville, (Old Frain:ln) on the River.
6. In the City of Jefferson.
7. In the French village Cote-sans-Dessein.
8. About the little rivulet called "Bailey's Creek," three miles from the Missouri, 12 miles from the Gasconade.
9. Bourbeuse, 25 miles west (must be "east) of Bailey's Creek.
10. Washington, a German place.
11. Union, Franklin County.
12. About the rivulet, called "Mary-mac" (i. e. Meramec)."

School children of McLean County, North Dakota, will finance the purchase of the site of Fort Mandan where Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark spent the historic winter of 1804—5 with their expedition to the Pacific Coast. Each school will stage a dramatization of the story as furnished by the County Superintendent of Schools, the receipt to be used to cover the purchase, and the children will then give the site to the State for a State Park.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL

ABBREVIATIONS:

ACQR *American Catholic Quarterly Review.* Philadelphia, Pa.

AD *Acta et Dieta,* published by the Catholic Historical Society of St. Paul, St. Paul, Minn.

Am *America,* publ. weekly by the America Press, New York City.

CHR *The Catholic Historical Review,* publ. quarterly by the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

CP *The Church Progress,* St. Louis.

FR *The Fortnightly Review,* St. Louis, Mo.

HAHR *The Hispanic American Historical Review,* published quarterly, Baltimore, Md.

HRS *Historical Records and Studies,* published by the United States Catholic Historical Society, New York.

ICHR *Illinois Catholic Historical Review,* publ. quarterly by the Illinois Catholic Historical Society, Chicago, Ill.

JISHS *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* publ. quarterly by the Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield, Ill.

LHQ *Louisiana Historical Quarterly,* published by the Louisiana Historical Society, New Orleans, La.

MHM *Michigan History Magazine,* published quarterly by the Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing, Mich.

MinnHB *Minnesota History Bulletin,* published quarterly by the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minn.

MoHR *The Missouri Historical Review,* publ. quarterly by the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.

MVHR *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* publ. quarterly by the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Lincoln, Neb.

PastBl *Pastoral-Blatt,* St. Louis, Mo.

RACHS *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia,* publ. quarterly by the Society, Philadelphia, Pa.

TISHS *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society,* publ. by the Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield, Ill.

WMH *The Wisconsin Magazine of History,* published quarterly by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Menasha, Wis.

WW *The Western Watchman,* St. Louis, Mo.

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ABBREVIATIONS:

ACQR American Catholic Quarterly Review, Philadelphia, Pa.
AD Acta et Dicta, published by the Catholic Historical Society of St. Paul, St. Paul, Minn.
Am America, publ. weekly by the America Press, New York City.
CHR The Catholic Historical Review, publ. quarterly by the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.
CP The Church Property, St. Louis.
FR The Fortnightly Review, St. Louis, Mo.
HAHR The Hispanic American Historical Review, published quarterly, Baltimore, Md.
HRS Historical Records and Studies, published by the United States Catholic Historical Society, New York.
ICHR Illinois Catholic Historical Review, publ. quarterly by the Illinois Catholic Historical Society, Chicago, Ill.
JISHS Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, publ. quarterly by the Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield, Ill.
LHQ Louisiana Historical Quarterly, published by the Louisiana Historical Society, New Orleans, La.
MHM Michigan History Magazine, published quarterly by the Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing, Mich.
MinnHR Minnesota History Bulletin, published quarterly by the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minn.
MoHR The Missouri Historical Review, publ. quarterly by the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
MVHR The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, publ. quarterly by the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Lincoln, Neb.
Pastbl Pastoral-Blatt, St. Louis, Mo.
RACHS Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, publ. quarterly by the Society, Philadelphia, Pa.
TISHS Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society, publ. by the Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield, Ill.
WMH The Wisconsin Magazine of History, published quarterly by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Menasha, Wis.
WW The Western Watchman, St. Louis, Mo.

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DOCUMENTS FROM OUR ARCHIVES

CORRESPONDENCE OF BISHOP DU BOURG WITH PROPAGANDA

Before continuing the regular series of the correspondence exchanged between Bishop Du Bourg and the Congregation of Propaganda, we are inserting here a few letters, copies of which have reached us lately from Rome, that belong to the period already treated in these pages. These letters had either been overlooked by the Roman copyist, or are, for reasons sometimes hard to determine, placed in other Registers than that to which they chronologically belong. To minimize as much as possible the slight disorder thus introduced in the series, we assign to these various letters numbers referring them to their regular place in point of time. Our readers, we trust, will pardon us this disorder; but they will be glad to understand, and see, by the results, that the work of the *Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis,* of securing at home and abroad the sources of our History, is going on uninterruptedly, despite the difficulties of the times.

XIII. A.

TO CARDINAL LITTA

Prefect of Propaganda[1]

Eminentissimis Patribus Sacrae Congregationis de Propadanda Fide

Ludovicus Guil. Du Bourg Episcopus Ludovic. in Foederatis Americae Sep.lis Statibus.

1. Humillime exponit nuper advenisse in superiores hujus Dioeceseos partes Rev. D.num Franciscum Celini,[2] alias Canonicum S.ti Spiritus Romae, nunc sacerdotem Congregationis Missionis, qui cum in illo Hospitali medicam artem didicerit, plurimum in his partibus Religioni prodesset, si sibi a S.ta Sede indulgeretur facultas praedictam artem exercendi, praesertim in agris et oppidis, ubi perdifficile est so-

[1] Original in Archives of Propaganda. *Scritture Referite nei Congressi.* Cod. 4. *America Centrale: Dal Canada all' Istmo di Panama.* Dal 1818 a tto il 1820. Docum. 88.

DOCUMENTS FROM OUR ARCHIVES

lertem medicum invenire, et ubi propter incolarum paupertatem, optabile esset ut gratis ministrarentur medicinae consilia.

2. Inter facultates Episcopis missionum concessas, restringuntur ad *Catholicos tantum* dispensationes matrimoniales. Cum vero R.mus Epus Bardensis, ea restrictione retentus, renuisset ad matrimonium duas partes admittere, quarum una erat catholica, secus vero altera, propter interveniens cognationis impedimentum, et de eo Sac. Congregationem certiorem fecisset, ab illa reprehensus est nimiae rigiditatis, qua factum erat ut ad judicem saecularem, contrahendi causa, se stetissent. Dubium inde oratori oritur, utrum revocata censeri debeat hujusmodi restrictio, quae procul dubio plurimis, iisque gravissimis difficultatibus, viam aperit. Dubium istud, eo potissimum confirmatur, quod nuper separatas facultates receperit orator, dispensandi *super impedimento disparitatis cultus,* etiam pro matrimoniis ineundis; et multo benignius erga Baptizatos procedendum sibi videtur quam erga infideles.

Eminentissimis Patribus, cum summa reverentia et submissione se inclinat

E.E. S.S.

Humillimus et obsequentissimus servus

✠ Lud. Guil. Epus Ludov.s

Sti Ludovici, in agro Missouriano
Sup.ris Louisianae, die Junii 7.a 1819.

TRANSLATION

To Their Eminences the Cardinals of the S. Congregation of Propaganda,

Louis William Du Bourg, Bishop of Louisiana, in the United States of America,

1. Most humbly represents that there arrived recently in the Upper portion of this Diocese the Rev. Francis Cellini[2] formerly Canon of the Holy Ghost, Rome, now priest of the Congregation of the Mission. As this gentleman learned medicine in the hospital of the Holy Ghost, it would be of great benefit to Religion in these parts, if the Holy See would grant him permission to practice that art, especially in country districts and small villages, where it is next to impossible to find a competent physician, and where, owing to the people's poverty, it were to be desired that they could get gratuitously medical advice.[3]

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[2] Although Bishop Du Bourg always writes the name 'Celini,' the proper spelling is 'Cellini.' On Father Francis Cellini, see Rev. J. Rothensteiner: *Chronicles of an Old Missouri Parish,* St. Louis, 1917, p. 14 and foll.

[3] The reply of Propaganda, dated December 11, 1819 (See St. L. Cath. Hist. Review, Vol. I, p. 310-311) granted the permission requested. How true was the situation here described by Bishop Du Bourg in support of his plea, we learn from a long letter of Father Rosati to Father Baccari, Vicar General of the C.M. in Rome, dated May 20, 1821: "The sick-calls are very fatiguing. They are the province of Father Cellini, who very often restores to the sick bodily

2. Among the faculties granted to the missionary Bishops, those concerning matrimonial dispensations contain this restriction: *for Catholics only*. Now, when the Right Rev. Bishop of Bardstown, acting on this restriction, refused to permit matrimony to two parties, one of whom was a Catholic, and the other not, owing to the presence of an impediment of relationship, the S. Congregation, advised of the fact, rebuked him for his excessive rigorism, which was the cause that the said couple went to get married before the judge. From that the petitioner is in doubt whether this restriction should be regarded as suppressed, for it most certainly gives rise to very many and very grave difficulties. This doubt is strenghtened still more by the fact that the petitioner received separate faculties to dispense from the impediment *disparitatis cultus*, even for marriages not yet contracted, and he is inclined to think that more leniency should be shown to baptized persons than to infidels.

To the Lords Cardinals is humbly tendered the most profound expression of the respect and submission of

Their Eminences'

Most humble and obedient servant

✠ Louis Wm. Bishop of Louisiana

St. Louis, Territory of Missouri,
in Upper Louisiana, June 7, 1819.

1820

XIX. A.

TO THE CARD. PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA [1]

Eminentissime Praefecte,

Praesentium lator est Ill.mus D. Angelus Inglesi Romanus . . . . . qui post longas peregrinationes Novam Aureliam appulsus, divino nutu se suaque Ecclesiae mancipare cum decrevisset, Sanctum Ludovicum se contulit, et post octo mensium probationem per quos admiranda

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health at the same time as the health of the soul, by means of the remedies which he dispenses gratis. He thereby renders a most important service to these poor people who would be utterly unable to call the Doctor, owing to the exorbitant fee of *thirty, forty,* and even *fifty* Dollars which they would have to pay if they called him only once from the nearest village" (The nearest Doctor was at St. Genevieve,twenty-four miles from the Barrens). This sad condition of things, partly coped wtih by the permission granted to Father Cellini, revived after his departure from the Seminary; and a few years later, Father Odin, writing to Father Cholleton, V. G., of Lyons, asked him to look for a good physician, who would be willing to settle at the Barrens.

[1] Original in Archives of Propaganda. *Atti di Congregazione* 1822 (June 3) *extra Summarium*. p. 927. This letter was written from St. Louis, on April 20 (1820), as we learn from the answer of Propaganda given on July 21 of the next year, and published in the Review, Vol. II, p. 145-147. Father Inglesi, ordained on March 20, 1820, had started, a few days later, for New Orleans, whence he was to sail for Europe. Evidently the letter was intended to reach him before he set out from Louisiana; and no doubt it did, as he did not sail until May, at the earliest.

praebuit virtutis specimina, seque mihi arctissimo necessitudinis vinculo devinxit, ad sacerdotium *sub titulo missionis* rite promotus est.

Quocirca Eminentiae Vestrae dubium proponere velim: = De promovendis advenis ad sacros ordines non satis inter Americanos praesules constat, archiepiscopo Baltimorensi aliter a caeteris sentiente. Hic enim juxta Constitutionem Innocentii XII, exigit decem annorum domicilium; caeteri vero judicant satis esse si se sacramento adstringant, et nullum sit dubium de eorum manendi voluntate. Communiori sententiae viam aperuit fel. record. Illmus Joan. Carroll Arch. Baltimor. cui subscripsimus fere omnes harum provinciarum Episcopi, duobus rationum momentis nixi: primum est necessitas harum missionum, paupertasque tum ecclesiarum, tum candidatorum quae non sinit eos gravissimis sumptibus per tot annos probationis subjacere.

2.um est quod inter canonicos ordinationis titulos adnumeretur *titulus Missionis,* videtur de eo perinde ac de *titulis partimonii, beneficii* ac *paupertatis* esse judicandum. — Cum igitur obtinuerit regula ut clericus alienae Diocesis possit legitime ordinari ab Episcopo Dioecesis ubi beneficium impetravit, ut Religionis vota nunquam[2]...quidem titulo Missionis dicendum? — Ad haec non parum roboris adjicere censemus, quod praefata Innoc. XII regula ad Catholica tantum regna dirigi videatur, et vix supponi possit eam fuisse tanti Pontificis mentem ut ad loca missionum extenderetur, ubi non sine gravissimis incommodis executioni mandari potest. — De hoc tamen sententiam S.ae Congr.is humiliter praestolamur, supplicantes ut si quid bona fide erravimus, nobis benigne condonet.

Aliud est dubium, quod me summis difficultatibus implicavit, et de quo forsan scriptis mentem suam aperire renuet Sac. haec Congregatio. Verum ad meae conscientiae pacem satis erit si nullo me vituperio afficiat. — Eminentiam Vestram latere non potest qua prudentia et longanimitate opus sit in administratione Ecclesiae Neo-Aurelianensis, ne forte cum abusus e medio tollere tentet Episcopus, auctoritatem suam contemptui exponat, et omnia evellat ecclesiasticae subordinationis et pacis germina. Inter varios autem abusus qui per longa hujus ecclesiae dissidia irrepsere, unus est qui plurimis SS. Pontificum constitutionibus ita adversatur, ut quo pacto silentium de eo servari liceret prorsus nescirem; satius tamen judicavi in opportuniora tempora ipsius correctionem differre, cum mihi constaret hanc in praesenti sine evidenti Religionis discrimine mandari non posse. — *Liberorum muratorum* conventicula adeo in florentissima hac civitate obtinuerunt, ut vix unum inter centum reperias qui iis nomen non dederit. Mos autem sensim invaluit ut mortuorum fratrum feretra in Ecclesiam adsportentur, et inde ad coemeterium, cruce et clero praecedentibus ducentur, societatis insignibus onusta. Huic intolerabili abusui locum dedit ignorantia, ne pejus quid suspicer, Patris Antonii dudum parochiae illius Rectoris, aliorumque ejusdem farinae sacerdotum qui ad haec postrema tempora ipsi in sacro ministerio assistebant. Nuper vero, cum, Deo optimo favente, tres eximios presbyteros in eam ecclesiam inducere mihi prospere cesserit, repugnantibus illis contra flagrantem hanc Ecclesiasticae legis infractionem, persuasi, ut manum ad os admoverent,

oculosque clauderent, certo sciens ipsos, si vel verbum proferrent, protinus ejiciendos, sicque spem omnem praescindendam res in melius aliquando convertendi.—Prudenti hac agendi ratione contigit ut sibi generalem existimationem conciliaverint, spesque bona affulgeat fore ut, remoto praesenti Rectore, possint huic et plurimis aliis malis convenientem afferre medicinam.

De his, caeterisque ad hanc Dioecesim attinentibus Rev.dum D. Inglesi audiri velim, quippe qui Dioecesis statum et hominum mentes sagacius exploravit et multa scitu digna docere, aut summopere utilia suggerere pro sua prudentia valet. Hic, postquam Romae prospexerit, consilium iniit per varios Europae partes novas in pauperrimae ipsius missionis subsidium eleemosynas colligere et Novam Aureliam se quantocius restituere, ubi alteram Ecclesiam pro catholicis anglicae linguae erigere, me suggerente, statuit. — Postulationes etiam episcoporum hujus americanae Confederationis, de erectione duarum novarum sedium episcopalium Sac. huic Congregationi proferet. —

TRANSLATION

Your Eminence:—

The bearer of this letter is the Illustrious Rev. Angelo Inglesi, who, coming to New Orleans after much travelling, and resolved to devote himself and all his goods to the Church, reported to St. Louis, and after a probation of eight months, during which he gave remarkable marks of virtue, and became attached to me by the closest bonds of friendship, was regularly ordained to the priesthood *sub titulo Missionis*.

In this regard I wish to submit a doubt to Your Eminence. In the matter of promoting strangers to Sacred Orders, there is no sufficient unity of views among the American prelates. The Archbishop of Baltimore follows an opinion different from that of others: for he, according to the Constitution of Innocent XII, requires a domicile of ten years; all the others think it sufficient that the candidates bind themselves by oath, and that there be no doubt concerning their intention to remain permanently. This common opinion was advocated first by the late Most Rev. John Carroll, Archbishop of Baltimore, and practically all the Bishops of this country adopted it, basing their view on the following two reasons: first, the necessity of these missions and, second, the poverty of the churches and of the candidates as well, which does not allow the latter to bear the considerable expenses entailed by so many years of probation.

The second reason was that, as the *titulus Missionis* is numbered among the canonical titles of ordination, it would seem that it follows the same rules as the titles of patrimony, benefice, or poverty. Now as the rule is that a cleric of another Diocese may be lawfully ordained by the Bishop of the place where he has obtained a benefice, and that the vows of Religion never[2] .... [was it not natural] to conclude the

[2] A word illegible.

same about the *titulus Missionis?* Furthermore we deemed it a strong argument that the aforesaid rule of Innocent XII seems to be laid down only for Catholic countries and that it could scarcely be supposed that that great Pontiff had ever in mind to extend this rule to the missionary countries, where it can be observed only with the greatest difficulty. However, we shall on this point wait humbly for the decision of the S. Congregation, and beseech it to pardon us if we made a mistake in good faith.[3]

There is another doubt, which has involved me in very great difficulties. Perhaps on this point the S. Congregation will not care to give its opinion in writing;[4] but it will be enough for the peace of my conscience if no blame is expressed. Your Eminence is undoubtedly well aware of how much prudence and forbearance is needed in administering the Church of New Orleans, lest, when the Bishop endeavors to suppress abuses, he expose authority to contempt, and uproot every germ of ecclesiastical subordination and of peace. Now among the abuses which have crept in, thanks to the divisions which have so long troubled this Church, there is one which is so directly in opposition with many Constitutions of the Sovereign Pontiffs, that I do not see how I could keep silence about it. Yet I thought it better to postpone its correction until more opportune times, when it was evident to me that I could not now proceed in the matter without putting certainly in jeopardy the interest of Religion. Such in this flourishing city is the popularity of the lodges of *Free Masons,* that you could find scarcely one man out of a hundred who does not belong to them. Now there has gradually developed the custom that, when one of the members of the Society dies, his coffin, covered with the insignia of the Society, is brought to the church, and thence to the cemetery, preceded by the cross and the clergy. The origin of this intolerable abuse is to be ascribed to the ignorance, not to say more, of Father Anthony, who has long been the Rector of this parish, and of other priests of the same ilk, who until recently were his assistants. But now, with the help of God, I have been able to put three excellent priests in that parish; as these, of course, were loath to countenance this flagrant infraction to the law of the Church, I have told them to say nothing, and not to pretend to see anything, for I know for sure that, should they utter a single word, they could be at once thrown out, and so would all hope or remedying things be nipped in the bud.[5] This policy of

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[3] It will be recalled that the answer of Propaganda was an unqualified refusal to admit the plea set forth here by Bishop Du Bourg.

[4] The Bishop's surmise was right, if we are to judge from the fact that no documents from Propaganda that have been preserved say a word about this matter.

[5] All this matter is dealt with at length in one of the letters of Father Martial to his friend Billaud, at the French Embassy in Rome. As Father Martial was one of the "three excellent priests" placed at the Cathedral of New Orleans by Bishop Du Bourg, it cannot be without interest to learn the viewpoint of these priests. Thus he wrote on July 13, 1822: "Lamentations have been frequently addressed both by letters and by word of mouth to the virtuous Prelate (Bp. Du Bourg) who, whilst doing justice to the delicacy and true principles of

prudence has resulted in that they have won the esteeem of all, so that there is hope that, when the present Rector is removed, proper remedy may be applied to this and many other evils.

Concerning these matters, and all the others touching this Diocese, I wish that Rev. Fr. Inglesi could be heard, as he is quite thoroughly conversant with the condition of the Diocese and public opinion here, and is able to tell many things worth knowing and to make prudent and most useful suggestions. When he has done in Rome, his intention is to go through the various countries of Europe to collect new alms for helping this most poor mission, then to come back as soon as possible to New Orleans, where he has decided at my suggestion to start a new parish for English speaking Catholics. He will present also to the S. Congregation the petitions of the Bishops of the United States in favor of the erection of two new Episcopal Sees.

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his priests could not help, however, advising them to continue, in regard to marriages, baptisms and burials, what had been practised heretofore, and to follow the crying abuses already established, taking upon himself the responsibility in the matter of Decrees of the Sovereign Pontiffs against freemasonry, duelling, concubinage, etc. Yet, despite of all this. conscience does not lose its rights, and very often one asks one'self: Are we building up, or pulling down, Religion in this country? For if, besides winking at dances, theatrical spectacles, disregard of fasting and abstinence, we must also bend on matters of discipline on which the decency of exterior worship depends, what will become of our ministry? .... Most of the people die without ever receiving the sacraments, and every single one of them is buried with the greatest pomp and noise, and the Church displays all her funeral luxury. You may not always be certain that the person was baptized, or you may have no doubt whatever but that he, or she, lived notoriously in concubinage. The Legislature permit themselves once in a while to pronounce divorce. The divorced parties marry again, at most before the civil magistrate; but the funerals always go the same way, and the priests are marched out. For usurers as well as for free-masons and apostates, the pomp is the same: *Subvenite, Sancti Dei; occurite ,angeli,* etc.; *Non intres in judicium cum servo tuo,* etc.For prostitute negroes and negresses, all the same. . . The trustees have that income for the Board: the priests are salaried by them, and must go on, even though they are murmuring and conscience protests loudly. Good Father Anthony consents to everything, never refused anything: who would act in opposition to such praiseworthy condescension? Hence he is beloved by everybody: his picture is everywhere, so great is the veneration in which he is held . . ." — From the above it is easy to understand how it may have been stated that Father Anthony de Sedella himself was a free-mason—a mere gratuitous assertion, however. The position of Bishop Du Bourg in regard to free-masonry was made infinitely more delicate, difficult and intricate by the fact that his own brother was at that time most prominent in Lodgedom: he it was, indeed, if we are correctly informed, who organized the Grand Lodge of New Orleans, and was, for a number of years its Venerable.

XXVIII. A.

TO CARDINAL FONTANA,

Prefect of Propaganda[1]

R.mis et Dilectiss.is Fratribus et Collegis meis Bardensi, Mauricastrensi et Cincinnatensi me supplex adjungo ad postulandam denuo erectionem novae Sedis in oppido *San-clarensi,* vulgo *Detroit* in *agro* Michigan cum annexa administratione *Agri Northwestensis,* et ad proponendos ad eam occupandam — 1° loco Rev.m Benedictum Fenwick, sacerdotem Soc. Jesu benemeritissimum, annorum circiter quadraginta duorum, qui nunc Charlestown Vic. gen.lis et praecipue Pastoris, sub Episcopo, muneribus fungitur. Huic, praeter insignem facundiam, spectatissimas virtutes, et perfectam utriusque idiomatis gallici et anglici, quae in memoratis agris aeque vigent, peritiam, specialiter suffragatur quod in Marylandia, uno ex Americae statibus, natus fuerit et educatus.

2° loco *Principem Ruthenum Rev. D. Demetrium Augustinum de Galitzin,* sac. Cong.i, ut puto, nimis notum, quam ut in commendandi ejus virtutibus, sacrificiis et copiosa eruditione necesse sit immorari. Is, credo, quinquagesimum annum vix excedit. — In utrumvis horum ceciderit S. Cong.is electio, certo scientes utrumque totis viribus Episcopatui repugnaturum, ut evitentur fastidiosae et periculosae [morae] necessarium censemus ut *Brevi Electionis* adjungatur *Mandatum Apostolicum.*

In conferenda caeteris sacra ordinatione, in posterum inhaerebo tenori Constit.is SS. DD. N. P. Innoc. XII. — Ut secus facerem me hactenus moverat exemplum venerandi Arch.i Baltimorensis D. Joannis Carroll, aliorumque Americae Antistitum, qui, re ad trutinam vocata, et coram optimae notae theologis mature discussa indicarunt, Americae et Asiae missionibus applicandam non esse dictam Constitutionem, eo potissimum fundamento nixi, quod cum ex una parte tribus canonicis *titulis Patrimonii, Beneficii* et *Paupertatis* additus subinde quartus fuerit, nempe *titulus Missionis,* idem de isto judicandum censebant quod de caeteris potestatem exteros, saltem transmarinos, clericos ordinandi. — Ex altera vero parte, quod summa in his partibus operariorum inopia, evidens Religionis utilitas, et parvissimum, aut certe nullum, detrimentum quod ex paucis hujusmodi ordnationibus patiebantur Europeanae Ecclesiae, fortissimam gignebant praesumptionem, consensus propriorum Episcoporum. — Quidquid sit, et licet verear ne scrupulosa legis observatio multis gravissimisque incommodis missiones nostras subjiciat, oraculo Sanctae Sedis firmiter obtemperabo.

Accepi saecularisationem P. Francisci Em.lis Maynez et matrimoniales dispensationes quas solicitaveram, pro quibus amplissimas Saccrae Congr.ni refero gratias. Et Deum O. M. pro sospitate et longa

[1] Original in Archives of Propaganda. *Scritture Referite nei Congressi.* Cod. VII. *America Centrale: Dal Canada all' Istmo di Panama.* 1821-1822.— This is the continuation of Letter XXVIII, of which we had only a summary, Vol. II, p. 148-150.

XXVIII. A.

TO CARDINAL FONTANA,

Prefect of Propaganda.[1]

R.mis et Dilectissis Fratribus et Collegis meis Bardensi, Mauricastrensi et Cincinnatensi me suplex adjungo ad postulandam denuo erectionem novae Sedis in oppido San-clementi, vulgo Detroit in agro Michigan cum annexa administratione duri Northwestward, et ad proponendos ad eam occupandam — 1° loco Rev.m Benedictum Fenwick, sacerdotem Soc. Jesu benemeritissimum, annorum circiter quadraginta duorum, qui nunc Charlestown Vic. gen.lis et praecipue Pastoris, sub Episcopo, mineribus fungitur. Hunc, praeter ingenii lucubrationes, spectatissimas virtutes, et perfectam utriusque idiomatis gallici et anglici, quae in memoratis agris aeque vigent, peritiam, specialiter suffragatur quod in Maryslandia, uno ex Americae statibus, natus fuerit et educatus.

2° loco Principem Rutbenum Rev. D. Demetrium Augustinum de Gallitzin, sac. Cong.i, ut puto, minis notum, quam ut in commendandi ejus virtutibus, sacrificiis et copiosa eruditione necesse sit immorari. Ia, credo, quinquagesimum annum vix excedit. — In utrumvis horum eligendi S. Cong.is electio, certo sciepies utrumque totis viribus Episcopatui reparaturum, ut evitentur fastidiosae et periculosae [moraeJ necessarium censemus ut Brevi Electionis adjungatur Mandatum Apostolicum.

In conferenda caeteris sacra ordinatione, in posterum inhaerebo tenori Constit.is SS. DD. N. P. Innoc. XII. — Ut secus faciem me bacterus moverat exemplum venerandi Archi Baltimorensis D. Joannis Carroll, aliorumque Americae Antistitum, qui, re ad trutinam vocata, et coram optimae notae theologis matura discussa indicarunt, Americae et Asiae missionibus applicandam non esse dictam Constitutionem, eo potissimum fundamento nixi, quod cum ex una parte tribus canonicis tantum Parochi, Beneficii et Praeparatis additus quartus fuerit, nempe tribus Missionis, idem de isto judicandum censebant quod de caeteris potestatem exteros, saltem transmarinos, clericos ordinandi. — Ex altera vero parte, quod summa in his partibus operarum inopia, evidens Religionis utilitas, et parvissimum, aut certe nullum, detrimentum quod ex paucis hujusmodi ordinationibus patiebantur Europeanae Ecclesiae, fortissimum erigebant praesumptionem, consensus proporiorum Episcoporum. — Quidquid sit, et licet verear ne scrupulosa legis observatio multis gravissimisque incommodis missionea nostras subjiciat, oraculo Sanctae Sedis firmiter obtemperabo.

Accepi sacculariscationem P. Francisci Em.lis Mayneu et matrimoniales dispensationes quas solicitaveram, pro quibus ampissimas Sacrae Congr.ni refero gratias. Et Deum O. M. pro sospitate et longa

[1] Original in Archives of Propaganda. Scritture Riferite nei Congressi, Col. VII. America Centrale; Dal Canada all' Istmo di Panama, 1821-1823. This is the continuation of Letter XXVIII, of which we had only a summary. Vol. II, p. 148-150.

incolumitate Eminentiae Vestrae indesinenter deprecans, in amplexu sacrae purpurae me cum debita humilitate profiteor

Eminentiae Vestrae

Novae Aureliae die Febr. 8.a 1822

Obsequentissimum et addictiss.um famulum

LUD. GUIL. DU BOURG
Ep. Neo.-Aurel.

Eminentissimo
Card.li Fontana Praefecto
S. Congr. de Propaganda Fide.

TRANSLATION

I unite with my Right Rev. Brothers and Colleagues the Bishops of Bardstown, Mauricastrum and Cincinnati, in humbly beseeching once more the erection of a new See in the town of *St. Clair* (*Detroit*), in the *Territory of Michigan,* to which should be added the administration of the *Northwest Territory;* and likewise in proposing for that See:

In the first place, the Rev. Benedict Fenwick, S.J., a priest of great merit, about forty-two years old, who at present is Vicar General and Rector of Charleston, under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of that place. Besides his great eloquence, his uncommon virtues, and his perfect command of the two languages, French and English, spoken in the above-mentioned Territories, he has specially in his favor the fact that he was born and educated in Maryland, one of the States of America;

As second choice, the Russian Prince Rev. Demetrius Augustine de Galitzin, too well known, I think, to the S. Congregation to dispense me to expatiate on his virtues, the sacrifices he has made, and his great erudition. So far as I know, he is scarcely over fifty.

We know for sure that, whichever of the two is selected by the S. Congregation, he will resist strenuously his elevation to the Episcopate; we are, therefore, of opinion that, in order to avoid fastidious and dangerous delays, the *Brief of Election* should be accompanied by a *Mandatum Apostolicum.*

In conferring sacred Orders [2] I shall henceforth conform to the prescriptions of the Constitution of His Holiness Pope Innocent XII. Heretofore I did otherwise, after the example of the venerable Archbishop of Baltimore, Most Rev. John Carroll, and of the other American Prelates, who, after a thorough study and discussion of the matter before theologians of note, concluded that the said Constitution did not apply to America and Asia. What led them to this view was principally the fact that when to the three canonical titles of *Patrimony,*

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[2] This whole paragraph makes once more reference to the canonical question treated in the letter of April 20, 1820 (above), and is an answer to the reply of Card. Fontana on the Subject (See St. L. Cath. Hist. Review, Vol. II, p. 145-147).

Benefice and *Poverty*, a fourth was added, namely the *title of Mission*, they thought that this title, just like the other three, implied for them the faculty of ordaining alien clerics, at least from overseas. On the other hand, the extreme scarcity of laborers here in this country, the evident utility to Religion, and the very little, if any, detriment caused to the Churches of Europe by these ordinations, which are not frequent, contributed powerfully to presume the consent of the Bishops of such candidates. However this may be, and although I am not without misgivings that the scrupulous observance of the law may be the occasion of many and very grave inconveniences for our missions, I shall abide unswervingly by the pronouncement of the Holy See.

I have received the secularization papers of Father Francis Em. Maynez, and the matrimonial dispensations I had solicited; for these I wish to extend profuse thanks to the S. Congregation. Praying Almighty God unceasingly to keep Your Eminece in good health and to spare you a long time, I kiss the sacred purple and with the proper sentiments of humility sign myself

Your Eminence's

Most respectful and devoted Servant

LOUIS WM. DU BOURG,
Bp. of New Orl.

New Orleans, February 8, 1822.
To His Eminence
Card. Fontana, Prefect
of the S. Congregation of Propaganda.

XXX. A.

TO THE CARD. PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA [1]

Eminentissime Praefecte,

Etsi jam pluries Sacram Congr.m importunis forsan expostulationibus lacessiverim, ne in erigenda nova Sede pro Superiori Louisiana praecipiter ageret, quiescere non potest mens mea quin denuo idem argumentum refricem, donec certior fiam preces meas benignius acceptas esse. Non parva siquidem res est de qua agitur, nihil certe minus quam tota subversio religiosi aedificii quod tanto cum labore in his regionibus coepit assurgere. Jam quippe notum feci Sacrae Congr.

[1] Original in Archives of Propaganda. *Atti di Congregazione*. 1823, p. 239. — There is reason to believe that, even though this letter bears the date, October 1, it is the same as mentioned by Bishop Du Bourg writing to Father Rosati, from St. Louis, on September 11: "I have written again to stop the division of the Diocese, as premature. My letter is a very strong plea. It is the fruit of the most serious reflections; and my soul is much more quiet since I wrote it. A Coadjutor is, and will be for a long time, the only thing we need. Fortunately, even in case the division were already made, I am sure that Father B. would not accept the appointment." If this surmise as to the identity of the letter be founded, then we should conclude that the prelate gave himself some more time for reflection, since he decided to send his plea only three weeks after composing it.

talem esse in iis rerum omnium inopiam, ut ne vel una parochia uni sacerdoti sustentando sufficiat, et ut Episcopus sibi, suoque clero et seminario, ab inferioris Louisianae eleemosynis praecipue annonam hactenus traxerit. Quod si scindatur spirituale illud vinculum quo ambae partes sub uno eodemque Pastore nectuntur planum est protinus cessatura subsidia, et deficiente pane, tum Episcopum, tum inferiores ministros alio pro alimoniis se recepturos. — His, in diversis epistolis latius immoratus sum, et fateor mihi admirationem facere quod Sacra Congr.o ne verbo quidem tam validam objectionem removere aut solvere tentaverit, praesertim cum ea semper mens Ecclesiae fuerit ut nunquam erigeretur Sedes Episcopalis, priusquam aliquo saltem modo Episcopali mensae provisum fuisset. Addidi etiam, quod, si differatur divisio, spes est bene fundata fore ut, decursu temporis, possessiones quas in Statu Missouriensi ad mensam episcopalem acquisivi, quaeque hactenus exiguum valde proventum afferunt, ita fructiferas facere possin, ut novae Sedis sustentationi sufficiant. Interim vero toti Louisianae unum Episcopum abunde fore, si Coadjutorem laboris et sollicitudinis obtineat, quem nescio cur ipsi denegandum, cum aliis Episcopis, hujusmodi opis minus indigis, promptius fuerit concessa.

2. De his, ut sibi melius placuerit, statuet Sacra Congregatio. Quod ad me spectat, ita persuasum habeo praefatam divisionem, in praesenti rerum conditione, Religionis exitio versuram, ut consensum quem jam in id dederam penitus nunc revocem, paratus etiam pro totius jurisdictionis meae abdicatione apud Sanctam Sedem postulare potiusquam praedictae Sedis erectioni manum utcumque praebere. Quam sane mentis meae determinationem confido non esse ambitioni aut pervicaciae tribuendam. Si solum considerare velit Sacra Congregatio nedum aliquid utilitatis mihi ex conservatione superioris Louisianae proveniat, nihil me ex ea nisi laboris et solicitudinis incrementum recipere, sed me urget Religionis utilitas, de qua, ut opinor, optima mihi subest opportunitas judicandi. His mature perpensis spero Sacram Cong., posthabita ad praesens proposita divisione, (salvâ semper institutione novae Sedis pro Alabama et Floridensi Agro) de Coadjutore mihi quamprimum concedendo nunc solum cogitaturam.

3. Ad munus hoc implendum jam aetate nimis provectus, viribusque fractus Rev. D. Sibourd. Quod D. Rossetti Mediolanensem iterata jam vice mihi ad Episcopatum proposuerit Sacra Congr., satis arguit ipsi minus notum fuisse hunc sacerdotem, Praeterquam enim ita corpore deformis est, ut ipsius aspectus risum Americanis moveret, profunda tum humanarum, tum divinarum literarum inscitia laborat, gallici et angli Idiomatum aeque rudis. Sed quod pejus est, jam duobus retro annis, summo omnium nostrum dolore et molestia in vesaniam penitus actus est, se Regem Angliae sibi fingens, pudoris aeque ac Religionis aeque oblitus. Tandem post annum integrum in hoc deplorabili statu exactum, mente partim recuperata, in patriam regredi voluit, ubi eum nunc incolumem appulisse confido.

LUD. GUIL. Ep. Neo-Aurel.

S. Ludovici in Statu
Missouriano, Octob. 1. An. 1822.

TRANSLATION

Your Eminence:—

Repeatedly I have bothered the S. Congregation with my importunate requests against precipitation on its part in the erection of a new Diocese in Upper Louisiana. Nevertheless my mind will not be at rest, unless I rehash once more the same plea, and until I have the certainty that my prayers are kindly heeded. The matter at stake is, indeed, of the greatest importance, as it entails no less than the complete downfall of the religious edifice which has begun to rise in that territory at the cost of so much labor. I have already told the S. Congregation that there is such a lack of everything, that not one parish can afford maintenance to a single priest, and that the Bishop has, thus far, drawn his support, and that of his priests and his Seminary, mainly from the offerings of Lower Louisiana. Should the spiritual bond which unites both parts under one and the same Pastor be severed, at once clearly the means of support will cease to be forthcoming; and for sheer lack of bread, the Bishop and the clergy will have to go elsewhere to get their support. I have dwelt at some length on this consideration in various letters; and I must say that I wonder why the S. Congregation did not bring forward a single word to remove or solve such a strong objection; indeed I am wondering all the more, because the policy of the Church has always been never to create an Episcopal See before some provision at least was made for the Bishop's maintenance. I added, moreover, that, if the division were postponed, there was a well-founded hope that, in the course of time, the properties which I have bought in Missouri for the Bishop's maintenance, and which hitherto have yielded only a very small income, might be made to bring revenues sufficient for the support of the new See. Meanwhile, one Bishop is enough for the whole of Louisiana, if he can have a Coadjutor to help him in his labors and solicitude: why this help should be denied him, whilst it has been readily given to others less in need than he, I am at a loss to realize.

2. This affair the S. Congregation will settle as it pleases. As to me, I am so thoroughly convinced that this division at present, will turn out to the detriment of Religion, that I revoke absolutely the consent, I had given to it, and am ready to ask the Holy See to accept my resignation from all my jurisdiction, rather than to lend a hand in any way whatever to the erection of the intended new See. I trust that this determination on my part shall not be attributed to ambition or stubbornness. For if the S. Congregation but adverts to the fact that my keeping Upper Louisiana, far from being to me of any kind of help, is, on the contrary, only a source of trouble and solicitude, it will understand that I am moved by no other motive than the good of Religion, which I am, I think, in an excellent position to appreciate. I hope that the S. Congregation, after mature reflection, will set aside the division now proposed (not, however, the creation of a new See for Alabama and the territory of Florida), and think only of giving me as soon as possible a Coadjutor.

3. To discharge this office, the Rev. Mr. Sibourd is now too old and impotent. As to Father Rossetti, from Milan, the fact that the S. Congregation has twice already proposed him to me as Coadjutor, is clear enough evidence that this priest is very little known to it. For, besides being disgraced by a bodily deformity that would make the mere sight of him an object of ridicule to our Americans, he is woefully devoid of all culture either profane or ecclesiastical, and incapable to speak either French or English. But there is still worse: two years ago, to the extreme sorrow and annoyance of us all, he became completely insane, believing he was the King of England, and forgetful of all rules of decency and Religion. Finally, after a whole year spent in this deplorable condition, as he partly recovered his mind, he wished to go back to his native country, where I trust he must, at the time of this writing, have arrived safely.

✠ LOUIS WM. Bp. of New Orl.

St. Loius, Mo., October 1, 1822.

With this letter we resume the regular chronological order of this correspondence.

XXXII

TO FR. P. BORGNA, C. M.

Assistant at the Cathedral, New Orleans.[1]

Washington, le 27 Fév. 1823.

Je viens de recevoir, Mon cher Ami, votre lettre du 21 Janvier. J'approuve votre voyage: mais ne venez pas me chercher ici, où je ne serai plus. Je vous donne de loin ma bénédiction—partez en droiture, s'il est possible, pour Livourne, pour éviter les fraix; voici les avis que j'ai à vous donner.

1° Pour votre âme n'oubliez pas vos pratiques spirituelles, *et in omnibus exhibe te sicut Dei ministrum.*

2° Dans l'intérêt de la Mission, voyagez *incognito,* autant que possible, point de quêtes publiques.

3° Ne nous menez aucun prêtre; si ce n'est deux ou trois bons Missionnaires de votre Congrégation, capables de relever Mr. Rosati. Vouz savez les qualités qu'ils doivent avoir: une grande douceur sur tout, point de rigorisme, et quelque chose d'engageant dans leurs manières.

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[1] Strictly speaking, this letter, as is clear from the subscription, does not belong to the Correspondence of Bishop Du Bourg with Propaganda. However its finds naturally its place here, as Father Borgna — though he did not go to Europe for that purpose—was to be the agent and spokesman of the Bishop with the S. Congregation, and he was directed to leave at least a copy of this letter with the Cardinal Prefect. He indeed left the original, which is now in the Archives of Propaganda, *Scritture Referite nei Congressi.* Codice 8. *America Centrale. Dal Canada all Istmo di Panama. Dal* 1823 *a tto il* 1826.

4° Faites connoître au Card. Préfet par quels artifices ce malheureux Inglesi m'a séduit moi, Mr. De Andreis et tous ceux, prêtres ou laïques, qui l'ont connu ici. Dites que je reconnois mon erreur et la déplore; et que telle est la confusion et la douleur où cette triste découverte me plonge, que j'ai été tenté plusieurs fois de solliciter de Sa Sainteté la permission de me retirer pour pleurer cette faute; que le seule crainte de voir mon Diocèse perdu par cette demande m'a retenu; mais que si Son Eminence juge, convenable de me décharger d'une place, dont je me suis rendu indigne par une si haute imprudence, je suis prêt à me démettre, et je lui en aurai la plus vive reconnoissance.

Qui que ce soit qui vous parle cette triste affaire, ne craignez pas de desavouer ce malheureux imposteur, et de peindre la désolation où il me plonge.

5° Au milieu de ces grands sujets d'affliction, Dieu me ménage des consolations extraordinaires, qui me font croire que mes fautes ont trouvé grâce devan lui, à cause de ma bonne intention. N'en parlez à *personne* à la Louisiane, ni et Europe, excepté à votre Supérieur et au Card Préfet.—*La première* est le succès de mes démarches auprès du Gouvernement Américain, pour l'Etablissement d'une Mission indienne à *Council Bluff,* où se trouve une garnison en grande partie catholique.—Le Gouvernement accorde $800 par an pour quatre Missionaires, et il payera les ⅔ des fraix d'établissement ainsi que de l'éducation des jeunes Indiens.—J'avois pensé à donner cette Mission à Votre Compagnie, mais elle est et sera longtemps trop peu nombreuse pour s'en charger. Les Jésuites vont la prendre: ils me donnent à cet effet deux excellens Prêtres et deux frères catéchistes. *Council Bluff* est à peu près à 1000 milles de l'embouchure du Missouri. Les Missionaires partiront sous deux ou trois semaines. — *La seconde,* qui a trait à l'établissement Episcopal á la N.lle Orléans, est la cession que viennent de me faire les dames Ursulines de cette Ville de leur *Couvent, Eglise et dépendances,* dont j'aurai possession aussitôt qu'elles seront transférées.—J'ai obtenu à cet effet du Gouvernement main levée de toutes ses prétentions sur le terrain de cet Etablissement. Vous sentez tous les avantages qu cette collocation donnera à l'Evêque. L'Eglise seule, qui, et abbatant toutes les cloisons et murs dont elle partagée, sera un grand vaisseau, lui sera d'une ressource infinie. — La grande maison offre tous les logemens nécessaires pour Collège, Séminaire, etc. Et vous imaginez bien que dans mes plans sur cet objet, c'est sur votre Congrégation que je fonde mes espérances. Voilà par conséquent pour elle *magnum ostium apertum.* —J'ai senti dès lors la nécessité de la renforcer, par tous les moyens, de bons sujets, capables de tout et en cela j'ai eu un succès qui passe toutes mes espérances et c'est là *ma troisième consolation.* J'ai lieu de croire qu'avant six mois elle recevra une recrue de 5 ou 6 sujets au moins, peut-être dix, presque tous formés, possédant bien l'anglois et le françois; et ayant fait une partie de leur Théologie. La Providence m'a fait arriver ici pour y decouvrir une mine. Et afin que ceci ne soit pas une énigme pour vous, et pour les Supérieurs, voici tout uniment ce que c'est. Les Jésuites se trouvant obérés d'une dette énorme qui les oblige à arrêter

toute dépense, ont résolu de dissoudre leur Noviciat, composé de sept sujets flamands, dont plusieurs d'un grand mérite; ils m'ont proposé de me charger de ceux, qui, dans l'impossibilité d'entrer dans leur Société, voudraient s'engager dans la vôtre. Ils se chargent de payer la dépense de leut transport. J'irai demain ou après visiter le Noviciat, et faire choix de 3 ou 4 des meilleurs. Il y a dans un autre quartier un Prêtre de cinquante ans, plein de talent et d'expérience dans la direction et l'enseignement, qui m'a communiqué son désir d'entrer dans votre société avec deux ou quatre excellens jeunes ecclésiastiques formés par lui à la vertu et aux sciences, tous avancés dans leur Théologie. Ceci n'est pas encore aussi assuré que l'autre; mais je crois qu'il aura lieu.—Enfin quelques bons sujets, de mon Diocèse, soit Prêtres, soit Séminaristes outre ceux qui s'en sont déjà ouverts à M.r Rosati, sont probablement prêts à se réunir. Ces détails convaincront vos Supérieurs de l'importance de cet Etablissement, et de la nécessité de faire un dernier sacrifice et hommes de mérite pour le consolider.

6° Priez votre Supérieur de vous donner communication des lettres que je lui ai fait passer pour la Propagande, avec prière d'en soigner et d'en presser les demandes. Une d'elles est la suspension de la division du Diocèse. Vous savez aussi bien que moi que le diviser aujourd'hui seroit détruire au moins la partie Supérieure. J'ai demandé 3 ans pour consentir à cette division. Il ne vous sera pas difficile de faire comprendre au Card.l Préfet, la nécessité d'obtempérer à cette demande, où il est bien évident que loin d'avoir un intérêt personnel, je ne peux avoir qu'un surcroît de très vives solicitudes. En tout état de cause, ce seroit à la N.lle Orléans que je me fixerai comme le chef-lieu du Diocèse, et le titre de mon Siège. On demandera peut-être pourquoi je ne l'ai pas fait plutôt. Vous en savez bien les raisons, et Dieu a permis que ces raisons existassent pour me mettre dans le cas d'aller préparer pour le Missouri et les quartiers Supérieurs la voie à l'établissement d'un Siège Episcopal, qui sans cela n'auroit jamais pu s'y établir, et au défaut duquel la Religion auroit infailliblement péri dans cet immense quartier, lequel offre une si vaste et si intéressante perspective à l'imagination même la moins ardente.—Ma seconde demande étoit qu'on me donnât M.r Rosati pour Coadjuteur, en le continuant chef de votre Compagnie jusq à ce qu'il pût être dignement remplacé et cette qualité. Le Diocése ne pouvant être divisé de longtemps, vous sentez par expérience que j'ai absolument besoin d'un Coadjuteur dans l'intervalle, car l'absence de l'Evêque est le plus grand des maux sur l'un comme sur l'autre point et il ne peut être à la fois sur les deux. Mon Coadjuteur résideroit au Séminaire, et d'où il iroit de tems à autre visiter St. Louis et les autres paroisses. Si à l'époque où tout sera prêt pour l'érection du Siège à St. Louis, on veut y nommer M.r Rosati, je ne m'y opposerai pas certainement—après tout si l'on craint de lui donner le titre de Coadjuteur, qu'on le fasse Evêque *in partibus*, et *mon Grand Vicaire pour toute la Haute Louisiane* comme on a fait dernièrement pour l'évêque de Québec.—Travaillez aussi à cela.—Enfin ma troisième demande étoit que la Propagande pourvût à la dotation du Siège de la N. Orl. en faisant *un règle-*

ment motivé, pour obliger les Prêtres employés dans le saint Ministère à payer à l'Evêque la dîme de leurs revenus fixes et casuels, sauf le cas d'impossibilié dont l'Evêque seroit le juge. Vous savez que l'Evêque n'a absolument rien, que ce qu'il plaît à nos bonnes Ursulines de lui donner, chose très précaire et très insuffisante pour ses pressans besoins, et pour ses charges multipliées, pendant que la plupart des prêtres jouissent d'un bon revenu. Dans ce plan de taxation d'un dixième, chacun payeroit en proportion de ses moyens. Il en est peu qui ne pussent facilement en économiser un Dixième. J'avois encore demandé qu'on engageât les Ursulines à céder leur Couvent à l'Evêque à l'époque de leur translation. Mais elles ont prévenu d'elles-mêmes cette demande. Je viens de recevoir l'acte de cette donation pour moi et mes successeurs, signé de toutes les religieuses vocales sans exception — Pénétrez-vous bien de tous les articles de cette lettre. Traduisez-la en Italien, pour la communiquer *à qui de droit,* et ne négligez aucune démarche pour obtenir tout ce que je demande. 1° 3, au moins 2 Prêtres de votre Congrégation. 2° Suspension de la division de mon Diocèse. 3° Nomination de M.r R. pour mon Coadjuteur, au moins pour mon grand Vicaire pour la partie supérieure du Diocèse avec un *titre Episcopal in partibus.* 4° Règlement pour la taxation d'un dixième sur tous les revenus provenans du saint Ministère pour la Mense Episcopale de la N'lle Orléans. Faites—vous aider en tout cela par votre respectable Supérieur, que je remercie des avis qu'il m'a donnés sur M.r Inglesi, et le l'envoi d ucorps du *Saint Simplicius* Martyr. Malheureusement le bâtiment qui l'apportoit a été pris par des Corsaires et mené à Porto-Rico. J'écrirai pour recouvrer cette sainte Relique. 5° Je viens d'avoir avis de Mr. Sibourd que Mr. *Charles Devr. Rome* de la Nouv. Orléans venoit d'épouser sa nièce *Marie Thérèse Vion,* sur une permission de la législature, et qu'il n'avoit pas déclaré cette circonstance au curé (le P. Antoine), qui les a mariés sans en avoir connoissance. Tâchez d'obtenir dispense, ou même au besoin *sanationem in radice*: car le mariage est indissoluble au civil.

Je compte absolument, mon cher ami, sur votre retour pour l'automne, si Dieu vous conserve. Ce seroit manquer á tous vos devoirs que de nous faire faux bond, et vous auriez sujet de craindre d'avoir à en rendre un compte sérieux au tribunal de Dieu; car autant les suites de votre démarche peuvent être favorables à la Religion, autant votre défection lui seroit funeste.

6° Veuillez exposer aussi que les mariages entre Cousins germains étant très fréquens dans ce Diocèse, je suis presque à bout des *cas* pour lesquels j'ai la faculté de dispenser. Demandez en conséquence une extension de cette faculté pour *cent* cas, si vous pouvez l'obtenir— au moins pour *cinquante,* qui seront bientôt usés. Je répète que vous devez éviter de vous charger d'aucun autre sujet que les 2 on 3 ci dessus désignés pour éviter le frais car je suis fort en dette.

7° Et á propos de cela, informez S. E. le Cardinal Consalvi que j'ai reçu les mille *écus* qu'il a chargé Mr. Pointer Vic Apost. de Londres de me faire passer; mais que je supplie instamment S. E. de m'envoyer par la même voye les autres *trois mille écus,* fesant l'appoint

de 4,000 que Sa Sainteté a eu la bonté de m'accorder, et sur lesquels j'ai dû compter pour me libérer. J'ai eu l'honneur de lui en écrire mais veuillez en presser l'exécution. Car le terme de mes engagemens s'approche. Je n' ai que jusqu'au mois d'Octobre de cette année. Il est donc urgent de faire compter cette somme sans délai. Elle est destinée à parfaire le payement des 2 fermes de Florissant et de la Rivière des Pères, sur lesquelles doit reposer une grande partie de la mense Episcopale de St. Louis. Je ne demande rien de cela pour le Siège qui doit *me rester*. Vous pouvez vous figurer les dépenses que j'ai déjà fait pour cette partie sup. de mon Diocèse, soit au Séminaire ou à St. Louis.

Soyez extrêmement prudent dans vos communications. Mais n'ayez aucune réserve pour S.E. le Card Préfet et pour votre Supérieur. Donnez-leur à chacun copie en Italien de toute cette lettre, et si Son Em. vous demande l'original, remettez le entre ses mains.

Allez vous prosterner en mon nom aux piés de Sa Sainteté, priez-le de me pardonner mes fautes, qui ont été l'effet de la surprise. Remerciez le de ses bontés pour moi et demandez lui Sa bénédiction pour moi et mon troupeau. Je vous donne la mienne de tout mon coeur, Mon très cher ami, et je prie Dieu, qu'il envoye son ange pour vous accompagner *euntem et redeunttem.*

✠ L. GUIL. *Ev. de la Nouv. Orléans.*

Tâchez de faire, sans dépenses, *una gran raccolta de Crocifissi, Immagini et corone.* Je crois qu'il sera très sage de prendre un passeport américain. Je vous recommanderois aussi de revenir par New York dans la crainte des Pirates, quoique ce soit une augmentation de dépenses d'au moins 100 gourdes par personne. Mais le danger est trop inquiétant pour que cette dépense doive arrêter pour s'y soustraire, dussiez-vous vous rendre à Philad. par de steamboat, de là par la diligence à *Wheeling,* de là par steamboat à Louisville où vous en trouverez un pour Ste. Genevieve. Je présume que vous serez bien aise d'emmener vos Mess. au Séminaire.

J'approuve votre remplacement par Mr. *Acquaroni* jusqu'à votre retour. J'ai écrit pour retirer Mr. Pottini au Séminaire, il y a déjà au moins 15 jours; et j'ai prié Mr. R. d'envoyer Mr. Rosti à sa place. Sous peu j'aurai quelques prêtres de plus pour renforcer les postes.

Priez pour moi, mon ami Mon âme est plongée dans l'amertume: mais mon courage se soutient. Dieu a permis mes fautes pour m'humilier. Que son Saint nom soit béni. S'il vut m'envoyer de nouvelles afflictions, aunquelles je m'attens, demandez-lui de soutenir en proportion mon courage et ma résignation. Mes compliments affectueux à vos chers Collègues.

Je vous réitère l'assurance de mon resp.x et bien tendre attachement.

✠ L. GUIL. Ev . de la Nouv. Orléans.

Ayez grand soin de cette lettre. Je crains vos distractions. Gardez-la sous clef, et ne manquez pas de l'emporter avec vous dans un portefeuille.

TRANSLATION

Washington, February 27, 1823.

I have just received, my Dear Friend, your letter of January 21. I approve of your journey; but do not come to look for me here, where I shall not be any more. I give you my blessing from afar. Go straightway, if you can, to Leghorn, in order to avoid expenses. Here is the advice I have to give you.

1. For your soul, do not forget your spiritual exercises, *et in omnibus exhibe te sicut Dei ministrum* [2]

2. In the interest of the Mission, travel *incognito,* as much as you can; no public collections.

3. Bring us not priests except two or three good missionaries of your Congregation, capable to relieve Father Rosati. You know the qualifications they must have: above all a great mansuetude; no rigorism, and something attractive in their manners.

4. Make known to the Card. Prefect by what artifices the notorious Inglesi magnetized me, and Father De Andreis and all, both priests and lay people, who knew him here, Say that I acknowledge my mistake and deplore it [3]; and that such is the confusion and the sorrow into which this sad disclosure has plunged me, that I have been several times tempted to beseech His Holiness permission to retire in order that I may bewail this fault; that the sole fear to see my Diocese lost by that request prevented me; but that if His Eminence deems it fit to relieve me of a place, of which I made myself unworthy by such a great imprudence, I am ready to resign, and will be most thankful to him.

Whoever speaks to you of this sad affair, have no hesitation to disown the wretched impostor, and to depict the sorrow wherein he has plunged me.

5. In the midst of those great subjects of affliction, God has kept in store for me extraordinary consolations, which lead me to believe that my faults have found mercy before Him, on account of my good intention. Do not mention this to *anybody* in Louisiana, or in Europe, save to your Superior [4] and the Card. Prefect.—*The first* is the success of my instances with the American Government in regard to the establishment of an Indian mission at *Council Bluffs,* where there is a military post made up mostly of Catholics. The Government grants $800 yearly for four missionaries; and, it will defray two-thirds of the outlay and of the education of the young Indians. It had been my

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[2] "In all things exhibit yourself as the minister of God,"—an adaptation of II Cor. vi, 4.

[3] The eyes of Bishop Du Bourg were finally opened upon the true worth of Inglesi at the end of January or the beginning of February 1823. Two letters of his to his brother Louis, at Bordeaux, the first dated February 6, and the second February 10, express his feelings when doubts had become impossible. From the sequel of this letter to Father Borgna, it appears that the communications of Father Baccari, Vicar General of the Congr. of the Mission in Rome, were very instrumental in removing the scales from the prelate's eyes.

[4] Father Baccari.

TRANSLATION

Washington, February 27, 1823.

I have just received, my Dear Friend, your letter of January 21. I approve of your journey; but do not come to look for me here, where I shall not be any more. I give you my blessing from afar. Go straightway, if you can, to Lebanon, in order to avoid expenses. Here is the advice I have to give you.

1. For your soul, do not forget your spiritual exercises, at a common retreat for the ministers.[a]

2. In the interest of the Mission, travel incognito, as much as you can; no public collections.

3. Bring us not priests except two or three good missionaries of your Congregation, capable to relieve Father Rosati. You know the qualifications they must have: above all a great mansuetude; no rigorism, and something attractive in their manners.

4. Make known to the Card. Prefect by what artifices the notorious Inglesi magnetized me, and Father De Andreis and all, both priests and lay people, who knew him here. Say that I acknowledge my mistake and deplore it;[b] and that such is the confusion and the sorrow into which this sad disclosure has plunged me, that I have been several times tempted to beseech His Holiness permission to retire in order that I may bewail this fault; that the sole fear to see my Diocese lost by that request prevented me; but that if His Eminence deems it fit to relieve me of a place, of which I made myself unworthy by such a great imprudence, I am ready to resign, and will be most thankful to him.

Whoever speaks to you of this sad affair, have no hesitation to disown the wretched imposture, and to depict the sorrow wherein he has plunged me.

5. In the midst of those great subjects of affliction, God has kept in store for me extraordinary consolations, which lead me to believe that my faults have found mercy before Him, on account of my good intention. Do not mention this to anybody in Louisiana, or in Europe, save to your Superior[c] and the Card. Prefect.—The first is the success of my instances with the American Government in regard to the establishment of an Indian mission at Council Bluffs, where there is a military post made up mostly of Catholics. The Government grants $800 yearly for four missionaries; and, it will defray two-thirds of the outlay and of the education of the young Indians. It had been my

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[a] "In all things exhibit yourself as the minister of God,"—an adaptation of II Cor. vi, 4.

[b] The eyes of Bishop Du Bourg were finally opened upon the true worth of Inglesi at the end of January or the beginning of February 1823. Two letters of his to his brother Louis, at Bordeaux, the first dated February 6, and the second February 10, express his feelings when doubts had become impossible. From the sequel of this letter to Father Borgna, it appears that the communications of Father Baccari, Vicar General of the Coadjutor of the Mission in Rome, were very instrumental in removing the scales from the prelate's eyes.

[c] Father Baccari.

intention to give this mission to your Congregation; but it is and shall be yet for a long time too poor in subjects to be able to take it. The Jesuits are going to take it [5]: they are giving me for this purpose two excellent priests and two lay-brothers to teach catechism. *Council Bluffs* is situated at about a thousand miles from the mouth of the Missouri river. The missionaries will start in two or three weeks. — *The second* consolation, which is about the Bishop's establishment in New Orleans, is the donation which the Ursuline nuns of that city have just made to me of their Convent, Church and dependencies, of which I shall enter into possession as soon as they move out. To this effect I have obtained from the Government withdrawal of all its claims upon that property. You may easily realize all the advantages which will accrue to the Bishop from that location. The church alone, which, when all the walls and partitions that divide it are pulled down, will be a spacious building, shall be for him an invaluable asset. The big house affords all the halls necessary for a college, Seminary, etc. And you may well imagine that in my plans about this matter, it is on your Congregation I am building up my hopes. Here is, therefore, for it *magnum ostium apertum*.[6] — Hence I have realized fully how necessary it is to strengthen it, by all means, with good subjects capable of everything; and in this I have been successful beyond my most sanguine hopes: and this is my *third cause of consolation.* I have good reasons to believe that before six months, it will receive an increase of at least five or six, perhaps even ten, subjects, nearly all completely trained, with a good command of English and French, and having read part of their Theology. Divine Providence brought me here to discover a veritable mine. In order that these words may not be a puzzle to you and your Superiors, here is in plain and clear language what I mean. The Jesuits, being overburdened by an enormous debt which obliges them to stop every expenditure, have determined to dissolve their Noviciate, which is made up of seven Flemish subjects,[7] some of whom are quite remarkable; and they have proposed to me to take over those, who, unable to join their Society, would be willing to enter your own. They offer to pay transportation expenses.

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[5] We must conclude from this that the acceptance of the Indian Missions by the Jesuits in the Diocese of Bishop Du Bourg was *previous* to, and therefore *independent* from even the first thought of transferring the Noviciate from White Marsh to Florissant. This transfer came as a happy afterthought, which preserved for the Order a number of talented and very efficient subjects: we may say it followed soon after the writing of this letter, and probably as a result of the visit to White Marsh which the prelate intended to make shortly: the Indian Missions had been accepted already, and the personnel, "two excellent priests and two lay-brothers," apparently already designated. We should not be surprised, though, that the "two excellent priests" and the two brothers designated were no other than those who actually came, Fathers Van Quickenborne and Timmermans, and Brothers De Meyer and Rysselman; for no doubt but that the closing of White Marsh was an affair decided some time since by Father Neale.

[6] A great door opened." I Cor, xvi, 9 .

[7] Jodocus Francis Van Asshe, Peter J. Verhaegen, John B. Elet, John B. Smedts, Peter J. De Smet, Felix L. Verreydt De Maillet.

I am going tomorrow, or the day after, to visit the Noviciate and pick out three or four of the best. There is in another quarter a priest, fifty years old, very talented and having much experience in spiritual direction and teaching, who communicated to me his desire to join your Society in company with two or four excellent young ecclesiastics formed by him to virtue and science, all quite well on in their Theology[8]. This latter project is not yet as well assured as the former; yet I believe that it will be realized. Moreover, a few good subjects of my Diocese, some priests, some others seminarians, besides those who have already broached the matter with Father Rosati, are probably disposed to join also [9].—The above details will convince your Superiors of the importance of this establishment, and of the necessity to make a supreme sacrifice in men of merit to strengthen it.

6. Ask your Superior to communicate to you the letters which

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[8] Who that priest was is a matter of conjecture. The details given by Bishop Du Bourg do not permit us, however, to go very far afield. The priest in question had "formed to virtue and science" the two or four excellent ecclesiastics mentioned with him are possible recruits for the LazaristCommunity. Now in letters written some time before to Father Rosati, Bisoup Du Bourg announced the following news: "Two excellent subjects, well on in their theology" (just the expression used in our letter to Borgna), are asking to be transferred to my Diocese and to be received in your Congregation. The one, a nephew of the late Bishop Egan, of Philadelphia, has been raised from early youth in the Seminary of Emmitsburg... He proposes another subject, an Irishman... full of humility, talent and knowledge, who is free to chose his own Diocese: his name is Purcell."(December 6, 1822) These two students of Mount St. Mary's are quite well known: the one was Michael D. Egan, who was president of the institution from 1826 to 1828; the other, John Purcell, the future Archbishop of Cincinnati. If Bishop Du Bourg meant to speak of these same young ecclesiastics—and this seems to be the case—we are bidden to look for the priest "fifty years old, very talented and endowed with much experience in spiritual direction and teaching" among those associated with Mount St. Mary's, Emmitsburg. This restricts considerably the field of research, for in 1822—1823, the teaching staff of Mount St. Mary's, besides several young men who were at the same time studying theology, included only Father Dubois, the President, and Father Brutê. Father Dubois was just sixty and, therefore, is out of the question. Bishop Du Bourg was very anxious to have Father Bruté come west, as we learn from a letter dated St. Louis, July 6, 1822 (*Catholic Archives of America,* University of Notre Dame, Indiana, Case: *Archbishops and Bishops of New Orleans*) : "O! would that I could see you at the head of this great undertaking" (the Indian Mission in Missouri)! "I had requested Father Anduze to write to you about it. Your reply does not make me lose all hope. That reply was prudent. It was advisable, indeed, that you should wait until I were more explicit with you. You will answer now as your heart dictates. We shall, moreover, have occasion to converse *os ad os*... O God! what a beautiful harvest! Send us, then, laborers worthy to gather it. I believe you are called to this work, my dearest brother, and, pray God to manifest to you his holy will, and am assured of your fidelity and promptness to fulfill it." We know that Bishop Du Bourg had put Father Bruté an his list of desirable candidates for the Coadjutorship. Of course, if our surmise be right, the subject of going west was discussed between the prelate and the professor of Mount St. Mary's during the former's sojourn in Maryland. At any rate none of his expectations of bringing from the East new recruits for the Congregation of the Mission eventually materialized.

[9] Among the priests, may be mentioned Fathers Anduze and Michael Portier, as we learn from various letters of Du Bourg to Rosati.

I sent him for Propaganda [10], with the request to take good care, and hasten the consideration of the petitions they contain. One of these is dealing with the suspension of the division of the Diocese. You know as well as I do that dividing it now would spell the ruin of at least the Upper portion. I have requested a delay of three years before I can consent to this division. You will find no difficulty in making the Card. Prefect understand how necessary it is to grant this request, which evidently, far from being inspired by personal interest, means for me only an increase of most grievous cares. At all events New Orleans is the place where I would establish the headquarters of the Diocese, and the title of my See. You may be asked why I did not do it sooner. You know very well my reasons; and God permitted that these reasons should be in the way to place me in a condition that enabled me to prepare in Missouri and the Upper quarters the way for the erection of an Episcopal See, which otherwise could never have been established there, and without which Religion would have surely perished in that immense quarter that opens before the most sober imagination the most interesting vista.—My second request was that Father Rosati be given me as Coadjutor, and that at the same time he remain as the head of your company until a worthy substitute may replace him in this office. As the Diocese cannot be divided for yet a long time, you may realize from your own experience that I need absolutely a Coadjutor in the meantime; for the Bishop's absence is the worst evil for the one as well as for the other portion of the Diocese, and he cannot be in both places at the same time. Thus my Coadjutor would reside in the Seminary, and from there would go from time to time to visit St. Louis and the other parishes. If, when everything is ready for the creation of the See of St. Louis, they wish to appoint there Father Rosati, I shall certainly make no objection. After all if they are afraid to give him the title of Coadjutor, let them make him Bishop *in partibus, and my Vicar General for the whole of Upper Louisiana,* as was done recently for the Bishop of Quebec. Work also for that. — Finally my third petition was that Propaganda should provide for the endowment of the See of New Orleans, by making detailed regulations obliging the Priests employed in the holy Ministry to pay to the Bishop the tithe of their revenues, both fixed and eventual, except in the case of impossibility, of which the Bishop shall be judge. You know that the Bishop has absolutely nothing, save what our good Ursuline nuns are pleased to give him—a most precarious pittance, utterly insufficient for his pressing needs and his manifold burdens; whereas most of the priests enjoy a goodly income. According to this plan providing for a tax of one-tenth, each one would contribute in proportion with his means. Very few are those who cannot easily save one-tenth of their income. I had also asked that the Ursulines be induced to hand over to the Bishop their Convent, when they were to move. But they anticipated this petition. I have just received

[10] The letters in question were, as we learn from the explanations given hereafter, those of October 1, and of December 6, 1822.

the Deed of this donation signed by every single one of the nuns having right to vote.

Make yourself thoroughly conversant with each one of the articles of this letter. Translate it into Italian, that you may communicate it to *whom it may concern,* and leave no efforts untried to get what I am asking for: 1° Three, or at least two Priests of your Congregation 2° Putting off the Division of my Diocese. 3° Appointment of Father Rosati as my Coadjutor, or at least as my Vicar General for the Upper part of the Diocese with the *title of Bishop in partibus.* 4° Regulation for a tax of one-tenth on all the revenues accrueing from the holy ministry for the support of the Bishop of New Orleans. Enlist for all this the co-operation of your respectable Superior, whom I thank for the information he gave me about Fr. Inglesi, and for sending the body of *St. Simplicius,* Martyr. Unfortunately the vessel which brought it was captured by corsairs and taken to Porto-Rico. I shall write to recover this holy Relic.—I have presently received advice from Father Sibourd that Mr. *Charles D. Rome,* of New Orleans had just married his niece *Marie Therese Vion* with the permission of the legislature, and that he did not manifest this circumstance to the pastor (Father Anthony), who married them without knowing it. Try to get the dispensation, or even, if needs be, the *sanatio in radice*: for the marriage, before the civil law, is indissoluble.—I reckon absolutely, My Dear Friend, on your coming back for the fall, if God preserves you. To fail us would be a breach of duty, and you would have reason to fear that you have to give a serious account of that before the tribunal of God: for your failure would be as harmful to Religion as the consequences of your journey may prove beneficial to it.—6° Please represent also that marriages between first cousins being very frequent in this Diocese, I have almost exhausted the number of *cases* for which I was empowered to dispense. Ask, therefore, an extension of this faculty for *a hundred* cases, if you can obtain it, or at least for *fifty,* which will be soon exhausted. I repeat that you must avoid accepting any other subjects but the two or three mentioned above, to cut down expenses, for I am deeply in debt. —7° And in this connection inform His Eminence Card. Consalvi that I received the thousand *scudi* which he commissioned Mr. Poynter, Vicar Apostolic of London, to forward to me; but that I beseech earnestly his Eminence to send me through the same channel the other *three thousand scudi,* completing the 4,000 which His Holiness kindly granted me, and on which I have been reckoning to extricate me from debt. I had the honor of writing to him about it, but please push the speedy execution of this affair. For my notes are coming near to maturity: I have only now until next October. It is urgent, therefore, that this money should be forwarded to me without delay. It is destined to complete the payment for the two farms of Florissant and of the River des Peres, on which in great part will rest the support of the Episcopal See of St. Louis. I ask nothing of that for the See which is to remain to me. You may figure out the expenses I have already incurred for that Upper portion of my Diocese, either at the Seminary or in St. Louis.

Be extremely cautious in your communications. But have no reticence with His Eminence the Card. Prefect and your Superior. Give them both a copy in Italian of all this letter, and if His Eminence asks for the original hand it to him.

Go and prostrate yourself in my name at the feet of His Holiness; beg him to pardon me my faults, which were caused by surprise. Thank him for his marks of kindness towards me, and ask his blessing for myself and my flock. I give you my own blessing with all my heart, My very Dear Friend, and pray God to send His holy Angel to accompany you *euntem et redeuntem.* [11]

✠ L. WM. Bp. of New Orleans.

Try to get, without expense, *una gran recollta de crocefissi, Immagini e corone.*[12] I think it will be wise for you to get an American passport. I would recommend also that you come back by way of New York, for fear of Pirates, although this may mean an increase of expenses of at least one hundred dollars per person. But the danger is so serious that this expense must not stop you, in order that you may be safe, should you have to go to Philadelphia by steamboat, hence to Wheeling by stage, thence again by steamboat to Louisville, where you will find another for Ste. Genevieve. I suppose that you will be glad to take yourself your gentlemen to the Seminary.

I approve of Fr. Acquaroni taking your place until you are back [13] I wrote a fortnight ago, at least, to have Father Potini recalled [14] to the Seminary; and I asked Fr. Rosati to send Fr. Rosti in his stead. Before long I shall have a few more priests to reinforce the parishes.

Pray for me, Dear Friend. My soul is plunged in bitterness; still I keep up courage. God permitted my faults to humble me: blessed be His Holy Name. If he wishes to send me new afflictions, which I am expecting, ask him to uphold my courage and resignation accordingly. My affectionate compliments to your dear colleagues.

I renew here the assurance of my respectful and most tender attachment,

✠ L. WM., Bp. of New Orleans.

Take good care of this letter. I am afraid of your distractions. Keep it under lock and key, and do not fail to take it along in a wallet.

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[11] "Going and coming back."

[12] "A great supply of crucifixes, holy pictures and rosaries."

[13] Father J. B. Acquaroni was then temporarily stationed at St. Michael's, La.

[14] The letter in question, to Father Rosati, was written from Washington, D. C., on February 6, 1823: "Few are the letters from La Fourche which do not give me an occasion to regret that I sent Fr. Potini there. This young man lacks decorum and docility, and you would do me a great pleasure if you took him from there and send Fr. Rosti instead..... Kindly write to him, *without mentioning my name,* that you request him to come up to the Seminary to make his retreat, that you think it necessary he should come to enjoy the *home* atmosphere, and that you are sending Fr. Rosti to take his place during his absence." (Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery).

XXXIII

BISHOP DU BOURG

TO THE CARD. PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA [1]

Eminentissime Praefecte,

Priusquam ad Dioecesim meam, permittente jam aeris et viarum conditione, iter rursus aggrediar, aequum est ut Em.am V.am de rationibus quae me huc duxerunt doceam, simulque de pluribus negotiis quae ad majorem Dei gloriam hic feliciter concludere mihi datum est, paucis certiorem faciam.

1° Moniales S.tae Ursulae, Novae Aureliae, octoginta et amplius abhinc annis, a Regimine Gallico, cui tunc Louisiana suberat, dono acceperant certam quantitatem soli, in medio Civitatis, in quo subinde munificentia Christianissimi Regis Lud.i XV amplum exstructum est Monasterium. Duobus autem retro annis, syngraphico errore contigit, ut Gubernium Americanum, tertiam circiter hujus possessionis partem tanquam suam vindicaret; licetque pluries scripto a Monialibus fuisset reclamatum, nullam jurium suorum recognitionem acceperant. Consilio igitur jurisperitorum ad hanc generalis Regiminis arcem devenire operae pretium duxi, ut quod litteris expediri non potuerat, vivae vocis argumentis explicare conarer. Est siquidem solum illud tanti valoris ut nihil ad restitutionem ejus procurandam omittendum judicarem. Quod, juvante Deo, mihi optime cessit.

2° Ad haec, cum, amplificata et in dies crescente Neo-Aurelianensi civitate, coactae fuissent Moniales sinere ut per clausuram suam duo ducerentur vici publici, quo ita coarctatum evasit Monasterii septum, ut sine magno convenientiae et valetutinis detrimento in eo longius degere, attento illius climatis ardore, magnoque numero familiarum, tum Religiosarum, cum educandarum et ancillarum, vix possent; ideoque a me veniam postularent aliud Monasterium in apertiori, longeque salubriori loco aedificandi; Timens ipse ne, quoniam a priori Gubernio possessionem hanc, *speciali fini applicandam,* gratis acceperant, si quando illam desererent, Regimen Americanum eam in integrum sibi jure arrogaret, necessarium duxi, priusquam Monialium precibus obtemperarem, politici regiminis consensum ad translationem, et donationis confirmationem solicitare. Quod utrumque ipsis, me postulante, benignissime concessum est.

3° Hoc ubi resciverunt gratae Moniales, propria sponte mihi et successoribus meis in Sede Neo-Aurelianensi dono dederunt aedificia quae nunc occupant, Monasterium scilicet, cum suis dependentiis, et satis amplam ecclesiam, in meam possessionem deventura statim atque novum, quod jam molitae sunt, Monasterium ingressae fuerint. Haec tandem erit solidissima Sedis Neo-Aurelianensis fundatio, cui si addatur decima pars proventuum omnium Sacerdotalium, de quo jam

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[1] Original in Archives of Propaganda. *Scritture Referite nei Congressi.* Codice 8. *America Centrale. Dal Canada all' Istmo di Panama.* Dal 1823 a tto il 1826.

XXXIII

BISHOP DU BOURG

TO THE CARD. PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA [1]

in antecedentibus epistolis Sacram Cong.em allocutus sum, nihil amplius deerit quot dignitati et independentiae illius sit necessarium.

4° Ad fovendas catholicas missiones inter numerosas tribus indigenas, quae juxta oras Missouri fluminis longe lateque vagantur, obtinui quoque a Gubernio annuum octingentorum nummorum subsidium cum promissione progressivi augmenti, et addita insinuatione, gratum Regimini fore, si Patres Societatis Jesu missiones illas aggrederentur, quippe cum omnibus notum esset, quam feliciter olim, in variis orbis partibus, in sylvicolarum institutione insudaverint adhuc quod inter Missourii populos tenerrimam superesse eorum memoriam. Notatu certe dignum mihi visum est, quod heterodoxorum Procerum de hac re sententia tam apprime concordet cum judicio SS.mi D.ni N.i qui cum a me, dum Romae essem, audivisset relationem status meae Dioeceseos, statim prophetica voce subjunxit: *Adjunge tibi Patres Societatis, quorum perutilem in illis Missionibus experieris operam.*

5° Divina autem Providentia contigit ut eodem temporis articulo superior Societatis Jesu in Marylandia, numero sociorum et aere alieno gravissime pressus, serio cogitaret de minuendis quocumque modo provinciae istius oneribus. Statim igitur atque audivit de longinquis illis Missionibus nec non et de politici regiminis voto, mihi obtulit duos e suis Patribus, septemque juniores cum aliquot coadjutoribus, ad erigendum circa ripas Missourii Seminarium, in quod illarum cura devoveret. Scit Em.a V.a quantum per septem annos laboraverim ut Societatem Jesu allicerem, firmissime persuasus me vix alio modo opem unquam afferre valiturum tum infidelibus sylvicolis, tum numerosissimis illis colonorum turmis, qui ad Missourii ripas ex variis Foederatae Americae partibus indesinenter confluunt. Facile igitur judicabit Em.a V.a gratissimam auribus meis fuisse hujusmodi propositionem. Ad consolidandam vero illam fundationem, nec non ad praecavenda mala quae in posterum ex variis collisionibus oriri possint, necessarium duxi Concordatum cum Societate inire, cujus exemplaria duo nunc Sacrae Congr.is et Patris Generalis judicio remittuntur.

Post paucos dies itineri se accingent praedicti Missionarii, quibus Ego ut viam sternam, protinus S.um Ludovicum redibo, inde Novam Aureliam, parvo temporis intervallo, descensurus.

Cum summa reverentia me profiteor

Em.ae Vestrae

Baltimori, martii 29, 1823

Humill. et obseq. famulum

✠ Lud. Guil. Ep. Neo Aurel.

Em. Cardinali Praefecto
Sac. Congr. de Propaganda Fide.

TRANSLATION

My Lord Cardinal:—

Before setting out for my Diocese, now that the weather and the condition of the roads make travelling possible, it is meet that I should set forth the reasons which brought me here, and that I should briefly

mform Your Eminence of several affairs which I have happily settled here *ad majorem Dei gloriam.*

1° The Ursulines of New Orleans had been given, over eighty years ago by the French Government, to which Louisiana then belonged, a tract of land in the midst of the City, on which later on, thanks to the munificence of the Most Christian King, Louis XV, they had built a large Monastery. Two years ago, however, as a consequence of a clerical error in the deed, the American Government claimed back one-third of the property. Although several times the nuns entered a reclamation in writing, their claim received no acknowledgement. I was advised, therefore, by the lawyers to come to the seat of the Federal government, and thought it my duty to do so, in order to discuss the matter *viva voce,* since no headway could be made by letters. This piece of property, indeed, is so valuable that I deemed that no effort should be spared to have this wrong righted. And, God helping, I have been successful.

2° Moreover, as the city of New Orleans is daily growing, the Nuns were forced to let two streets be pierced through their premises: this so reduced the private grounds of the Monastery, that the Nuns could remain there no longer without great inconvenience and detriment to their health, owing to the warm climate, and the numbers of the inmates, Nuns, pupils and maids. They, therefore, asked me to build another Monastery in less cramped and much more healthy quarters. However, I was afraid that, as they had been given this property by a former Government *for a special purpose,* if they left it, the American Government would claim it all back. For this reason I deemed it necessary, before granting the Nuns' request, to solicit the Government's consent to the transfer and the confirmation of the donation. Both petitions were, at my request, graciously granted.

3° When the Nuns got word of that, in their gratefulness they spontaneously made donation to me and my successors in the See of New Orleans, of the buildings which they now occupy, namely the Monastery with its outbuildings, and quite a large church. I shall enter into possession as soon as they move to the New Monastery, which is already started. This will at last put the See of New Orleans on a most solid footing; and if, to this is added the tax of ten per cent on all the parochial revenues, of which I spoke in some of my previous letters to the S. Congregation, nothing more will be desired for the dignity and independence of this See.

4° To develop Catholic Missions among the many Indian tribes which roam far and wide along the banks of the Missouri river, I have likewise obtained from the Government an annual subsidy of eight hundred dollars, with promise of an increase in proportion to the development of the work; and a hint was given me that the Government would be pleased to see the Fathers of the Society of Jesus take up these missions; for everybody knows what success in the past rewarded their labors for the civization of the savages in various parts of the world, and that a tender remembrance of them has survived among the Missouri nations. It appeared to me quite a remarkable

coincidence that the opinion of our Protestant Government men echoes so well that of His Holiness: for, when I was in Rome and described to him the condition of my Diocese, he at once, as moved by the spirit of prophecy, added: "Get the Fathers of the Society; you will find their work most useful in those Missions."

5° Now, by a stroke of Divine Providence, it happened that just at that time, the Superior of the Society of Jesus in Maryland, overburdened by the number of his men and by debts, was thinking seriously of lightening, by any means, the burden of that Province. No sooner had he heard of these far away Missions, and of the wishes of the Government, than he offered me two of his Fathers, with seven young men and a few lay Brothers, to start on the banks of the Missouri a Seminary, that would take charge of these Missions.[2] Your Eminence is well aware of the efforts which I had made for seven years, in order to bring over the Society of Jesus,[3] as I was all along firmly convinced that this was for me the only means that could enable me to help not only the infidel Savages, but also the numerous bands of farmers who are unceasingly moving to the banks of the Missouri from various parts of the United States. Your Eminence may then easily realize how pleasant to my ears was this proposal. However, to consolidate this foundation, and forestall all evils which might arise later on from

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[2] This transaction, which meant so much for the future Diocese of St. Louis, is rehearsed full length in the above-given letter to Father Borgna. Two weeks later Bishop Du Bourg wrote, from Georgetown to his brother Louis, at Bordeaux: "For such an undertaking [the Indian Missions], I needed men having a vocation for this function; and I had almost given up the hope of ever finding any, when God, in His infinite goodness, brought about one of these incidents of which He alone can calculate and direct the consequences. The Jesuits of whom I am speaking to you had their establishment in Maryland, and finding themselves in extremely straitened circumstances, were on the point of suppressing their Noviciate, when I obtained this pecuniary encouragement from the Government [$200. a year for each of the four Missionaries who were to work among the Indians]. They seized this occasion, and offered me the whole Noviciate, Masters and Novices, to take them over to Upper Louisiana and start there a nursery of Indian Missionaries. Had I been given the choice, I could not have desired anything better. Seven young men, all from Flanders, filled with talent and the spirit of St. Francis Xavier, already well on in their studies, ranging from twenty-two to twenty-seven years of age, with their two excellent Masters and a few brothers: that is what Providence has at last granted me." (*Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, tome I, fasc. 5, p. 38). How the heroic little band "without purse and scrip," came on foot from Whitemarsh, Md., to Florissant, and accommodated themselves to the poor and narrow log-house which awaited them, is graphically told in a later letter of the Bishop. The contract with the Rev. Charles Neale, Superior of the Jesuit Mission of Maryland, was signed on March 19, 1823. For the beginnings of the Florissant house, see Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J., *St. Regis Seminary — First Catholic Indian School*, in *The Catholic Historical Review*, January 1919, p. 453 foll.

[3] Already in a letter to Cardinal Fontana, dated February 24, 1821 (REVIEW, Vol. II, p. 136), Bishop Du Bourg remarked: "For some time past I have been thinking, for this paramount work of charity [the Indian missions], of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, and have left no stone unturned in order to secure some of them. In this regard I was greatly aided by His Holiness, who went so far as to write to the Superior General with a view to indorse my wishes. But hitherto our efforts have proved unsuccessful."

various misunderstandings, I have deemed it necessary to make a Contract with the Society:[4] herewith are two copies of this Contract, submitted to the judgment of the S. Congregation and of the Father General.

These Missionaries are going to set out in a few days. To pave the way for their coming I am going forthwith to St. Louis; whence, shortly after, I will go down to New Orleans.

With the most profound respect I sign myself

Your Eminence's

Most humble and obedient Servant

✠ Louis Wm., Bp. of New Orl.

Baltimore, March 29, 1823.

XXXIV

PROPAGANDA TO BISHOP DU BOURG [1]

No. 29

Illme ac Rme Domine

Satis comperta esse arbitror Ampd.ni Tuae magna dissidia, et contentiones, quae Philadelphiae jamdiu excitatae sunt aedituorum causa, ac praesertim contumacis Presbyteri Hogan, qui, spreta Episcopi autoritate, ejusque censuris, Parochialia munera exercet, et cathedralem Ecclesiam, ejecto Episcopo, invasit, quo factum est, ut Summus Pontifex illum a fidelium communione secreverit. Donec aeditui potestatem, quae Episcoporum est, in Ecclesiis sibi arrogaverint, nunquam fore sperandum est, ut ordo, et pax reflorescat. Quamobrem Rmus Dnus Conwell Philadelphiensis Episcopus ad tot, ac tantas perturbationes vitandas censet, non aliam posse reperiri viam, quam nova aedificanda Ecclesia, quae ab aedituis nullo pacto dependeat. Verum subsidia desunt, quibus tam salutare opus perfici possit, neque a Philadelphiensibus ea quaerenda esse arbitratur, ne aeditui constituantur, qui jus in Ecclesiam sibi vindicent. Quare consilium cepit implorandi pietatem, ac studium aliorum Episcoporum, qui erogatam a Fidelibus sibi subjectis opem ad novam exstruendam Philadelphiae Ecclesiam benigne conferre velint. Cum agatur de domo Dei, reparandisque scandalis, quae Ecclesiam illam misere angunt; plurimum sane commendanda erit Catholicorum Antistitum sollicitudo, si curam, operamque suam in re tam sancta sint praestituri. Quare dum fore confido, ut Ampd.o Tua pro ea, qua fervet, charitate piis Philadelphiae votis libenter obsequi velit, D.O.M. precor, ut eamdem diutissime servet, ac sospitet

Ampd.nis Tuae

Romae ex Aedibus S. Congnis de Propda Fide Die 19 Aprilis 1823

Uti Frater studiosissimus

H. Card. consalvi Pro-Praef.

Petrus Caprano Archiep.us Iconiensis Secret.us

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[4] The original of this contract, written by Bishop Du Bourg's own hand, and signed by him and by Father Charles Neale, S.J., is in the Archives of the Archdioc. Chancery of St. Louis.

[1] Original in Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery.

TRANSLATION

Right Reverend Sir:—

Your Lordship is, I suppose, well aware of the great troubles, and of the disputes which have been rife for some time back in Philadelphia,[2] and are due to the Trustees, and, still more, to the contumacy of Father Hogan, who, in defiance of the Bishop's authority and censures, exercises the pastoral ministry in, and has possessed himself of, the Cathedral, from which the Bishop was ejected: all which obliged the Sovereign Pontiff to excommunicate him. As long as the Trustees arrogate to themselves over the Church the power which belongs to the Bishops, there can be no hope to see order and peace flourish again. For this cause, the Right Rev. Conwell, Bishop of Philadelphia, thinks that, in order to prevent many and grave disturbances, there can be no other way than to build a new church free from any dependence on Trustees. But the money necessary to carry out this excellent plan is lacking, and the prelate does not deem it expedient to get it from the people of Philadelphia, for fear that a Board of Trustees be constituted who would claim rights over the church. He therefore resolved to beseech from the piety and zeal of the other Bishops that the latter ask contributions from the faithful of their Dioceses and kindly forward these contributions to him for the building of that new church in Philadelphia. As it is question of the house of God, and of repairing the scandals which afflict that Diocese, the Catholic prelates will do a thing most worthy of praise, if they lend their help in behalf of so holy a cause. Trusting, then, that Your Lordship's well known charity will readily fulfil the pious wishes of the Bishop of Philadelphia, I pray Almighty God, to grant you length of days and health.

Your Lordship's

Most devoted brother

H. Card. CONSALVI, Pro-Pref.

Rome, Palace of the S. Congreg. of Propaganda, April 19, 1823.

Peter Caprano, Archbp. of Iconium, Secretary.

XXXV

PROPAGANDA TO BISHOP DU BOURG[1]

No. 30

Illme, ac Rme Dne.

Adjectum huic meae epistolae Amplitudo Tua accipiet Breve Apostolicum quod Litteris diei 5. Julii me quamprimum ad Te missurum promiseram. Cognosces ex eo SSmum Dominum N.rum revocasse, ac abrogasse Litteras Apostolicas diei 13. Augusti 1822, quibus Alabamae, et Mississippi Status R. P. D. Josepho Rosati Electo Episcopo

[2] On the Schism of Philadelphia, see John G. Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States,* Vol. III, p. 224 and foll.—A whole volume, the 5th (should be properly Vol. 6), and part of another, the 7th of the *Scritture Referite nei Congressi,* in the Archives of Propaganda, are made up of the documents referring to this Schism of Philadelphia.

[1] Original in Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery.

Tenagrensi tanquam Vicario Apostolico administandi committebantur, itemque illas 21. Januarii 1823, quibus Floridae Vicariatui illi adjungebantur. Erit Tibi praeterea pergratum eumdem Electum Tenagrensem Episcopum Amplitudini Tuae Coadjutorem destinari. Intelliges tandem Luisianam totam etiam de Sanctitatis Suae sententia intra triennium in duas Dioeceses esse dividendam, quaeque respiciunt ejusdem R. P. D. Rosati successionem. Restat nunc, ut donec aliud a Sancta Sede constituatur, res omnes eo loco considerentur restitutae quo erant ante diem 13. Augusti 1822. ac 21. Januarii 1823,. ita scilicet, ut Alabamae, et Mississippi Statuum iterum Archiepiscopus Baltimorensis spiritualem curam gerat, illamque per Te tanquam per suum Vicarium Generalem prosequatur exercere, Tibique iterum subjectae Floridae censeantur. Rebus ita compositis confido fore ut animo tranquillo esse possis, et propter illud, quo praestas animarum salutis procurandae studium, novos quotidie apud vos faciat Religio progressus. Precor interea Deum, ut Amplitudinem Tuam diu sospitem, ac felicem servet

Amplitudinis Tuae

Romae ex Aedibus S. Congnis de Propaganda Fide die 19. Julii 1823

Uti Frater studiosissimus

H. Card. CONSALVI Pro-Praef.

R. P. D. Ludovico Gullielmo Du-bourg
Novae Aureliae Episcopo S. Ludovicum

Petrus Caprano Archiep.us Iconien. Secret.us

TRANSLATION

Right Rev. Sir:—

Your Lordship will find herewith enclosed the Apostolic Brief which I promised, in my letter of July 5,[2] to send you without delay. You will see by it that the Holy Father has revoked and abrogated the Apostolic Letter of August 13, 1822, whereby the States of Alabama and Mississippi were confided to the administration of Rev. Joseph Rosati, Bishop-Elect of Tenagra, as Vicar Apostolic; also the letter of January 21, 1823, whereby the Floridas were added to that Vicariate. You will be pleased, moreover, to see that the same Bishop-

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[2] This letter of Card. Consalvi, dated July 5, 1823, is not extant, and it may be safely asserted that it was not an official letter of Propaganda, but rather a private note of the Cardinal to acquaint Bishop Du Bourg with the results of the meeting of Propaganda held on June 9. We give here a copy of the minutes of this interesting meeting, as they are found in the Register of the *Atti di Congregazione* for 1823.

"DOUBTS:

I. Whether the Congregation should adopt the instance of Bp. Du Bourg to the effect, namely, of revoking the Decree and the Brief whereby Father Rosati was appointed Vicar Apostolic of Mississippi and Alabama?

II. If so, whether he should be made Coadjutor to Bishop Du Bourg?

III. Whether a Bishopric should be established in Florida, to which Alabama is to be joined? And if so,

IV. Who ought to be appointed there, whether Father Enoch Fenwick or Father Simon Bruté?

V. What consideration should be given to the project of the Archbishop of

Elect of Tenagra is appointed your Coadjutor. Finally the same Brief will inform you that, likewise by decision of His Holiness, the whole of Louisiana is to be divided within three years, into two Dioceses; and also of what concerns the Rev. Rosati's right of Succession. On the whole, then, until the Holy See makes new provisions, everything is to be understood to stand as it did before August 13, 1822, and January 21, 1823; that is: the States of Alabama and Mississippi are again under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Baltimore, who will continue to exercise this jurisdiction through you as his Vicar General; the Floridas likewise are returned to your own jurisdiction. This arrangement will, I trust, remove your anxieties so that your zeal for the salvation of souls may daily work out new conquests for Religion. Meanwhile I pray God for your Lordship's continuance in good health and happiness.

Your Lordship's Most devoted brother

H. Card. CONSALVI Pro Prefect.

Rome Palace of the S. Congr. of Propaganda, July 19, 1823.
To the Right Rev. Louis William Du Bourg,
Bishop of New Orleans. St. Louis.

Peter Caprano, Archb. of Iconium, Secretary.

Baltimore in regard to Mississippi and Alabama, if Father Rosati is made Coadjutor of Bp. Du Bourg?

VI. And what consideration to the other project of Bishop Flaget, namely that Alabama be given to administer to the Bishop of Carolina, and Mississippi to that of New Orleans?

DECISIONS:

To I. Yes, with a restriction. The restriction is, that the S. Congregation deems it necessary that Louisiana be divided within three years into two Dioceses, St. Louis and New Orleans being made respectively the Episcopal Sees.

To II. Yes, with a restriction. The restriction is, that it is decided that Father Rosati is designated to be the Bishop of one of the two Episcopal Sees of Louisiana.

To III. Yes qualified. The qualification is that the State of Alabama, together with that of Mississippi, should be administered by a Vicar Apostolic, until it has been seen definitely where the Episcopal See is to be established.

To IV. Answer deferred; and upon both of them, or even upon others, if there be other likely candidates, accurate informations, and reasons why the one should be preferred rather than the other as Vicar Apostolic with Episcopal dignity, should be asked from the Archbishop of Baltimore and from the Nuncio in Paris.

To V. Provided for above.

To VI. Sufficiently provided for.

J. Card. Fesch, *Ponens.*

In the audience of June 22, 1823, petition was made for the repeal of the Brief whereby Father Rosati had been appointed Vicar Apostolic of Mississippi and Alabama, also of the other whereby Florida was added to the same Vicariate Apostolic. Petition was made likewise about the appointment of Father Rosati as Coadjutor of Bishop Du Bourg.

Decree issued and letters written to Bishop Du Bourg and to Father Rosati on July 5, 1823."

XXXVI

ARCHBISHOP CAPRANO,

Secretary of Propaganda

TO BISHOP DU BOURG[1]

Illme, ac Rme Dne Dne Pne Colme

SSmus Dominus Noster Leo PP. XII. edidit Bullam indictionis Anni Sancti, itemque in sua ad Summum Pontificatum exaltatione Encyclicam Epistolam ad omnes Patriarchas, Primates, Archiepiscopos, Episcopos &c. &c. Utramque ad Amplitudinem Tuam mittendam continuo curavi, tum quod sciam tibi gratum futurum ipsam anni Jubilaei Bullam legere, tum etiam quod pro tua erga Sedem Apostolicam veneratione summaque pietate, qua praestas intelligam tibi jucundissimum fore Petrum per Leonem Episcopos alloquentem iterum audire, ac singularis illa sapientiae, ac Religionis plena documenta quae iis litteris continentur accipere. Adjectum igitur huic epistolae exemplum duplex reperies tum Bullae, tum Encyclicae litterae, ac precor Deum ut Amplitudinem Tuam diu sospitem, ac felicem servet.

Amplitudinis Tuae

Romae ex Aedibus Sacrae Congnis de Propaganda Fide die 15. Junii 1824.

Observantissimus Famulus

PETRUS CAPRANO Archiep.us Iconien.

Cong. de P. F. Secret.us

R. P. D. Aloysio Guillelmo Du-bourg

Episcopo Novae Aureliae Sanctum Ludovicum

TRANSLATION

Right Rev. and Most honored Sir: —

His Holiness Pope Leo XII has issued the Bull of Indiction of the Jubilee, and an Encyclical Letter to all the Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, Bishops, &c., at the occasion of his elevation to the Sovereign Pontificate. I have at once directed that both be sent to Your Lordship, because I know you will be pleased to read the Bull of the Jubilee, and have no doubt, being aware of your veneration and utmost reverence for the Apostolic See, that it will be most agreeable to you to hear once more Peter speak to the Bishops through Leo, and to receive these remarkable utterances so full of wisdom and piety, which are contained in these Letters. You will find herein enclosed, therefore, two copies of the Bull and of the Encyclical Letter, and I pray God to keep Your Lordship yet many years in good health and happiness.

Your Lordship's Most respectful Servant

PETER CAPRANO, Archbp. of Iconium.

Secretary of the S. Cong. of Propaganda

Rome, Palace of the S. Cong. of Propaganda, June 15, 1824.

To the Right Rev. Louis William Du Bourg,

Bishop of New Orleans,

St. Louis.

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[1] Original in Archives of the St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery.

XXXVII

ARCHBISHOP CAPRANO

Secretary of Propaganda

TO BISHOP DU BOURG[1]

Illme, ac Rme Dne Dne Pne Colme

Accepi Amplitudinis Tuae litteras Novae Aureliae scriptas die 10. Maji quibus de Philadelphiensi dissidio loquens affirmas tibi illius extinguendi opportunam viam videri, Episcopum R. P. D. Conwell adducere, ut duos Sacerdotes qui plurimum gratia, et auctoritate apud illum, valent, quibusque consiliariis maxime utitur, a se dimittat. Praeteriisti tamen Sacerdotum illorum nomina mihi indicare. Erat autem omnino necessarium ea referre ut cum Episcopo ea de re tractatio suscipi posset. Ea igitur nomina ubi indicaveris, quid opportunum factu videbitur, poterit constitui. Interea vero non possum quin tibi significem mihi valde difficile videri Episcopo persuadere, ut ejusmodi consilium suscipiat. Oritur autem ea difficultas ex iis ipsis quae Tu de Sacerdotibus illis scripsisti. Si enim ii maxime possunt apud Episcopum auctoritate, et gratia, sique idem utitur illis veluti consiliariis suis, nonne difficile magnopere erit illi persuadere ut a se prorsus eosdem dimittat? Neque vero certum arbitror, etiamsi Episcopus illos a se removeat futurum ut concordia restauretur. Praetereo hoc promissum reperiri in Epistola, quam dicis Hogan Sacerdotis successoris, qui certe caeteroquin Inglesius ille famosus non erit. Parum enim spei afferre posse Epistola illa videtur, quam ipse affirmas Episcopo valde esse injuriosam. Dicam tantummodo, generatim, etiam timeri jure posse, ne homines Episcopo inimici, cum Sacerdotum illorum remotionem obtinuerint, promissa non sint servaturi. Sed haec tantum eo scripta a me fuisse credas, ut scias quae mihi difficultates in hoc negotio obversentur animo, De re ipsa enim agemus postquam responderis nomina describens Sacerdotum quos removendos judicares. Interim enim laudans vehementer Amplitudinis Tuae studium ut res Ecclesiasticae Philadelphiae tandem aliquando componantur, precor Deum ut Amplitudinem Tuam diutissime sospitem, ac felicem servet.
Amplitudinis Tuae

Romae ex Aedibus Sac. Congnis de Propaganda Fide die 24 Julii 1824

Observantissimus et devotissimus

PETRUS CAPRANO
Archiep.us Iconien. Secret.us

TRANSLATION

Right Reverend and Most honered Sir:—

I am in receipt of Your Lordship's letter written from New Or-

[1] Original in Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery.

leans, on May 10,[2] wherein, speaking of the troubles in Philadelphia, you state that, in your opinion, the proper way to put an end to these troubles, is to persuade the Bishop, the Right Rev. Conwell, to rid himself of two priests, who enjoy his friendship, have great influence upon him, and are his principal advisers. You forgot, however, to give me the names of these two priests. Still mention of these names was absolutely necessary in order that the matter be broached with the Bishop. When you send them, it will be possible to determine the proper course of action to be followed. Meanwhile I cannot help telling you that it appears to me very hard to persuade the Bishop to do as you suggest. The difficulty arises precisely from what you say about these priests. For if they have a great influence with the Bishop, and enjoy his friendship, and if they are his advisers, will it not be indeed most difficult to persuade him to remove them? Furthermore I do not think it by any means certain, that, even if he removes them, concord will be restored. This promise is made in the letter which you say emanates from Hogan's successor, who can be no other than the notorius Inglesi.[3] But I must leave that out of consideration; for this letter, which you yourself declare to be very insulting to the Bishop, can hold out but scant hope. I shall say only, on general principles, that there is reason to fear that the enemies of the Bishop, when they have obtained the removal of these priests, will not keep their promise. My sole intention in writing this, pray believe me, is simply to let you know the difficulties which arise in my mind in connection with this affair. On the matter itself we shall take a decision when we have your answer indicating the names of the priests who, as you think, ought to be removed. Meanwhile, appreciating fully the zeal of Your Lordship for the settlement of the affairs of the Church in Philadelphia, I pray God to keep Your Lordship yet many years in good health and happiness.

Your Lordship's Most respectful and devoted

PETER CAPRANO,

Archbp. of Iconium, Secretary.

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[2] This letter, so far, has not been found; it is possibly among the Documents forming Vol. 5 of the *Scritture Referite nei Congressi* in the Archives of Propaganda.

[3] "Hogan finally . . . proposed to resign. The trustees accepted his resignation and proceeded, in the very face of the Brief of Pope Pius VII, to appoint as pastor of St. Mary's Church an unworthy adventurer, Rev. A. Inglesi, who had imposed upon Bishop Du Bourg, and whose career had been fully exposed at Rome. But he came to Philadelphia with means, and had many paintings and other valuables, the fruit of his European collections for Louisiana. He had secured the support of the Sardinian consul at Philadelphia, and pleased the trustees. Ashley, Meade, Sullivan and their comrades did not even go through the form of presenting him for the Bishop's approval, they assumed the right to elect and institute." I. G. Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the U. S.* Vol. III, p. 248. Two pages further on, Shea remarks the trustees had found Inglesi "not suited to their purposes." Here is a point of history yet to be cleared up.

XXXVIII
BISHOP DU BOURG
TO ARCHBP. PETER CAPRANO
Secretary of Propaganda[1]

Illme ac Rev.me Domine,

Huc jam duobus abhinc diebus redux appulit dilectus in X.to noster D. Borgna, a quo, praeter varias extraordinarias facultates, quas ut nova Sacrae Congregationis in me fiduciae pignora suscepi, audii etiam, quod mihi longe multo acceptius, effusam Amp.is V.ae in me voluntatem, ejusque desiderium sit quam saepissime ipsi non solum de Dioecesis mihi commissae statu, sed etiam de variis quae in Foederata America ad religionis bonum spectant, mentem meam fiducialiter aperirem. Nil sane mihi pergratius accidere poterat, post infaustum errorem, quo Sacrae Cong.is et V. Amp.is bonam opinionem demeritus fueram. Equidem jam mihi in acerbissimo dolore multam consolationem attulerant humanissimae vereque paternae literae, quibus Pater Sanctissimus jussit me bono animo esse, mihique plane immerita dedit existimationis honorisque testimonia. Si quid cordis mei vulmus curare valeret, huic certe medicinae cedere debuisset; sed imis visceribus manet infixum telum, quod, ut opinor, sola mors possit extrahere. Non ideo tamen minus gratum Amp.i V.ae pro tenera in me solicitudine sensum foveo; sed si quid apud ipsum valeo, si quae in ipso compassionis viscera, iterum rogo ut meae abdicationi apud Sum. Pontificem faveat, meque sinat onus declinare cui humeros jam dudum novi esse impares.

Quoniam tamen aliqua adhuc me premunt debita, pro variis Ecclesiae contingentiis contracta, primum precor ut dignetur Amp.o Vestra jubere, ut quantocius mihi persolvantur mille scuta, quae solvenda adhuc remanent ex quatuor millibus mihi a Sanctae record.is Pio VII Summo Pont.e concessis, quaeque jam duos et amplius annos impatienter expectavi. Ita enim fiet ut mens mea partim saltem incipiat respirare.

Non diffitebor tamen, cogitanti mihi de mea abdictione, non modicos subintrare timores de futuro meae Dioeceseos statu. Scio enim quot calamitates viduatae Ecclesiae impendunt, sive ex diuturna Pastoris carentia, sive etiam ex incongrua successoris electione. Non tam cito obliviscar Philadelphiam, post decessum primi sui Praesulis Rev.mi D. Egan, per octo annos viduam remansisse, et post tot annos novum ad ipsam missum Epum, qui, utcumque virtute et doctrina polleret, ea tamen carebat hominum, locorum et institutionum notitia, sine qua prudentissimus quisque gravissimos errores vitare vix possit. Infelix certe nostrarum regionum conditio, ubi nullus Ep.us sperare potest fructus laborum suorum post mortem suam esse duraturos! Hac sola consideratione facile sentiet Amp.do Vestra frangendum necessario esse etiam Apostolicum spiritum. Ut quid enim laboribus consumar, qui

[1] Original in Archives of Propaganda. *Scritture Referite nei Congressi.* Cod. 8. *America Centrale. Dal Canada all' Istmo di Panama.* Dal 1823a tto. il 1826.

XXXVIII

BISHOP DU BOURG TO ARCHBP. PETER CAPRANO

Secretary of Propaganda[a]

Illme ac Rev.me Domine,

Hac jam duobus abhinc diebus redux appulit dilectus in Xto noster D. Borgia, a quo, praeter varias extraordinarias facultates, quas ut nova Sacrae Congregationis in me fiducia gignora suscepi, audii etiam, quod mihi longe multo acceptius, efflusam Amp.tis V.ae in me voluntatem, cjusque desiderium sit quam saepissime ipsi non solum de Dioecesis mihi commissae statu, sed etiam de variis quae in Foederata America ad religionis bonum spectant, mentem fiducialiter aperirem. Nil sane mihi pergratius accidere potuit, post infaustum errorem, quo Sacrae Cong.is et V. Amp.tis bonam opinionem demerui fueram. Equidem jam mihi in acerbissimo dolore multum consolationem attulerant humanissimae veteque paternae literae, quibus Pater Sanctissimus jussit me bono animo esse, nihilque plane immerita dedit existimationis bonorisque testimonia. Si quid cordis mei vultus curare valeret, huic certe medicinae cedere debuisset; sed imis visceribus manet infixum telum, quod, ut opinor, sola mors possit extrahere. Non ideo tamen minus gratum Amp.i V.ae pro tenera in me solicitudine sensum fovco; sed si quid apud ipsum valeo, si quae in ipso compassionis viscera, iterum rogo ut meae abdicationi apud Sum. Pontificem faveat, meque sinat onus declinare cui numeros jam dudum novi esse impares.

Quoniam tamen aliqua adhuc me premunt debita, pro variis Ecclesiae contingentiis contracta, primum precor ut dignetur Amp.a Vestra jubere, ut quantocius mihi persolvantur mille scuta, quae solvenda adhuc remanent ex quatuor millibus mihi a Sanctae record.is Pio VII Summo Pont.e concessis, quaeque jam duos et amplius annos impatienter expectavi. Ita enim fiet ut meus mea patrim salem incipiat respirare.

Non dilybebor tamen, cogitanti mihi de mea abdicatione, non oppidos subuntare timores de futuro meae Dioecesis statu. Scio enim quot calamitates ecclesiae impendunt, sive ex diuturna Pastoris carentia, sive etiam ex incongrua successoris electione. Non tam cito oblivisear Philadelphiam, post decessum primi sui Praesulis Rev.mi D. Egan, per octo annos viduam remansisse, et post tot annos novum ad ipsam missum Ep.um, qui, utcumque virtute et doctrina polleret, ea tamen carebat hominum, locorum et institutionum notitia, sine qua prudentissimus quisque gravissimos errores vitare vix possit. Infelix certe nostrarum regionum conditio, ubi nullus Ep.us sperare potest fructus laborum suorum post mortem suam esse duraturos! Hac sola consideratione facile sentiet Amp.da Vestra transgrediam necessario esse etiam Apostolicum spiritum. Ut quid enim laboribus consumar, qui

[a] Original in Archives of Propaganda. Scritture Referite nei Congressi Cod. S. America Centrale. Del Canada ed Isteno di Panama. Del 1820 in 8 vol.

tam cito vel orbitate Ecclesiae meae, vel institutione ineptis successoris destruantur? Huic duplici malo facillimum tamen mihi videretur obviam ire, prudenti et apto electionum systemate. — Non hujusmodi mihi videtur esse electio, seu potens praesentatio per Episcopos provinciales aut nationales: 1° quia cum sint a se invicem immensibus terrarum tractibus dissiti, nec adunari possunt, nec facile in unam mentem convenire. 2° quia vacantis Ecclesiae necessitates ut plurimum ignorant. 3° quia, ut jam docuit experientia, nimium tempus in colligendis eorum sententiis teritur; 4° quia saepe evenire potest ut tot sint praesentati quot Praesentatores; inter quos proinde nulla apparet ratio cur unus aliis praeponatur. His difficultatibus non dubito retardatam hactenus electionem Bostoniensis Epi; nec mihi occurrit quomodo tandem terminus his dilationibus ponatur.

Fateor non iisdem regulis subjici posse electiones Episcoporum pro Diocesibus jam creatis, et pro novis creandis Sedibus; neque etiam easdem obtinere posse in omnibus prioris categoriae; ideoque adaptandum mihi videretur systema variis qui occurrere possunt casibus. — Cum simplicitate cordis Amp.i Vestrae quae puto utilia fore proponam. —

1° Si agatur de nova creanda Sede, vel de electione Epi pro Dioecesi in qua vel nullus vel valde exiguus est clerus, Metropolitanus cum duobus Episcopis suae provinciae, quorum unus sit ille a cujus jurisdictione novum territorium separatur, per literas, ni aliter fieri possit, conveniat. Archiepus scilicet a praedictis fratribus suis sententiam petat, et Romam mittat schedulam praesentationis in qua singulorum vota exprimantur: nisi forte melius fore judicetur ut Episcoporum sibi responsa suae epistolae adjungat, ut facilius perpendere possit Sac. Cong.o praesentatorum merita. —

2° Si agatur de Dioecesi jam existente, ubi clerus saltem duodecim sacerdotibus confletur, statim post decessum vel abdicationem Episcopi, convocetur clerus per Vicarium Generalem; et post solemne triduum in invocanda S.ti Spiritus luce absumptum, ad scrutinium secretum procedat, Romamque sine mora transmittantur nomina horum trium qui majorem obtinuerint suffragiorum copiam, cuilibet adjun.do numerum votorum quae ipsi favent.

3° Quod si Episcopus quilibet Coadjutorem a Sancta Sede petierit, velim eum in ipsius delectu eodem modo procedere, et puto facilem se praebendam Sacram Congregationem in concedendis Coadjutoribus, quia sic praecurritur tantis malis.

Hac methodo procedendi in electione Praesulum consultum mihi videtur tum celeritati, quae nullibi magis quam in his regionibus est necessaria, tum etiam bono et prudenti Episcoporum delectui. Favet quoque ipsorum auctoritati, quae cum tota in conscientia et amore subditorum est fundata, eo firmior et salubrior erit, quo ipsi majorem partem in eorum electione nacti fuerint; demum et conformior est veteri Ecclesiae praxi, et magis accommodata spiritui temporum et locorum, institutionibusque civilibus quae Rempublicam istam regunt. Tollit proinde e medio vanas illas contra Romanae Ecclesiae Despotismum cavillationes, etsi revera nihil ipsius auctoritatis detrahat.

Quidquid de hac propositione judicaverit sive Amp.do Vestra sive Sacra Congregatio, puto me in ea submittenda muneri meo satisfecisse, nullumque incurrisse vituperium.

Est et alia quaestio valde intricata, de qua timendum est ne facilius in mentem eatur temporalium administratorum. Ipsi scilicet jus Patronatus allegantes, facultatem reclamant praesentandi quemlibet sacerdotem rite ordinatum ad pastorale officium, cum obligatione ex parte Episcopi instituendi eos qui sibi hoc modo a laicis propositi fuerint. Administratores Ecclesiae S.ae Mariae Philadelphiensis, in confirmationem dictae praetensionis, allegant jam judicatam rem fuisse a Pio VII in causa Ecclesiae Norfolkiensis. — Utrum tale decretum existat, aut quis sit ipsius tenor, prorsus ignoro. Certe sentio nihil excogitari posse, quod disciplinae Ecclesiasticae et Episcoporum auctoritati magis aversetur quam hujusmodi concessio; eaque vigente prorsus caducos fore omnes sacrorum Praesulum conatus ad fidei morumque depositum custodiendum. Ita enim eveniet ut factiosi homines, artibus perfidis, in quasque parochias, suae farinae sacerdotes obtrudant, qui cum sic instituti fuerint, turbulentis factionibus nixi, Ecclesiam impune scandalizabunt et haereticis ludibrium facient. Haec sane si probatione indigerent, plus quam satis exemplo ipsiusmet Philad.is schismatis fuerunt demonstrata. Valeat quidquid valuerit in regnis catholicis jus illud Patronatus, ubique sane plenum periculis, at saltem in illis, legum Ecclesiasticarum, imo et civilium auctoritate aliquatenus moderatum; hic vero, ubi nulli legum fraeno improba conscientia subjicitur, plane subversionem esset cujuscumque disciplinae. Aliunde vero longe distare mihi videtur administratorum nostrorum conditio a conditione fundatorum. Neque enim ipsi, nec ipsaemet Congregationes quas repraesentant, merito dici Ecclesiarum fundatores possunt, tum quia solent et ipsi Protestantes et exteri multum adjuvare in novis creationibus, quae generaliter ope subscriptionis fiunt, tum quia non sufficit *Fabrica* sed requiritur competens *dotatio* ad acquirendum jus Patronatus; nullibi vero, quod sciam, in his statibus, existit Ecclesia *dotata,* nisi in hac civitate Novae Aureliae, ubi dotatio et fabricatio Eccl.ae Cathedralis factae fuerunt ab uno individuo, qui utramque Hispaniarum Regi subjecerat, Regalique Patronatui annexerat.

Aequum sane est ut Episcopi in instituendis Pastoribus multum opinioni fidelium consulant, in eoque mihi videtur Ep.us Philad.is imprudenter egisse cum Rev.dos Harold et Ryan, publico odio obnoxios, contra notam mentem plurimorum saltem et maximae inter alios auctoritatis laicorum, Ecclesiae S.ae Mariae praeficere mordicus voluit. Si mitius et consultius in eo se gessisset, si sepositis illis duobus, alios morigeratos et nulli adhuc infensos sacerdotes elegisset, *certe scio* schismatis flammas eum brevi compescuisse, nec unquam eo processisse laicos ut jus illud Patronatus sibi vindicarent. *Imo puto etiamnum conciliatoria hujusmodi via unitatem facile posse restitui.* — Utut sit, nolim tamen, schismatis unius abolendi causa, introduci disciplinam, quae schismatum ubique fons fieret uberrimus.

De erigendis novis Episcopalibus Cathedris in Detroit, St. Louis, Vincennes, et Mobile, in quibus nunc Sacrae Congregationis attentionem versari testatur Rev.us D. Borgna, libere quoque quod sentio depromam. Nihil sane desiderabilius et Religionis augmento magis conducivum quam hujusmodi Episcoporum multiplicatio; sed periculo eam fore puto, nisi novis Ep.is competens ad victum assignatio fiat. Propria experientia didici quam deploranda sit conditio Episcopi in novis istis regionibus, ubi omnia creanda sunt, et desunt apud fideles sive media sive voluntas eum adjuvandi. Quod ad me spectat, si vel decimam aerumnarum partem quae me in meo Episcopatu afflixerunt, praevidere potuissem, nunquam adeo gravi oneri colla flexissem. Mea tamen conditio aliquanto tolerabilior est multorum aliorum. Vellem igitur antequam de his erectionibus statuatur, novorum Praesulum mensae consultum esse.

Pernecessarium quoque, meo quidem judicio, erit novas Metropoles erigere, et cuivis eum tantum adjungere suffraganeorum numerum, qui, sine gravi incommodo, saltem singulis quinquenniis in Synodum convenire possit. Certe sufficiet oculos in Mappam Americae Foederatae conjicere, ut perfecte intelligatur omnino impossibile esse Episcopos citra Alleganenses montes constitutos Baltimorum convenire. Mea igitur sententia foret, ut Cincinnatensis sedes in Metropolim erigeretur; a qua penderent Bardensis, Vincennensis et Detroitensis, utpote in medio earum posita, — et ex Louisiana separata conflaretur Provincia, uno Archiep.o et saltem duobus, ad *praesens*, suffraganeis Ep.is constans: nimirum Novae Aureliae, S.ti Ludovici ad septentrionem, et Mobile versus orientem. Nisi haec fiant, Ep.orum unio et in eamdem sententiam consensio, Synodorumque Provincialium institutio, tam necessaria ad stabiliendam uniformem disciplinam, prorsus impossibiles evadent. Hac etiam nova Metropoleon divisione multo facilior fieret, juxta praedictum systema, Episcoporum electio.

Haec omnia, Ill.me ac Rev.me D.ne, cum omni animi demissione, proposui, existimans me, etiamsi falcem in alienam messem misisse videri potuerim, a superbiae tamen aut ambitionis nota facile absolvendum, qui in eo voluntati solummodo V.ae Amp.is obtemperaverim. Ita in omnibus ad obediendum sibi, Sacraeque Congr.i paratum inveniet Novae Aureliae, Jan..i 29, 1825.

Humillimum et gratissumum fam.m

✠ Lud. Guil. Ep. Neo-Aurel.

Ill.mo ac Rev.mo DD.o P. Caprano,

P. S.—Quamquam fortassis grave Amp.i V.ae esse possit iterum audire, et mihi certe multo gravius esse debeat iterum loqui de famoso Inglesi mei tamen muneris, et Episcopalis mansuetudinis esse duco, quasdam de eo recens acceptas notitias Romam transferre. — Audivi scilicet a duobus praeclaris sacerdotibus, qui eum Philadelphiae invisserunt infelicem diris remorsibus agitatum ad omnia paratum esse ut in gratiam Ecclesiae rediret. Huic nuntio etsi non penitus confidens, quia tandem notae mihi sunt hypocritae artes, tamen motus misericordia, nec desperans de conversione Peccatoris, ad ipsum scripsi ut mihi

cordis intima patefaceret, offerens mediationem meam apud communem omnium Patrem, ut ipsi aperiretur ostium Poenitentiae et reconciliationis. Accepto ab eo brevissimo responso, quo se gratum et obedientem profitetur, rescripsi non sufficere mihi generalem hujusmodi professionem, sed requiri, ut, agnita longa errorum suorum serie, petat poenitentiam, et se paratum testetur ad claustrum ingrediendum, ut in eo, ad nutum Summi Pontificis, tamdiu commorandum,quamdiu necessarium judicetur ad sinceritatem emendationis suae comprobandam. Si mihi satisfecerit, cogito optimum fore si in Italiam redierit, etiam mutato nomine, et in antiquas partes, ubi ignotus latere possit, confugiat, obtenta prius Summi Pontificis licentia. — In medio tot facinorum de quibus accusatur, duo tamen sunt quae spem ipsius conversionis dare possunt. — 1.um quod schismati Philad.i nomen dare renuerit; 2.um quod Missionibus generatim magnam opem contulit, promovendo et modis omnibus excitando Institutionem *Societatis* in *adjutorium Missionum* quae Lugduni in Galliis, eo potissimum movente, originem cepit, et subinde ad praecipuas Galliae, aliarumque quarumdam regionum, civitates mirifice propagata est.

Amp.m Vestram precor ut ista Sanctissimo D.no nostro exponat, mihique quamprimum agendi in tam delicato negotio, [2] praescribat. Interim enixe apud Deum pro sospitate et felicitate vestra rogans, cum summa veneratione et affectu iterum me subscribo

Amp.is V.ae Devotiss. famulum.

✠ Lud. Guil. Ep. Neo-Aurel.

Novae Aureliae Jan.i 29.a 1825
Ill.mo ac R.mo D.o D.o Petro Caprano
Archiep.o Icon.si Sac. Congr. de Prop. Fide a Secretis

TRANSLATION

Most Reverend Dear Sir;—

Two days ago our dear Father Borgna landed here. [3] From him I received various extraordinary faculties, which I look upon as new tokens of the confidence which the S. Congregation places in me; I

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[2] One word missing.

[3] Father Philip Borgna, C.M., of Saluzzo, in Piedmont, had come to America in 1818, being then only a theological student, together with Mr. Anthony Potini, C.M., also a scholastic, and Father Francis Cellini, who had just been received at Monte Citorio; they had sailed from Leghorn in company with the Rossetti band. Landing at Philadelphia in the first days of October, the three, leaving behind their Milanese travelling companions, started at once for the West, and reached the Seminary at the Barrens on January 5, 1819. There Mr. Borgna and Mr. Potini continued their theological studies, the former being ordained to the priesthood in St. Louis, on March 19, 1920, at the same time as Inglesi. After his ordination he returned to the Barrens; but, as his health soon began to give anxieties, he was first sent to St. Louis (July 1820) and, a few months later (beginning of September), to New Orleans, where he was stationed at the Cathedral. When yellow fever broke out at the end of the summer, Father Borgna vied with his confrere Father Andrew Ferrari, in his devotedness to the stricken people. It is said of him that he daily administered the last sacraments to upwards of thirty persons. Both were attacked by the terrible disease: Father Ferrari, after a few days' illness, died on November 1; Father Brogna recovered,

heard also, and this was much more welcome, what affectionate interest Your Grace manifests towards me, and that you wish me to frequently open my heart candidly to you, not only concerning the condition of the Diocese entrusted to my care, but also touching the various objects which have bearing on the good of religion in the United States.[4] Nothing certainly could afford me greater pleasure, after the miserable mistake by which I had well deserved to lose the good opinion that the S. Congregation and Your Lordship had of me.[5] I must add that in my bitter sorrow, I had received much comfort from the very kind and truly paternal letter by which the Holy Father bade me be of good cheer, and gave me marks of esteem and honor which were absolutely undeserved. If anything could cure the wound of my heart, that is certainly the kind of medicine which would do it; but the missile remains imbedded in the inmost depths of my heart, and I think that death alone will be able to remove it. I am none the less thankful to Your Lordship for your tender solicitude in my behalf; and, if I have any persuasive influence with you, and if you yourself have any compassion of me, I beg you once more to further my resignation with the Sovereign Pontiff, so that he may let me lay down a burden which, I have realized long ago, my shoulders are unable to bear.[6]

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but suffered much for some time of the after effects of the malady, so that it was deemed advisable to send him back to Italy in the hope that the air of his native country would completely restore him. Bishop Du Bourg readily granted him a leave of absence (letter of February 27, 1823, from Washington), entrusting to him a number of delicate negociations in Rome, while Father Rosati through him sent back to Rome the Brief of his appointment to the Vicariate Apostolic of Mississippi and Alabama, and begged him earnestly to plead the reasons of his (Rosati's)refusal of the burden. Borgna sailed from New Orleans on the 10th of April, 1823, and after some time spent in Paris, in Turin and with his family near Saluzzo, he arrived in Rome towards the end of the year. Meanwhile Propaganda had, on the representations of Du Bourg and Rosati, cancelled the latter's appointment, and sent a new Brief making him Coadjutor to Bishop Du Bourg (See above. Letter XXXV, p. 137). Borgna was resolved, at any rate, to set aside his Superior's commands to follow in this matter the dictates of his conscience, and therefore, work for the promotion of Rosati. He remained in Italy until the fall of 1824, and then came back to New Orleans.

[4] The reader has already noticed no doubt, that for some time past, Du Bourg's correspondence with Propaganda was carried on mostly with the Secretary of that Congregation.

[5] This is evidently an allusion to the unfortunate Inglesi affair.

[6] These words seem to suppose that the Bishop had already, in a previous letter, offered or tendered his resignation. There was question of resigning in the letter sent from St. Louis on October 1, 1822, in which the prelate made such a strong plea against the division of the Diocese; but this can scarcely be regarded as a downright request to be allowed to lay down the burden: it was rather a kind of respectful ultimatum as much as an ultimatum may be respectful: "*if* you are determined to divide," he said equivalently, "then take me out." But there is a letter—which so far has escaped the researches made in the Propaganda Archives—, written probably from Washington after the Bishop's eyes were finally opened on the true worth of Inglesi; this would be the most likely occasion where the prelate offered—and perhaps tendered—his resignation. The allusion just made before to this—for him—very humiliating affair render this surmise probable.

However as I have still a few debts,[7] which I contracted for various emergencies in connection with the Church, I first beg Your Lordship to deign give orders to have forwarded to me the thousand *scudi* which remain still due of the four thousand granted me by Pope Pius VII of holy memory, and for which I have been impatiently waiting for two years and more. This indeed will permit me to begin to breathe more freely.

Now I will not conceal the fact that, when I am thinking of resigning, no small fears concerning the future of my Diocese come up to my mind. I know, indeed, to what calamities is exposed a Church without Pastor, either on account of the long vacancy of the See, or on account of the choice of the wrong successor. I cannot forget so soon how Philadelphia, after the demise of its prelate, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Egan, remained unprovided for eight years, and after such a long time was given a Bishop who, no matter what his virtues and science, was lacking in that knowledge of men, places and institutions, without which the most prudent man can hardly avoid falling into the most grievous mistakes. Most unfortunate certainly is the condition of this our country, where no Bishop can hope that the fruit of his labors will survive after his death! This consideration alone, Your Lordship may readily realise, is bound to break down even the staunchest apostolic spirit. Why indeed should I be utterly spent in labors, as in a very short while, either the vacancy of my See, or the choice of an unfit successor will cause the ruin of whatever these labors succeeded in achieving? It seems to me, however, that this twofold calamity may be easily remedied, namely by a prudent and proper system of Episcopal elections.

Such does not seem to me to be the choice, or strong recommendation of the Bishops of the Province or of the whole country: because, 1° these prelates being separated from one another by immense territories, can neither assemble themselves, nor even easily come to a unanimity of opinion; 2° they, most of the time, are not conversant with the wants of the vacant See; 3° experience shows that too much time is wasted in gathering their opinions; 4° it may often happen that as many candidates are presented as there are prelates presenting them; and in this case it is hard to see what motive may determine the choice of one candidate rather than of another. It is owing to these difficulties, I am sure, that the election of a Bishop for Boston has been thus far delayed; and I do not see indeed how these delays could be put to an end.

I grant that episcopal elections for Sees already in existence cannot be governed by the same rules as elections for new Sees to create; nor even can the same rules be applied uniformly for filling Sees of the former category. Hence, I should think that a method should be adopted which could adapt itself to the various cases that may occur.

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[7] There was in St. Louis the Montmorenci debt ($6,000.00) about which see REVIEW, Vol. II, p. 200 and foll., and there were several debts in New Orleans.

In all simplicity I shall presently propose to Your Lordship what I deem to be useful.

1° In the case of a new See to erect, or of the election of a Bishop for a Diocese where there is practically no clergy, or a very small clergy, let the Metropolitan confer, by letters, if they cannot do otherwise, with two Bishops of his province, one of whom ought to be the Bishop of the Diocese to be dismembered. That is, let the Archbishop ask from his Brother-Bishops above mentioned their proposals, and send to Rome a list of presentation in which the votes of each be specified; unless indeed he deems it better to forward with his letter to Rome the answers of the Bishops, so that the S. Congreg. may more easily weigh the merits of the various candidates.

2° In the case of a Diocese already in existence, and where there is a clergy of at least twelve Priests, let the clregy, immediately after the demise or resignation of the Bishop, be convoked by their Vicar General, and after three days devoted to invoking the assistance of the Holy Ghost, let them take a secret ballot, and at once forward to Rome the names of the three who obtained more votes, mentioning after each of these names the numbers of votes obtained.

3° In case of a Bishop who asked the Holy See for a Coadjutor, I should like the same course to be taken for the choice of the Coadjutor; and I believe that the S. Congregation should show itself willing to grant Coadjutors, because this prevents many evils.

This mode of proceeding in the election of Bishops seems to me to secure not only speed, which is nowhere more necessary in this matter than in this country, but also good and prudent choices. It will also contribute to the authority of these Bishops, which, as it all rests upon the conscience and love of the subjects, will be the more firm and beneficial, because the subjects had a greater part in the choice; moreover, it is more in conformity with the ancient practice of the Church, and better adapted to the spirit of our times and places, and to the civil institutions which govern this Republic. Finally it does away with the vain cavil against the Roman Church's despotism, whilst really detracting nothing from that Church's authority.

Whatever Your Lordship may think of this proposition, at all events, I consider I am, in submitting it, discharching my duty and incurring no blame.

There is another question, one most intricate, on which I am afraid there might be danger of yielding too much to the opinion of the Trustees. Alleging the *jus patronatus*, they claim the privilege to present for the pastoral office any priest duly ordained, with obligation on the part of the Bishop to confer canonical institution on the candidates tius proposed by laymen. The trustees of the Church of St. Mary, in Philadelphia, in support of that pretension, allege that the matter was adjudicated by Pius VII in the cause of the church of Norfolk. — Now whether such a decree was actually issued, or what is its tenor, I don't know. At any rate my opinion is that nothing can be conceived more contrary to the discipline of the Church and to Episcopal authority than a concession of this nature; and as long as it

is in force, utterly unavailing will be all the efforts of the Bishops to safeguard the deposit of faith and morals. For it will happen that a clique will, by means of evil schemes, succeed in thrusting upon every parish priests of the same ilk, who, once canonically instituted, relying on the support of turbulent factions, will with impunity scandalize the Church and make it a by-word to non-catholics. Were proof of this wanted, more than is needed is offered by the Schism of Philadelphia. Be the value of the *jus patronatus* as it may in Catholic countries,—and no doubt everywhere danger lurks in it,—in such countries, at any rate, it is somewhat checked by the authority of ecclesiastical and civil laws; but here, where no legal restraint is put on evil consciences, it means no less than the upsetting of all discipline. At all events, there seems to me to exist a vast difference between the condition of our Trustees and that of the Founders. For neither the Trustees, nor the congregations they represent, can rightfully be called the founders of the churches: because, as a rule, Protestants and persons not belonging to the parish contribute to the new constructions, which usually are erected by means of subscriptions; then again, the *fabrica*—the building,—does not suffice to confer the *jus patronatus*: there is, moreover, required a competent *endowment*. Now nowhere, that I know of, in these United States, is there in existence a church *endowed,* except in this City of New Orleans, where the endowment and the building of the Cathedral were the gift of an individual, who made both subject to the King of Spain, and to the Royal *Patronatus*.

Of course, it is reasonable that, in appointing Pastors, the Bishops should have much regard for the opinion of the faithful; and in this connection, I think that the Bishop of Philadelphia did not act with all desirable prudence when he insisted on appointing to St. Mary's, against the well-known sentiment of the majority of the laity, and of those of them who enjoy the greatest authority, the Revs. Harold and Ryan, who were the object of popular dislike. Had he acted in this affair with more mildness and consideration, and, leaving aside those two, had he selected other priests of good standing and unsympathetic to no one, *I know of certain knowledge* he would have in a very short while quenched the flames of the Schism, and that the laity would never have gone so far as to claim the exercise of that *jus Patronatus*. Nay even, *I am of opinion that, even now, such a course would easily open again the way to unity*. However this may be, still I would not wish that, in order to put an end to one schism, a discipline should be introduced which would prove everywhere a prolific source of schisms.

Touching the erection of new Episcopal Sees in Detroit, St. Louis, Vincennes and Mobile, in which, Father Borgna tells me, the attention of the S. Congregation is now engaged, I beg to state freely, here too, what I feel. Undoubtedly nothing is more desirable, and better calculated to bring about the progress of Religion, than increasing the numbers of Bishops; but this increase may, in my opinion, prove a danger, if nothing is fixed in regard to the decent support of the new Bishops. My own experience has taught me how deplorable is the condition of

a Bishop in this new country, where everything has to be created, and where the faithful lack either the means or the wish to help. As far as I am concerned, had I been able to foresee one-tenth of the worries which have afflicted my Episcopate, never would I have accepted the burden. And yet my condition is somewhat more bearable than that of many others. That is why I would that before any decision be arrived at in regard to the creation of these Sees, provisions be made for the support of the new Bishops.

It will be likewise absolutely necessary, according to my judgment, to erect new Metropolitan Sees, and to assign to each one only such suffragans as may, without grave inconvenience, assemble in Council, at least every five years. A mere glance at a map of the United States is sufficient to understand perfectly that it is quite impossible for the Bishops west of the Alleghanies to convene in Baltimore. I am of opinion that Cincinnati should be made a Metropolitan See, with Bardstown, Vincennes and Detroit as suffragans: Cincinnati is quite central in regard to these; Louisiana should also constitute a separate Province, consisting of the Archbishop and, *for the time being*, two suffragan Bishops, that is New Orleans, St. Louis to the North and Mobile to the East. Unless this is done, the union of the Bishops and their agreement is one opinion, and the institution of Provincial Synods, so necessary for the establishment of the unity of discipline, will be rendered quite impossible. This new division of Ecclesiastical provinces, moreover, would make much easier the selection of Bishops, according to the present system.

All these suggestions, Right Reverend and Dear Lord, I have made in all humility, judging that even though I may seem to put my sickle in another's harvest, yet I may be easily absolved of all suspicion of pride or ambition, for in this matter I would not have any other rule than the wish of Your Lordship. Thus will you and the S. Congregation find, ever disposed to obey in everything,

Your most humble and grateful Servant

✠ Louis Wm. Bp. of New Orl.

New Orleans, January 29, 1825
To the Most Rev. P. Caprano,
Secretary of the S. C. of Propaganda.

P. S.—Although it may be burdensome to Your Lordship to hear, and it should be still more burdensome to me to speak again, of the notorious Inglesi, yet I deem it a duty of my office and of Episcopal mansuetude to communicate to Rome certain news which I have lately received about him. I heard from two excellent priests who went to see him at Philadelphia, that the poor fellow is stricken with bitter remorse and ready for anything that may restore him in peace with the Church. Although I did not give unreserved credit to this information, because at last I have come to know his hypocrisy, still, moved with pity and yet hoping for the sinner's conversion, I wrote to him to open his heart to me, offering my mediation with our common Father, in order that the door of penitence and reconciliation might be

opened before him. I received from him a very short answer, in which he makes profession of gratitude and obedience. Whereupon I replied that such a general profession was not sufficient, but that he should acknowledge the long series of his errors, ask penance, and declare himself ready to enter a monastery, where he would remain, at the Sovereign Pontiff's will, as long as would be deemed necessary to test the sincerity of his conversion. In case he returns a satisfactory answer, I think that it would be best for him to return to Italy, even under an assumed name, and seek refuge in some out of the way place where he may hide himself unknown to all, after obtaining, of course, the Sovereign's Pontiff's leave. Among so many crimes which he is accused of, there are, however, two things capable of giving hope of his conversion: the first is, that he refused to take sides with the schism of Philadelphia; the second that he did a great deal for the Missions at large, by promoting and stimulating the Institution of the Society of the Propagation of the Faith, which was launched in Lyons, France, chiefly at his instigation, and has since spread wonderfully through the largest cities of France and of some other countries.

I beg Your Lordship to explain this to our Holy Father, and to prescribe to me, at your earliest convenience, how I should act in so delicate a matter. Meanwhile, praying God earnestly for your health and happiness, with the greatest respect and affection I subscribe myself

Your Lordship's
Most devoted Servant
✠ Louis Wm. Bp. of New Orl.

New Orleans, January 29, 1825.
To the Most Rev. Peter Caprano
Archbishop of Iconium,
Secretary of the S. Cong. of Propaganda.

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COMMUNICATIONS

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THE POTAWATOMI MISSION OF COUNCIL BLUFFS

I. THE POTAWATOMI

Of the Indian tribes that shared the ministrations of the earlier Jesuit missionaries of the Middle West none have filled a larger place in American history than the Potawatomi. The earliest known habitat of this interesting Algonquin folk was the lower Michigan peninsula. Driven thence by Iroquois invaders, they settled on and about the islands at the mouth of Green Bay, Lake Michigan, where they were met about 1632 by the adventurer, Jean Nicolet, the first white man to reach Wisconsin. Later on they moved south, displacing the Miami and holding both "shores of Lake Michigan from about Manitowoc (44°) on the West around to about Grand River (43°) on the East and Southward to the Wabash, comprising territory in Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana and Michigan, with some fifty villages, including those on the sites of Milwaukee, South Bend, (St. Joseph) and Grand Rapids." [1]

Of Algonquin stock, the Potawatomi were allied in blood, language, manners and character to the Ottawa and the Ojibway or Chippewa, with whom they seemed to have formed originally a single people.[2] The Potawatomi or "fire-makers," "people of the fire-place," may thus owe their name to the fact that they separated from the other two tribes and built a new fire, in other words, set themselves up as an independent tribe. They were hunters and fishers, tilling the ground but sparingly and this for a meager harvest of maize. They were a fighting race and, in consequence, frequently at war

1 James Mooney, *Catholic Encyclopedia.* The spelling of Indian tribal names, except in cited passages and documents, will conform to Government usage as adopted in Hodge's *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico.* 2v., Washington, 1912. (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30). In most Indian tribal names, as in Potawatomi, Kansa, there is only one form for both singular and plural. It may be noted that the recognized form "Potawatomi," which is of rather uncommon occurrence in printed literature, popular usage sanctions the spellnig "Pottawatomie," as "Pottowatomie" County Kansas. is employed by Father De Smet in a letter written from Council Bluffs, August 20, 1838. Richardson and Chittenden's *De Smet,* 1; 160.

2 Hodge, *op. cit.,* 2: 289. "According to the tradition of all three tribes, the Potawatomi, Chippewa and Ottawa were originally one people, and seemed to have reached the region about the upper end of Lake Huron together. Here they separated, but the three have sometimes formed a loose confederacy, or have acted in concert and in 1846, those removed beyond the Mississippi, asserting their former connection, asked to be again united."

with the other tribes and with the whites. They supported the French against the English in the great struggle between the two powers for Canada and the West and under Pontiac continued the fight against the English until 1765. That picturesque hero, the son of a Chippewa mother and an Ottawa by adoption, is called in a contemporary document, "great chief of all the Ottawas, Chippewas and Potawatomies and of all the lakes and rivers of the West." [3] When, in July, 1767, Pontiac concluded a treaty of peace at Oswego with Sir William Johnson, it was in presence of the chiefs of the Potawatomi as of the Ottawa, Huron and Chippewa tribes. In the Revolutionary War the Potawatomi made common cause with the British and again in 1812 a part of them at least, under the leadership of Tecumseh, took up arms once more against the Americans. It is a curious fact that this tribe, when the opportunity came, ranged itself with the enemies of the United States.

Between the Potawatomi and the early Jesuit missionaries numerous links of assiciation were formed from the first entrance of the latter into the Middle West. Jogues and Raymbaut, the first Jesuits to reach the upper Michigan peninsula, met certain members of the tribe at the celebration of "the feast of the dead" in the Huron country in 1641. At Allouez's mission of Le Saint Esprit on Lake Superior the Potawatomi were frequent visitors. Here Marquette made their acquaintance and in 1674, on his last trip to the Illinois country, he had some of their tribesmen in his party. In 1669, Allouez opened the mission of St. Francis Xavier, near the head of Green Bay, Wisconsin, for the neighboringPotawatomi, Sauk, Foxes and Winnebago. But the most considerable of the Potawatomi missions was that of St. Joseph on the river of the same name which empties into Lake Michigan near its south-eastern corner. Founded in 1689 by the resourceful Allouez, it continued to be served by resident or visiting Jesuit missionaries down to the suppression of their Order. It stood near a fort of the same name on the St. Joseph River, which connects by a short portage with the Kankakee and Illinois Rivers, and became for that reason a favorite Lakes-to-the-Gulf route for the early French explorers and voyageurs. The site of the mission-buildings lay a few miles north of the Indiana state-line and close to the town-site of Niles in Michigan. A Miami village, one of the three belonging to the tribe, was in the immediate neighborhood of the mission and shared with the Potawatomi the ministrations of the Jesuits. This accounts for the circumstances that St. Joseph's is sometimes described in the *Relations* as a miami mission. The last of the older Jesuit missionaries in the west were Fathers Marie Louis Lefranc and Pierre du Jaunay, stationed at Mackinac till about 1765, and Father Pierre Pothier, who died at the Huron mission opposite Detroit in 1781. They were the last of the Society to visit the Indians on the St. Joseph.

By the treaty of Greenville in 1795 the Potawatomi agreed to sell

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[3] Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 1: 273.

to the United States a tract of land six miles square lying at the mouth of the Chicago River. Here was destined to rise in later years the great metropolis of the West and the fourth largest city in the world. On August 7, 1826, only thirty-one years later than the treaty of Greenville, occurred the first election in the history of Chicago. The names of the voters on this occasion, thirty-five in number, indicate that fully three-fourths of them were Indians and mixed bloods. The names include those of Daniel Bourassa, Antoine Ouilmette, Francis La-Framboise Sr:, Francis LaFramboise Jr., Joseph LaFramboise, Claude LaFramboise, Joseph Pothier, Jean Baptiste Beaubien, Billy Caldwell and Alexander Robinson.[4] A few more years passed away and the anomalous position of the Potawatomi as property owners in the commonwealth of Illinois came to an end. By the treaty of Chicago, concluded September 26, 1833, and ratified February 21, 1835, the united bands of Chippewa, Ottawa and Potawatomi sold to the government the remnant of their holdings in Michigan, Indiana and Illinois, 5,000,000 acres in all, receiving in consideration one dollar per acre and in addition, a grant of 5,000,000 acres of land on the northeast side of the Missouri River.[5] To this new home, represented roughly on the map of to-day by the westernmost third of the state of Iowa, the Indians agreed to move immediately on the ratification of the treaty.[6]

In 1835 a delegation of Potawatomi under the conduct of a Mr. Gordon visited the Iowa reserve. They found it more remotely situated than they had anticipated and rather uncomfortably close to the Sioux and other bellicose tribes of the Upper Missouri.[7] In consequence of the unfavorable reports of the prospectors the emigrant bands of

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4 Andreas, *History of Chicago.*

5 The text of the Chicago treaty of 1833 is in Kappler, *Indian Affairs and Treaties,* 2: 402. A discussion of its terms and of the circumstances which attended its signing may be read in Milo Milton Quaife's *Chicago and the Old Northwest, 1673—1835,* (University of Chicago Press, 1913) 348—368. The Chippewa, Ottawa and Potawatomi, closely related in blood and language, were grouped together under a government official designation as the United Nation. However, as an Indian agent at Council Bluffs observed, the designation was a misnomer, the fact being that the group of Indians described collectively as the United Nation were almost exclusively of Potawatomi stock. Reports emanating from the Indian Department at this period distinguished carefully between the United Nation (Council Bluffs Potawatomi) and the Potawatomi of Indiana (St. Joseph and Wabash bands), who were settled during the period 1837—1848 on the Osage River reserve. The Council Bluffs Potawatomi also went frequently by the name of the Prairie band, while their kinsmen of the Osage River reserve were called Potawatomi of the Woods (*Potawatomi des forests).* In 1848 both Osage River and Council Bluffs reserves were abandoned and the two sections of the Potawatomi tribe gathered on a common reserve on the Kaw River, a few miles above Topeka. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs in his report of November 28, 1848, refers to the United Nation or Council Bluffs Potawatomi as "the Chicago Indians."

6 "Boundaries. North by a line running due east from the sources of the Little Sioux River to the Western boundary of the Sac and Fox country, as established by the treaty of Prairie du Chien; west by the Little Sioux and Missouri Rivers; south by the State of Missouri; east by the divide between the waters of the Des Moines, Skunk and Iowa on the East, and those flowing into the Missouri on the West. Extent: 5,000,000 of acres by treaty ..... commensing in latitude 40° 30 'N, where the boundary of the state strikes the Missouri, that river washes the western border of the country of the "United Nation" for a distance of not less, probably, than ninety-five or one hundred miles. The average distance from the Missouri to the divide which forms the boundary of the Sac and Fox country may be about the same."

7 *The Annual Register of Indian Affairs within the Indian (or Western Territory).* Published by Isaac McCoy, Shawanoe Baptist Mission House, Indian Territory, May, 1836, p. 20.

the "Chicago" Potawatomi or United Nation, as they were officially designated, on leaving Illinois and the adjacent states, took a southwesterly course that brought them towards the junction of the Kaw and Missouri Rivers and even beyond the latter stream into the Indian country proper.[8] It was not until 1837 that the "Chicago Potawatomi finally reached and settled down on their proper lands. Two detachments of them arrived that year by Missouri River steamboat at Council Bluffs, followed not long after by the main body of the nation, who marched up the east bank of the Missouri from their first halting places in the neighborhood of Fort Leavenworth and the Blacksnake Hills.[9] The last parties of the United Nation to join their fellow-tribesmen on the new reserve arrived in 1838.[10]

II. NEGOTIATING WITH GOVERNMENT.

In the course of his western prospecting trip of 1835 Father Van Quickenborne, S.J., made his first acquaintance with the United Nation. The meeting was a providential one, for it was to lead ultimately to the establishment of a Catholic mission in their midst.

> "I had the consolation of falling in with a party of Pottawatomies sent by their nation to inspect the new lands which the Government had given in exchange for the old. The Pottawatomie, Chippewa and Ottowa Nations having inter-married on a large scale, go at present under the name of the United Nation of the Chippewas, Ottowas and Pottawatomies. Under this name they have made a treaty with the United States Government that obliges them to go and reside on the left bank of the Missouri a little above the Kickapoos. They were formerly dispersed over a vast territory out of which have been carved the states of Illinois, Indiana and Michigan. Our Fathers had several posts among them, two of which, St. Joseph and Arbre Croche are still in existence.[11] The last named prospers highly. Frequent mention is made in the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* of the mission as also of the virtues of the tireless missionary who presides over it. In the deputation I met were several Catholics, one of them being the chief (of the nation).[12] They told me it would be highly bene-

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8 The first emigration of the "Chicago" Potawatomi took place in September, 1835. Cf. *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, 1; 164.

9 *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1837.* The report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs containing reports from the various agents and sub-agents was not issued separately at this period but was embodied in the series of Senate Documents for the respective years.

10 *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1840.* According to the Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the emigration of the "Chicago Indians" (i. e. the United Nation of the Ottawa, Chippewa and Potowatomi began in 1835 and terminated in 1838. The entire number of Indians removed to the Council Bluffs agency prior to 1840 was 2,734.

11 The Potawatomi Mission on the St. Joseph River, founded in 1689 by the veteran missionary, Claude Allouez, stood on the river-bank, a few miles north of the Indiana-Michigan line and close to the town-site of Niles, Michigan. The mission was reopened in 1830 by the venerable Father Stephan Badin and a large number of converts made among the Indians.

12 The Potawatomi met by Father Van Quickenborne in 1835 were of the group of "Chicago" Indians, who were assigned the Council Bluff reserve under the treaty of 1833. The Catholic chief that figures in the missionary's account was evidently Billy Caldwell, principal business chief of the tribe. He was reputed to be the son of an English army officer and a Potawatomi woman, and was attached to the Indian hero, Tecumseh, in the capacity of secretary, fighting with him at the battle of the Thames in which the latter perished. He was known during his residence in Chicago under the soubriquet of "Sauganash" or Englishman.

ficial to them to have a mission in their new country, that they could not all go to Arbre Croche, that the lands assigned them by government were their only means of subsistence that there the annuities would be paid and the protection of the government secured to them. Once the mission was established other Catholic Indians would come and join them. Friends of ours in a position to judge impartially of the real condition of things far from challenging these reasons for the mission in question supply new ones. According to them, we should thereby render a distinct service not only to the natives, but to the entire Catholic Church of the United States." [13]

In September, 1835, Van Quickenborne was in Washington to secure Government subsidies for his projected Kickapoo and Potawatomi schools. His petition of September 17, addressed to the Secretary of War, was referred by that official to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Herring, who replied on the 22nd of the same month, granting an appropriation in favor of the Kickapoo school, but refusing the one asked for in behalf of the Potawatomi school.

"In regard to a school among the United Nations of Chippewas, Ottawas and Pottawatomies:

The treaty of September, 1833, which was ratified in February, 1835, provided for the appropriation of seventy thousand dollars 'for purposes of education and the encouragement of the domestic arts.' In accordance with the wishes of these Indians, this sum has been invested in stock. This stock bears an interest of five per cent, of which the first payment will be made in January next. As the sum must be expended west of the Mississippi, the Department considers it proper that the interest which shall accrue prior to the settlement of these Indians in their own country shall also be invested. As the emigration will not probably be completed within two years, no definite arrangements will now be made for the application of this fund. At a proper time the Department will determine what part of it shall be applied for the support of schools, and what part to the other objects, indicated by the general clause, 'the encouragement of domestic arts.' The wishes you have now expressed on the subject will then be respectfully considered.[14]

The Kickapoo mission and school became a reality in 1836 and Father Van Quickenborne while residing there again came into contact with the United Nation. He visited them in their camp on the east bank of the Missouri opposite Fort Leavenworth, where on January 29, 1837, he baptized fourteen children of the tribe, all under four years of age. The first child to receive the sacrament was Susanna, daughter of Claude LaFramboise and a Potawatomi woman, and she had for godfather the business chief of the tribe, William Caldwell, the Sauganash of early Chicago history. Caldwell stood sponsor for two other infants. Other sponsors on the occasion, their names duly recorded in the Baptismal Register of the Kickapoo Mission, were Claude LaFramboise, Toussaint Chevalier, Joseph Chevalier, Francis Bourbonnet and Michael Arcoite. As a matter of fact, though the circumstance, if he knew it, could scarcely have impressed him as particularly significant, the missionary had before him a group of ex-

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13 *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, 9: 161.

14 *Missouri Province Archives.*

citizens of Chicago, some of whose names appear on the poll-book of the election of 1826, the first in the history of the metropolis.[15]

Father Van Quickenborne died August 17, 1837, without having realized his plans for a Potawatomi mission. But the project was not suffered to lapse. Father Verhaegen, Superior of the Missouri Mission, of the Society of Jesus, wrote under date of August 5, 1837, to the Secretary of War:

> "While at Washington in September 1835, the Rev. Mr. Van Quickenborne solicited the favor of forming an establishment among the Pottawatomies and stated what the Society would be able to effect towards the accomplishment of the benevolent views of the Government for their civilization. The application was then premature. I believe it is no longer so. Permit me therefore, dear Sir, to renew the petition which was then made. I am ready to send to them two missionaries with a teacher. General Gaines held lately a council during which the subject of this my application was discussed by the chiefs and the principal men of the nation; they expressed a great desire to have a Catholic establishment among them and they will shortly send you a petition detailing the grounds on which they base their application.[16]
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> Col. Benton promised me to lay before the Department several questions on which I consulted him. I trust, dear Sir, that actuated by the earnest desire which the Government has always manifested for the welfare of the Indian, you will have the goodness to consider the subject."[17]

The petition of the Potawatomi chief reads as follows:

> "To his Excellency, the Secretary of the War Department:
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> The petition of the undersigned chief and warriors of the Pottawatomie nation respectfully represent:
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> 1. That in the course of a few months everything necessary for their permanent location in their new lands will be procured and that agreeably to the benevolent intentions of the Government they are disposed to better their situation by the introduction of the domestic arts and education among them.
> 2. "That a school being necessary for the instruction of their children, they wish to see one established among them with the least possible delay.
> 3. That they desire this school to be conducted by missionaries sent to them by the Catholic Missionary Society of Missouri, because many of the nation have embraced the Catholic religion and will by this arrangement be enabled to enjoy the comforts of their religion.

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15 Father Van Quickenborne's baptisms among the Potawatomi near Fort Leavenworth in January, 1837, were entered by him in the *Kickapoo Mission Register* now in the Archives of St. Mary's College, Kansas. The location of the Potawatomi camp was within the limits of the triangular strip of land along the east bank of the Missouri subsequently known as the Platte Purchase. Though this tract was not included in the reserve assigned the Potawatomi by the treaty of 1833, the Indians on leaving Chicago were conducted thither by the contractors in charge of the emigration, presumably because the Indians could not be induced to occupy their Iowa lands, which reports had led them to believe to be undesirable. The Potawatomi, however, were never anything but trespassers on the Platte Purchase and were compelled at length (1837) to vacate it and move up into their officially assigned reserve in southwestern Iowa. See Babbitt, *Early Days at Council Bluffs*, Washington, 1916, p. 26. For data concerning the religious status of the "Chicago" Potawatomi, see *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, 1: 156.

16 Brigadier-General Edmund Pendleton Gaines, (1777—1849), hero of the war of 1812 and of the Indian wars in Florida. Father Verhaegen had formed an acquaintance with him in St. Louis.

17 *Files of the Indian Bureau*, Washington. Thomas Hart Benton, U. S. Senator from Missouri, 1821—51, had several years earlier become associated with the St. Louis Jesuits through his efforts to obtain for St. Louis University a township of land to serve as a basis for an endowment fund. See *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, 1: 99.

4. That the common feeling of the nation is in favor of the Catholic clergy, who, speaking the English and the French languages, can fully second the execution of the plan which the Government proposes to itself for the amelioration of their nation."

Signed in the presence of
B. D. Moon, Capt. 1st D.
Wm. McPherson
B. Caldwell
B. R. Hunt, Agt.

Wa Bon Su
Pierish La Claire
[Ten signatures]

Fountain Blue on the East Side of the Missouri near Council Bluffs.
12th September, 1837.[18]

The Potawatomi petition duly marked with the crosses of the chiefs, was sent to Father Verhaegen, who in turn transmitted it to the Secretary of War [19]. Months passed by but no answer came from Washington. Meanwhile, Father Hoecken, of the Kickapoo Mission, was advised from Council Bluffs that the Indians were anxiously awaiting the missionary The materials for a church were at hand. A tract of land was promised to the Fathers and the old fort, now the government issue house, offered to them for a residence by the commanding officer, Col. Kearney. The author of the *Annual Letters* for 1837 notes that everything as far as the Society of Jesus is concerned is ready for the opening of the mission. The onlv thing lacking is the sanction of the Government.

For some reason or other the sanction of the government continued to be withheld. At length Father Verhaegen, tired of waiting for instructions from Washington, determined in the spring of 1838 to press the business in person at the capital. Two days before setting out he acquainted Bishop Rosati with the purpose of his journey:

> "I have just arrived here, with the intention of going on to Washington, to leave for Louisville. The interests of the Indian Mission make this trip absolutely necessary. I have written to the Government officials, but to no purpose; these gentlemen know how to keep silence, when their plans require it. More than seven hundred Indians who have become Catholics urgently demand a Catholic establishment in

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18 This document is in the files of the Indian Bureau, Washington. The Catholic Missionary Society of Missouri was a designation occasionally attached in official papers and correspondence of the period to the Jesuit Vice-Province of Missouri.

The two names, Wa Bon Su (Wah-bon-seh, Wabansia) and Pierish (Pierre) La Clair (Le Claire, Le Clerc) are those of chiefs pominent in Potawatomi history. Wa Bon Su remained at peace with the whites in the Black Hawk War of 1832. He was one of the orators of the Potawatomi delegation that went to Washington in 1845 to negotiate favorable terms for the cession of the Iowa reserve. "Stately old Wah-bon-seh,with the snows of eighty winters on his head," so he is described by Richard Smith Elliott, the Indian agent who piloted the delegation to Washington. (Elliott, *Notes taken in Sixty Years,* St. Louis, 1883,p. 198.) Pierish Le Clair, a half-breed, was present at the Fort Dearborn massacre of 1812 and in the capacity of interpretor negotiated the terms of the transfer.A daughter of his, according to Elliott, was educated in the Sacred Heart Convent of St. Louis. Le Clair was also one of the Potawatomi orators that appeared in Washington in 1845 to discuss the cession of the Iowa reserve to the Government. "Peerish Le Clair, in Indian lingo, was to refer to some former treaties, the promises of which had not been kept by the government, and was to expatiate on the charms of the country about Chicago, where the frogs in the marshes sang more sweetly than birds in other parts—a land of beauty which they had ceded to the government for a mere trifle, although it had been their home so long that they had traditions of Pierrot, the first white man who ever set foot upon it, two hundred years before." Elliott, *op. cit.,* p. 208. Pierish Le Claire died on the Kaw River Reserve in 1848, being attended in his last moments by a Jesuit priest from St. Mary's Potawatomi Mission.

19 Account in French by Father Verhaegen, dated St. Louis, June 20, 1838; reproduced in abridged form in *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi,* 1838.

their midst. The Government promised it to Father Van Quickenborne and now the letters I wrote to the Secretary of the Indian Bureau remain without an answer. I will make the ears of the guilty ones tingle a little. Besides, experience has convinced me that without many privileges, the work of spreading the Faith among the Indians cannot succeed. These privileges I shall try to obtain." [20]

The season of navigation was scarcely open, when on March 10 Father Verhaegen left St. Louis for the East. The Mississippi river steamer that carried him had her wheels roughly used by the ice-floes that continued to move down stream. From Wheeling he travelled by stage over the Alleghanies. There were three feet of snow in the mountain districts and the stage-driver was hard put to it to keep to the obliterated highway. At last on March 23, only thirteen days out from St. Louis, Father Verhaegen was safely lodged with his brethren at Georgetown College.

Without loss of time, he set himself to the business that had brought him to Washington. In company with his friend, Secretary Benton, he presented himself with a carefully drawn-up petition at the War Department. But the Secretary of War was ill at his residence and an interview with him could not be arranged. The two Missourians proceeded then to the White House and here Senator Benton introduced his Jesuit friend to President Van Buren, who conversed pleasantly with him for half an hour. M. Nicollet a French geographer and scientist in the U. S. government service, and a visitor at St. Louis University in the course of his Western travels, took a lively interest in Father Verhaegen's plans.[21] He tried several times to secure an interview for the Father with the Secretary of War, but the latter's illness continued to stand in the way. However, M. Nicollet succeeded in inducing Brigadier General Gratiot to take a hand in the affair.[22] Accompanied by the General and bearing a letter of introduction from Senator Benton, Father Verhaegen now called on Commissioner of Indian Affairs Crawford and laid before him his project of a Potawatomi mission. A communication from the Commissioner dated the following day informed the Superior that his petition had been granted. In particular, he was to be allowed to establish a mission-post among the Potawatomi and to visit either personally or through his subordinates all the tribes settled within the limits of the Indian territory. In one respect only did his negotiations fail. His petition for a subsidy in behalf of a Potawatomi school was denied on the ground that the Potawatomi had not as yet occupied the land assigned to them by the government treaty.

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20 St. Louis Archdiocesan Archives.

21 Jean Nicolas Nicollet, born in Cluses, Savoy, July 24, 1786. Explored the valleys of the Red, Arkansas, Missouri and Upper Mississippi Rivers; of the last-named stream he determined the sources. Letters addressed by him to Father De Smet are in Chittenden and Richardson's *De Smet*, 4: 1549, 1552.

22 Brigadier-General Charles Gratiot (1788—1855), distinguished soldier of the War of 1812, and member of one of the pioneer families of St. Louis. He was for a period inspector of West Point and chief engineer of the army engineering bureau in Washington. It was under his direction that Col. Robert E. Lee constructed certain works on Bloody Island in the Mississippi to protect the harbor of St. Louis.

III. OPENING OF ST. JOSEPH'S MISSION.

His mission thus accomplished, Father Verhaegen started at once for the West. An incident, terribly common in steamboat travelling before the Civil War, marked his homeward journey. One hundred and ten miles from St. Louis, one of the boilers of the steamer on which he was a passenger exploded. Fortunately, the engineer's presence of mind enabled him to give warning of the impending danger and the accident passed off without loss of human life, the disabled craft being towed to shore by passing steamers. On April 25, only six weeks since his departure from St. Louis for the East, Father Verhaegen called a meeting of his official advisers, Father Elet, De Theux and Van de Velde in St. Louis University and laid before them the results of his visit to Washington. All were of opinion that a Potawatomi mission should be started without delay at Council Bluffs, and Fathers Verreydt and Paillasson, with Brother Mazella were named for the initial personnel. Later, at Father De Theux's private suggestion, the Superior substituted Father Peter De Smet for Father Paillasson.[23] The altered choice had significance, for it marked the almost accidental entry into Indian missionary life of one destined to become the most conspicuous figure among Catholic Indian missionaries of the United States. General William Clark, an old friend of the Jesuit Indian missions, lent ready encouragement and support to the new venture. He at once prepared the passports necessary for all whites entering the Indian country and instructed the sub-agent at Council Bluffs to lend the missionaries all possible protection and to aid them to the best of his ability to make their enterprise a success.[24]

Preparations to equip and send off the missionary party were now made with surprising rapidity. Only eight days had elapsed since Father Verhaegen's return from Washington when he left St. Louis, May 23, 1838, on the steamer Howard, in company with Fathers De Smet, Helias, Eysvogels and Brother Claessens. Of the party Father De Smet was the only one bound for Council Bluffs, Father Helias was on his way to the vicinity of Jefferson City, there to inaugurate a period of missionary and parochial activity extending over thirty-five years. Father Eysvogels was to replace Father Verreydt at the Kickapoo village, while Brother Claessens was to replace Brother Mazella at the same post. The voyage up the Missouri was not without incident. On the fourth day the steamer's engine broke down, with the result that the engineer had to leave his disabled craft and return to St. Louis to repair the broken fitting. Meantime, Sunday came and the passengers, about a hundred in number from various parts of the United States, asked Father Verhaegen to preach for them in the ship's cabin. He agreed and even invited them to suggest a text. They

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23 *Liber Consultationum.* Father Verreydt and Brother Mazella were at this time stationed at the Kickapoos Mission near Fort Leavenworth.

24 General William Clark, of the Lewis and Clark expedition, Superintendent of Indian Affairs with headquarters in St. Louis. His issuing of passports to Fathers Verreydt and De Smet was the last service he was called upon to render to Catholic missionaries, as he died shortly after, September, 1838.

gave him the words of Ecclesiastes, ii, 2, "If the tree fall to the North or to the South, there shall it lie." The priest was not disconcerted. "Like a good soldier in the field," he observes in narrating the incident, "I had my arms with me." He adjusted his text to the subject of purgatory and preached for an hour to an interested audience. After a delay of several days, the engineer was again with his boat, which once more started up stream. She had made about forty miles, when the machinery collapsed a second time. There was no way out of this fresh predicament but for the engineer to return again to St. Louis with the attachment that had caused all the trouble. Father Verhaegen got off the boat at Independence, while Father De Smet and his two companions were left on board to watch the baggage and continue their way by water as far as Fort Leavenworth. From Independence Father Verhaegen, having purchased a horse, made his way by land to Fort Leavenworth. He arrived there four days after leaving the steamer and almost at the same moment that the steamer herself put in at the Fort. Leaving Father De Smet to superintend the landing of the party's baggage, he proceeded with Father Eysvogels and Brother Claessens to the Kickapoo mission-house. Early the next morning he sent a horse to the Fort for Father De Smet, but the latter in his eagerness to reach his brethren had started off on his own account only to lose his way in the tangled woodland. It was Father De Smet's introduction to the perils of the Indian country. Late in the afternoon he found himself to his great relief at the mission-house, only about five miles distant from the Fort.[25]

There was doubt at first whether the two Fathers and the Brother assigned to the Potawatomi mission would be able to find a steamer to take them the rest of the way to Council Bluffs. Fortunately, the Wilmington, a government transport, was soon to leave Fort Leavenworth for the Upper Missouri. On May 25 the missionary party accordingly left Fort Leavenworth on board the Wilmington and arrived at Council Bluffs on the afternoon of May 31. On their way up stream the travellers passed through the country of the Kickapoo, Sauks, Iowa and Ottowa. The physical aspects of the region, as well as the characteristics and customs of the Indians fell under Father De Smet's accurate observation. He was indeed a born observer with a talent for literary portrayal surprising in one who never made a profession of letters. The account which he wrote to Father Verhaegen immediately on his arrival at Council Bluffs was the first in the long series of descriptive and narrative sketches of Indian mission-life that were to be read with eager interest by thousands on both sides of the Atlantic.

> 'We arrived among the Potawatomies on the afternoon of the 31st of May. Nearly 2,000 savages, in their finest rigs and carefully painted in all sorts of patterns, were awaiting the boat at the landing. I had not seen so imposing a sight nor such fine-looking Indians in America: the Iowas, the Sauks and the Otoes are beggars compared to these. Father Verreydt and Brother Mazella went at once to the camp of the

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25 French account by Father Verhaegen. Cf. note 19.

half-breed chief, Mr. Caldwell, four miles from the river. We were far from finding here the four or five hundred fervent Catholics we had been told of at the College of St. Louis. Of the 2,000 Potawatomies who were at the landing, not a single one seemed to have the slightest knowledge of our arrival among them, and they all showed themselves cold or at least indifferent toward us. Out of some thirty families of French half-breeds two only came to shake hands with us; only a few have been baptized. All are very ignorant concerning the truths of religion; they cannot even make the sign of the cross nor say a paten or an ave. This, as I suppose, is the cause of their great reserve toward us. They change their wives as often as the gentlemen of St. Louis change their coats.

"A fortnight after we arrived we discovered one single Catholic Indian; he came to see us and asked our blessing. We tried to get him to stay with us; he knew his prayers well and could serve us for a catechist.

"Mr. [Caldwell] though far advanced in years, seems to be a very worthy honest man; he is well disposed towards us and ready to assist us. The half-breeds geenrally seem affable and inclined to have their children instructed, and we receive many tokens of affection from the Indians themselves; they come to see us every day. The chief has given us possession of three cabins and we have changed the fort which Col. Kearney has given us into a church." [26]

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26 Richardson and Chittenden's *De Smet*, 1: 157, 158. Caldwell's village was distant about four miles north slightly by east from the steam-boat landing which was in a very deep bend of the Missouri. The straightening out of this bend some years later brought Lake Manawa into existence and left the river-bank at a further distance from the village of two or three miles. Caldwell's camp or village was laid out within the present town-limits of Council Bluffs and, it would appear, around the government block-house as a centre. This block-house was built under instructions from Col. Kearney of Fort Leavenworth, by Company C of the first Regiment of Dragoons, Captain D. B. Moore in command, sometime between August and November, 1837, for the purpose of affording protection to the Potawatomi from the hostile tribes to the North. The block-house, having served for a while as an issue-house for government supplies and being found no longer necessary for the purpose for which it was built, was turned over by Col. Kearney to the Jesuit missionaries, who converted it into a chapel, the first house dedicated to Catholic worship in Western Iowa. In Babbitt's *Early Days in Council Bluffs*, p. 59, is a suppositious picture of the "Old Blockhouse" with the following comment:

"By this picture attempt is made to depict the old block-house as it probably appeared when completed by Captain D. P. Moore in 1837,together with the blunt nose of bluff wheron it stood. No portholes are shown because there was no reason why any should have been originally provided. United States troops did not ordinarily employ cannon in the control of the Indians at that early day, and it is not probable that the same was furnished the Potawatomies for their protection. The building was a simple hewn-log structure, twenty-four feet square, without openings on the north and west sides except loop-holes for small-arms fire. After it came into the possession of the Jesuit missionaries small windows were cut in those sides, which were afterwards taken by some to have been portholes for cannon fire. The folly of such belief is apparent upon consideration of the size and character of the building, and what would probably have happened to the occupants had a large gun been fired from within. No frontier block-house, even at the largest of th government military posts, appear to have been constructed with a view to firing cannon from within. When cannon were provided for such posts they were usually mounted outside the buildings in bastions especially designed for the purpose."

Besides the blockhouse, the missionaries were in possession of three little cabins, the gift of Caldwell. "We have a fine little chapel, twenty-four feet square, surmounted with a little belfry," Father De Smet wrote July 20, 1838; "four poor little cabins besides made of rough logs; they are fourteen feet each way, with roof of rude rafters, which protect us from neither rain nor hail, and still less from snow in winter." In 1839 the chapel was enlarged and in the same year a new house was built by the missionaries.

The location of the block-house and other mission-buildings has been definitely ascertained. The "Old Fort" or "Mission House" with other buildings used for mission purposes stood upon the West half of the Southwest quarter of Section 30, Township 75 North, of Range 43 West, Fifth Principal Meridian, *op. cit.*, 5. 57. The Rev. Francis B. Cassilly, S. J., of Creighton University, Omaha, who investigated the site at the end of 1916 writes in his brochure, *The Old Jesuit Mission of Council Bluffs*, p. 2;

"Our story is concerned with this spur of land, which may well be called a sacred spot, for on it tradition and reliable historical documents tell us rested the first church

half-breed chief, Mr. Caldwell, four miles from the river. We were far from finding here the four or five hundred fervent Catholics we had been told of at the College of St. Louis. Of the 2,500 Potawatomies who were at the landing, not a single one seemed to have the slightest knowledge of our arrival among them, and they all showed themselves cold or at least indifferent toward us. Out of some thirty families of French half-breeds two only came to shake hands with us; only a few have been baptized. All are very ignorant concerning the truths of religion; they cannot even make the sign of the cross nor say a pater or an ave. This, as I suppose, is the cause of their great reserve toward us. They change their wives as often as the gentlemen of St. Louis change their coats.

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August 20, 1838 Father DeSmet communicated to his Superior in St. Louis, Father Verhaegen, further particulars on the progress of the Mission:

"I think I told you, the first time I wrote you, that I had already baptized twenty-two persons. To-day the number of those upon whom I have had the consolation of conferring holy baptism amounts to seventy-six, among whom I reckon thirty-four adults of ages from twelve to sixty years. I am sure your Reverence would be touched to see with what fervor these good Indians assist at the holy sacrifice and with what docility they listen to our instructions. For my part, I assure you that I see the work of God in it and that I feel penetrated with gratitude toward those who by their prayers cease not to obtain for us from heaven these unexpected successes. One of our first conquests for Jesus Christ was the spouse of the head chief of the Potawatomi nation. She enjoys the greatest consideration among the Indians, and I venture to hope that her example will have a great influence upon the rest of her compatriots. Since I could not at the beginning express myself with sufficient facility, I was obliged for several weeks to make use of an interpreter. As soon as I found her well enough instructed and disposed, I admitted her to the sacrament of regeneration, which she received with all signs of the liveliest faith and the most ardent piety. Eight other persons, who had imitated her example, shared her happiness.

"A short time afterward, on the 9th of August, a young person of eighteen years of age, who had long been sick, came over six miles to see me. She seemed in a state, of extreme exhaustion when I saw her in the church. 'Father,' she said, 'I have a great presentiment that my end is near; I know that you are the Great Spirit's minister, and I have made a great effort today to come and beg you to show me the road that leads to heaven.' I spent several hours in instructing her in the most essential dogmas of our holy religion, and as I found her fully disposed to receive holy Baptism, I thought it my duty to bestow it upon her at once. I have never seen a person so self-possessed, so modest, so deeply touched during the administration of the holy sacrament. After the ceremony she said to me: "Oh! now, until my last breath, I shall love the Great Spirit with all my heart, and shall honor his good Mother with a daughter's love. Oh! I am happy in this moment!"

"On the 13th of the same month, an Indian woman, brought me her little child ,who was sick, praying me to baptize it. 'Alas!' said the poor woman, 'I had another son, and he died without having received this favor and it would break my heart should this one be likewise exiled from the paradise of the Great Spirit'. Among those whom I have baptized are a Protestant lady and her child; she is now one of the most fervent of Catholics; all the others are Indians or half-breeds, who do not know even the name of our holy religion. There are a few families besides who are preparing to receive the same favor. My companion. Reverend Father Verreydt, lately visited a village belonging

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and school of Council Bluffs and Western Iowa. The location of the mission buildings and attached graveyard was mainly in the two blocks now bounded by Broadway on the north, Voorhis Street on the south, Union Street on the east and Franklin Avenue and State Street on the west. Pierce Street intersects the site. No doubt the graveyard, which is mentioned by Father De Smet in his correspondence, and which continued in use after the abandonment of the mission, overlapped these boundaries, as the finding of bodies indicate. On the northern block the Clausen residence, an old-time building, stands approximately on the site of the old mission-church; the rear block is now occupied by the Pierce public school." Very close to the mission-site was a spring, probably the one still existing at the foot of the hill a few feet southwest from the corner of Broadway and Union Streets. The Catholic Mission at Council Bluffs appears under the name St. Joseph's in letters written from the Mission by Father De Smet. In a letter of the missionary's of much later date (1867) the mission is called St. Mary's.

Richardson and Chittenden's *De Smet*, 1; 168.

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to the mission, where they promised to let him baptize all the little children.

"The feast we have just been celebrating in honor of the assumption of the glorious queen of heaven will never be forgotten in this mission; it was celebrated in a poor wooden church, but I can assure you that no place in the world ever offered a more consoling spectacle nor one more agreeable to the Almighty and his most holy mother.

"In the afternoon of that day I baptized eleven adults and a little Indian girl who was sick. Three of these adults had already reached their fiftieth year; five were twenty, and three about fifteen years old. All exhibited during the ceremony a great deal of piety and fervor. Afterward we sang together several canticles to praise and bless the Lord's mercies. At the close of the ceremony, four couples received the nuptial benediction according to the Catholic rite. All who were present were so touched with what they had seen and heard that, yielding to the grace of the Holy Spirit, they demanded urgently to be instructed. Among this number was an old Indian woman belonging to the great medicine band, who, as soon as she reached home, immediately destroyed her medicine bundle. Going toward evening to visit a newly converted family, we were agreeably surprised and edified to find all the adults and several others besides assembled to recite in common the most fervent prayers, and to thank the Lord for the signal favors that he had granted them that day. I cannot conceal from you, dear Father, that in no circumstance of my life have I ever felt, myself, more joy and consolation than in this happy moment." [27]

IV. A SHORT-LIVED MISSION.

In the event the Catholic missionaries among the Potawatomi of Council Bluffs were not to achieve any substantial measure of success. As among the Kickapoo, so among the Potawatomi, the drink evil assumed frightful proportions, frustrating the labors of the missionaries and making it very unlikely that any permanent good could be effected among the tribe. Interesting and graphic accounts of the havoc wrought among the Indians by whiskey are to be found

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"May 30. Arrival of the steamer *Wilmington* with provisions. A war of extermination appears preparing around the poor Potawatomies. Fifty large cannons have been landed, ready charged with the most murderous grape shot, each containing thirty gallons of whiskey, brandy, rum or alcohol. The boat was not yet out of sight when the skirmishes commenced. After the fourth, fifth and sixth discharges, the confusion became great and appalling. In all directions, men, women and children were seen tottering and falling; the war-whoop, the merry Indian's song,cries, savage roarings, formed a chorus. Quarrel succeeded quarrel. Blows followed blows. The club, the tomahawk, spears, butcher knives, brandished together in the air. Strange! astonishing! only one man, in this dreadful affray, was drowned in the Missouri, another severely stabbed, and several noses lost. The prominent point, as you well know, the Potawatomies particularly aim at when well corned.

I shuddered at the deed. A squaw offered her little boy four years old to the crew of the boat for a few bottles of whiskey.

I know from good authority that upwards of eighty barrels of whiskey are on the line ready to be brought in at the payment.

No agent here seems to have the power to put the laws in execution.

May 31. Drinking all day. Drunkards by the dozen. Indians are selling horses, blankets, guns, their all to have a lick at the cannon. Four dollars a bottle! Plenty at that price! Detestable traffic.

June 3. A woman with child, mother of four young children, was murdered this morning near the issue-house. Her body presented the most horrible spectacle of savage cruelty; she was literally cut up.

June 4. Burial of the unhappy woman. Among the provisions placed in her grave were several bottles of whiskey. A good idea if all had been buried with her.

June 6. Rumor. Four Iowas, three Potawatomies, one Kickapoo are said to have been killed in drunken frolics.

June 18. Arrival of a sub-agent, Mr. Cowper[Cooper]. His presence seems to keep the whiskey sellers in some awe. 'Don't know what he might or will do.' Secure the liquor in cages. The many murders committed act powerfully upon the minds of the Indians. They begged the agent in council to prevent the poison being brought among them.

Aug. 8. Arrival of the St. Peter's with the annuities.

Aug. 19. Annuities $90,000. Divided to the Indians. Great gala. Wonderful scrapings of traders to obtain Indian credits.

Aug. 20. Since the day of payment, drunkards are seen and heard in all places. Liquor is rolled out to the Indians by whole barrels; sold by white men even in the presence of the agent. Wagon loads of the

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28 "The civilization of these tribes has made but little progress within the last year. There is neither farmer nor school-tacher employed by the Government in this agency, and but one blacksmith and his assistant a half-breed. They cannot supply near all the wants of the Indians, and their shop and buildings are in bad condition, the Government having furnished no means for the erection of these buildings.

The principal reason of these people not progressing farther in civilization is *ardent spirits*, which are kept along the line of the state of Missouri, and conveyed into the Indian country by the half-breeds.

The whiskey trade has increased double this season and cannot be prevented by your Indian agents, unless they can have aid from the Government. The Indians will sell anything for liquor; not infrequently bartering off his horses, guns and blankets for whiskey. This practice is increasing rapidly, and the ruin of the nation is certain unless a stop can be put to the introduction of spirituous liquors." Report of Peter Cooper, Oct. 2, 1841. For Father Verreydt's testimony on this subject, see *infra*, p.

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abominable stuff arrive daily from the settlements, and along with it the very dregs of our white neighbors and voyageurs of the mountains, drunkards, gamblers, etc., etc. Three horses have been brought to the ground and killed with axes. Two more noses were bitten off and a score of other horrible mutilations have taken place. Two women are dangerously ill of bad usage." [29]

In a letter written in July, 1839, to a Carmelite nun, Superior of the Orphanage in Termonde ,Belgium, Father De Smet's native town, the missionary recurs to the topic of the Indian's fatal weakenss for liquor.

"Our congregation already amounts to about 300. At Easter we had fifty candidates for the first communion. I recommend, in a very special manner, these poor Indians, that they maintain their fervor. The dangers and scandals which surround them are very great. I have remarked in one of my preceding letters that one of the principal obstacles to the conversion of the savages is drinking. The last boat brought them a quantity of liquors. Already fourteen among them are cut to pieces in the most barbarous manner, and are dead. A father seized his own child by the legs and crushed it, in the presence of its mother, by dashing it against the post of his lodge. Two others most cruelly murdered an Indian woman, a neighbor of ours, and mother of four children. We live in the midst of the most disgusting scenes.

The passion of the savages for strong drink is inconceivable. They give horses, blankets, all, in a word, to have a little of this brutalizing liquid. Their drunkenness only ceases when they have nothing more to drink. Some of our neophytes have not been able to resist this terrible torrent, and have allowed themselves to be drawn into it. I wrote an energetic letter to the Government against these abominable traffickers. Join your prayers to our efforts to obtain from Heaven the cessation of this frightful commerce, which is the misery of the savages in every relation." [30]

In the same letter from which the preceding extract is cited Father De Smet tells graphically of the sinking of a steamer within sight of Council Bluffs with considerable supplies on board for the missionaries and the Indians.

"First, I will narrate to you the great loss that we experienced towards the end of April. Our Superior sent us from St. Louis, goods to the amount of $500, in ornaments for the church, a tabernacle, a bell, and provisions and clothes for a year. I had been for a long time without shoes ,and from Easter we were destitute of supplies. All the Potawatomi nation were suffering from scarcity, having only acorns and a few wild roots for their whole stock of food. At last, about the 20th of April, they announced to us that the much-desired boat was approaching. Already we saw it from the highest of our hills. I procured, without delay, two carts to go for baggage. I reached there in time to witness a very sad sight. The vessel had struck on a sawyer, was pierced, and rapidly sinking in the waves. The confusion that reigned in the boat was great, but happily no lives were lost. The total damage was valued at $40,000. All the provisions forwarded by Government to the savages were on board of her. Of our effects four articles were saved; a plough, a saw, a pair of boots and some wine. Providence was still favorable to us. With the help of the plough, we were enabled to plant a large field of corn; it was the season for furrowing. We are using the saw to build a better house and enlarge our church, already

29 From a letter to a "most dear friend" dated Potawatomi Nation, Council Bluffs, December 1839. Text in Richardson's and Chittenden's *De Smet*, 1: 171.

30 Richardson and Chittenden's *De Smet*, I; 184.

too small. With my boots I can walk in the woods and prairies without fear of being bitten by the serpents which throng there. And the wine permits us to offer to God every day the holy sacrifice of the Mass, a privilege that had been denied us during a long time. We therefore returned with courage and resignation to the acorns and roots until the 30th of May. That day another boat arrived. By that same steamer, I received news from you, as well as a letter from my family and from the good Carmelite superior." [31]

On April 29 Father De Smet took passage on the *St. Peter's*, a steam-boat of the American Fur Company, then making its annual trip to the Yellowstone to carry supplies to the Indians and bring down their furs in return. He had planned to visit the Yankton Sioux in their village some 360 miles above Council Bluffs, in order to do a little missionary work among the tribe and attempt to establish relations of amity and peace between the latter and the Potawatomi, who ever since their arrival at Council Bluffs had lived in mortal dread of their bellicose neighbors to the North. To his great delight Father De Smet found on board the boat an old acquaintance, the mathematician and scientist, Jean Nicolas Nicollet, whom the reader will recall as the gentleman who lent his services to Father Verhaegen on the occasion of the latter's visit to Washington to secure Government approval and aid for the Council Bluffs Mission.[32] M. Nicollet was then on a scientific excursion to the region of the Upper Missouri, following a trip of scientific exploration and research, which he had made the preceding year to the sources of the Mississippi with great success. Accompanying him were Lieutenant Fremont, the future "Pathfinder," and Charles A. Geyer, a German naturalist of considerable distinction in the scientific world. Father De Smet had a very high regard for the ability and scholarly attainments of Nicollet, but not more than the facts seemed to warrant. "His work will be a treasure for the literary world. He is a very deeply learned man and a liberal Catholic at the same time, who examines his subject on the spot and spares neither time nor pains nor his purse to go to the bottom of the matter he writes upon. He made a present of several instruments, thermometers, barometers, compass, etc., to take observations during the summer, to aid those he was making in the upper country."[33]

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31 *Id.* I; 184. Richardson and Chittenden conjecture that the wrecked steamer was the annual boat of the American Fur Company to the mouth of the Yellowstone. Though its name cannot be identified from the list of Steamboat wrecks on the Missouri River in the *Annual Report of the Missouri River Commission for 1897*, it was very probably the Pirate reported by the St. Louis *Republican* under date of May 6. 1839, as having been snagged and lost seven miles below Council Bluffs. It would appear that the boat was subsequently raised.

32 Cf. note 21.

33 In a *"Report intended to illustrate a map of the Hydrographic Basin of Upper Mississippi River, made by J. N. Nicollet while in employ under the Bureau of the Corps Topographical Engineers"* (Senate Document No. 237, 26th Congress, 2nd session), Nicollet testifies to the accuracy of the barometric observations taken by Father De Smet at Council Bluffs. "The station at Camp Kearney, Council Bluffs, was occupied by the venerable missionaries, Rev. Messrs. De Smet and Verreydt. I furnished them with a barometer, well compared with that of Dr. Engelman at St. Louis, and my own and delivered it at their missionary-station in good condition, Mr. De Smet, with whom I had passed some days of travel on the Missouri, soon made himself acquainted with the manner of taking observations; and proved it. in furnishing me with a four-month series, made with a care that the most scrupulous examination could only confirm and embracing the period between the 17th of May and 17th of September. 1839, an interval during which I was exploring the Northwest."

Having in the course of the voyage instructed and baptized on board the steamer a woman and her three children and heard the confessions of a number of voyageurs bound for the Rocky Mountains, Father De Smet arrived May 11 at the Yankton village. Here he met the Yankton chiefs and warriors in council and was hospitably entertained by them at a feast, at which he took occasion to discuss with them the principal object of his visit, the establishment of a durable peace between them and his spiritual children, the Potawatomi. His efforts met with success. He persuaded the Sioux to make presents to the children of the Potawatomi warriors they had killed and to agree to visit the Potawatomi and smoke with them the calumet of peace. In the evenng of the same day on which the council was held he explained the Apostle's Creed to the Indians and baptized a great number of their children. His mission thus accomplished, he seized the first opportunity of returning to Council Bluffs, making the downstream voyage in the only craft he found available, a dugout, or hollowed-out log, ten feet long by one and a half wide. Guided by two skilful pilots, and travelling from four o'clock in the morning to sunset, the frail bark covered the 360 miles to Council Bluffs in three days.[34]

From the baptismal and marriage registers of St. Joseph's Mission we are able to gather data concerning the ministry of the Fathers during the three years that the Mission was maintained. The baptisms during this period numbered 308. The first recorded is that of Catherine Bourbonne[t], a Potawatomi, on June 9, 1838. She is the first person whose baptism at Council Bluffs is attested by documentary evidence. All baptismal entries up to February 8, 1840, are in Father De Smet's handwriting. Caldwell, the principal business chief of the nation, was god-father to John Naakeze, baptized December 29, 1838, at the age approximately of 102. The last baptism in the mission register is in Father Eysvogel's hand and bears date July 17, 1841.[35]

The first entries in the marriage register are dated August 15, 1838. On that day Father De Smet joined in Christian wedlock Pierre Chevalier and Kwi-wa-te-no-lue, and Louis Wilmot [Ouilmette] and Maria Wa-wiet-wo-kue.[36] As may be readily surmised, these are the earliest certified marriages in the annals of Council Bluffs. The marriage ceremonies performed by Father De Smet at the Mission numbered 20 in all, the last being dated January 5, 1840. After a stay of several months at the Novitiate whither he had returned from his Indians, broken down in health, Father Christian Hoecken, the founder in 1838 of the Catholic Mission among the Osage River Potawatomi,

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34 Richardson and Chittenden's *De Smet*. 1: 190.

35 The Baptismal and Marriage Registers of the Council Bluffs Mission are in the Archives of St. Mary's College, St. Mary's, Kansas. While stationed at Council Bluffs, Father De Smet baptized the Omaha chief Logan Fontanelle, then a child, and his mother, daughter of the Omaha chief, Big Elk. Richardson and Chittenden's *De Smet*, 4: 1532.

36 Louis Wilmot (Ouilmette) discharged for a while the duties of government interpreter for the Council Bluff sub-agency. His relative, Antoine Ouilmette, whose name is perpetuated in the Chicago suburb of Wilmette has been reputed Chicago's earliest white settler, having settled there according to his own account in 1790.

was attached to St. Joseph's Mission in the summer of 1840. Four marriages are credited to him in the marriage register of the Mission, the earliest dated August 6, 1840 and the last January 28, 1841.

In the summer of 1839 there arrived at Council Bluffs two young Flathead braves, who were making the long journey from their homeland west of the Rocky Mountains to St. Louis for the purpose of securing Catholic missionaries for their tribe. The zeal of Father De Smet was at once aroused and, disappointed as he was over conditions in the Potawatomi reserve and the prospects of future missionary labor in that quarter, he eagerly offered himself to answer the signal of spiritual distress that came at this opportune moment from the remote Nothwest. Father Verhaegen, the Jesuit Vice-Provincial in St. Louis, having determined to ascertain first what were the prospects held out by the new missionary field thus opened up to his Order, dismissed the Flathead delegates with a promise that a missionary would be depatched to their tribe on a prospecting trip early in the coming spring. Father De Smet was commissioned to undertake this trip, arriving in St. Louis from Council Bluffs the last day of February, 1840. His status as resident missionary at Council Bluffs thus came to an end and he entered upon that period of intensive missionary effort on behalf of the Oregon Indians with which his career is most closely identified. Father De Smet left Westport at the mouth of the Kansas for the Rocky Mountains in April, 1840, discharged satisfactorily the purpose of his visit to the Flatheads, whom he found eagerly awaiting the advent of Catholic missionaries, and returned home by the Missouri River, making a stop in November at Council Bluffs where he found that during his absence conditions had taken on a more discouraging aspect than ever.

> "The very night of our arrival among our Fathers at Council Bluffs, the river closed. It would be in vain for me to attempt to tell what I felt at finding myself once more amidst our brothers, after having travelled 2,000 Flemish leagues, in the midst of the greatest dangers and across the territories of the most barbarous nations. I had, however, the grief of observing the ravages which unprincipled men, liquor-sellers, had caused in this budding mission. Drunkenness, with the invasion of the Sioux on the other hand, had finally dispersed my poor savages. While awaiting a more favorable turn of events, the good Fathers Verreydt and [Christian] Hoecken busy themselves with the cares of their holy ministry among some fifty families that have had the courage to resist these two enemies. I discharged my commission to them from the Sioux, and I venture to hope that in future there will be quiet in that quarter." [37]

In the summer of 1841 the situation at Council Bluffs from the view-point of missionary endeavor continued to be distinctly discouraging. Writing in July to Father Van Assche at Florissant, Father Verreydt dwells on the conditions which were to result in a few weeks in the definite abandonment of the mission.

> "Our people here like us very much; but they do not want to listen to our good counsel. Getting drunk is the only fault they have; otherwise, we would live here in a Paradise. But now, in the condition

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37 Richardson and Chittenden's *De Smet*, 1: 358.

> they are, it is indeed very disagreeable to live among them. As you are at home in the charming business, could your Reverence not give me a means to make fellows here sober men and sober women; for women, as well as men, get tipsy whenever they have a chance. Oh, my friend, it looks very bad to see these poor creatures often like hogs wallowing in the mud. I think you have done very well not to have come out to these frontier places, where almost everbody is trying to delude and impose upon these poor creatures. Liquor is brought in here with whole cargoes, which reduces our Indians to extreme poverty, which is, as you know, the mother of all vice. Such is our position here. You may of course pray hard for us all. We cannot help it; patience will not cure the evil ,I fear." [38]

The United Nation or the Prairie Potawatomi had thus signally disappointed the hopes once entertained of their advancement in the ways of upright and Christian living. On the other hand, their kinsmen of Sugar Creek, the Potawatomi of Indiana or the Forest Potawatomi, were steadily advancing to the condition of an orderly and edifying Christian community. The conclusion was accordingly reached to abandon Council Bluffs as a center of resident missionary endeavor and transfer the Fathers stationed there to Sugar Creek. In pursuance of instructions received from St. Louis, Fathers Verreydt and Christian Hoecken, together with Brothers Mazzela and Miles bade farewell to Council Bluffs in August, 1841 and journeyed to Sugar Creek, which they reached on the 29th of that month. Thenceforth the Iowa Potawatomi were without spiritual aid except for an occasional visit of Father Christian Hoecken from Sugar Creek. In April 1842, the latter administered four baptisms at Council Bluffs. In November 1844, he administered twenty more at the same post, all to Indians or half-breeds. In May, 1846, he was again with the United Nation, baptizing on this occasion thirty-eight infants and a dying squaw. This was apparently the last visit of a Catholic priest to Council Bluffs before the closing of the Potawatomi reserve.[39] Two years later the Indians were removed to their new lands on the Kansas River assigned them under the treaty of 1846, where they were united with the Sugar Creek division of the tribe and came again under the spiritual care of Jesuit missionaries.[40]

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN, S.J.

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38 Verreydt to Van Assche, July 2, 1841.

39 *Liber Baptismorum*, 1838—1850 (Archives of St. Mary's College, St. Mary's, Kansas). Richard Smith Elliott, Indian Agent at Council Bluffs, in his *Notes Taken in Sixty Years*, p. 180, records his having "solemnized the first civil marriage in all Southwest Iowa." The parties to the marriage were the half-breed. Joseph LaFramboise, United States interpreter for the agency. and a Miss Labarg[e]. "The Priest [Father Hoecken] had made his annual trip in May and about ten months would elapse before he would come again."

40 According to Babbitt, *Early Days in Council Bluffs*, 57, the Catholic mission-property at the time application was made for the entry of the town-site of Council Bluffs became the subject of a controversy between Mrs. S. T. Carey and the Catholic ecclesiastical authorities. The evidence adduced in the long-drawn out controversy before the Indian Office and the Land Department is on record in the files of the Indian Office (Case No. 139. Potawatomi file, No. 40-I.). Father De Smet, when questioned on the subject in 1867 could give no definite information. "All I could learn on the subject is: Several years after the last missionary among the Potawatomies left that location, he was applied to by the Catholic Bishop of Dubuque and ceded to him all the right to the Mission-claim." Richardson and Chittenden's *De Smet*, 4: 1534.

LIFE STORY OF ALEXANDER BELLESIME

A HERO OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Dear to the heart of every American is the career of a man who has figured prominently in the affairs of this great nation, but dearer still is the life of one whose noble deeds in behalf of our country were unexcelled, and who yet remains hidden by his close association with great personages. The life story of Alexander Bellesime, a friend of the Marquis de Lafayette, his companion and aide-de-camp during the American Revolution, is an instance where the heroism of the private is overshadowed by the military achievements of his superior officer.

Our hero was born, August 9, 1756, in the vicinity of Bordeaux. His father, Jean Bellesime, was a wealthy landlord, his vineyard being one of the most extensive in this section of France. Admiral Bellesime of the French Fleet was his uncle and the young Alexander imbibed much of his patriotism through association with this uncle, whom the boy took as a model. When the war for American Independence began, Bellesime was on board a French man-of-war. His love of liberty and justice could not but reach out to the struggling colonies in the distant West and on learning that a vessel was being fitted out by the Marquis de Lafayette, he immediately offered his services. From their first meeting, Lafayette and Bellesime became friends. Both were young, neither had completed his twentieth year . Their college days had not been spent together but their educational developments were similar. Bellesime attended the military college at Paris and his attainments were equal to his opportunities. He became proficient in six foreign languages, his favorite among these being the Italian. Much of the friendly intercourse between Bellesime and Lafayette was carried on in this tongue. The same spirit that animated the Marquis de Lafayette towards the struggling colonies also aroused the sympathy of Bellesime. They were eager to draw their swords in behalf of freedom. They considered it the happiest moment of their lives when they were ready to serve her.

It was on April 24, 1777, that Lafayette's vessel, the "Victory", came in sight of the American shore. The voyage had been dangerous and stormy. When nearing the harbor at Georgetown, South Carolina, they were attacked by a British cruiser. A fight ensued and in the melee Lafayette was thrown into the sea. But Bellesime

had seen the accident, and to jump after his friend to rescue him was the work of a moment. This incident was the beginning of a series of heroic actions that testify to his unselfish character, his quick bravery, and, his sincere love for "His General." The English cruiser was overcome and the French vessel, bearing the Marquis and his companions, landed safely at Georgetown, South Carolina. At first they were taken for a party of the enemy, but when their identity had been established, that they were volunteers to the American cause, they were received with great joy and enthusiasm. The hopes of the disheartened people of Georgetown were revived and new life was infused in the American patriots. In order to procure horses and carriages the victorious party sailed to Charleston, South Carolina, whence they proceeded by land to Philadelphia, where Congress was then in session. The Marquis, in the name of his volunteer companions, among whom was the German veteran, Baron de Kalb and a French Major, Gamet, who was also an aide-de-camp of Lafayette, offered their services to the United Colonies. After some hesitation Congress accepted these brave men. The first engagement of Lafayette and his two aides was at the Battle of Brandywine. Lafayette showed such skill and courage in this battle that his name became famous. The British determined to capture "the boy" as they called him, and left nothing undone to carry out their plan. It was after this first battle and while directing a body of Americans with whom Washington had charged him, that the hero of this story again saves the life of Lafayette. A British Officer detecting the Marquis had succeeded in getting behind him, and with drawn sword was ready to strike the fatal blow. In an instant, Bellesime was at his side. He threw the sword from the murderous hand and amid firing of bullets unsaddled the English officer and again saved the life of his friend. This was the second testimony of devoted love given by this aide-de-camp, a love that ever existed.

At the close of the campaign of 1778, Lafayette deemed it his duty to return to France to place himself at the disposal of his government, and to exert himself in behalf of America by his personal conference with the French ministry. He wanted Bellesime to accompany him, but our hero, out of sympathy for the struggling nation, gave this characteristic answer: "You, my dear Marquis, can do much for America while in France, I could do nothing, then let me remain where I may give to America all that is mine to give, my life." In Lafayette's absence, Bellesime served for a short time in General Sullivan's regiment, but when Rochambeau came to the aid of the colonies he was made sergeant, a position he held until his return to Lafayette's service. This favor he asked, and after some hesitation Washington gave the desired permission. So it happened that Lafayette and Bellesime were again together at the siege of Yorktown.

After a long and skillful campaign in Virginia, the army succeeded in tiring out Cornwallis, who at last took up a position at Yorktown, where he expected to receive supplies and fresh troops.

Lafayette saw what might be done if timely aid could be obtained, for he knew that a French fleet was on its way to America, and if it were possible to have it enter Chesapeake Bay, Cornwallis would be cut off by sea, and by the maneuvering of the American Army, Lafayette could prevent a retreat through the Carolinas should they attempt to do this. After giving an account of these conditions to Washington, Lafayette with great skill held Cornwallis in at Yorktown. Rochambeau arrived with re-enforcements and Washington came from Philadelphia with his army. Without further hesitation the siege began. Lafayette charged the breastworks. It was in this final action that our hero gave the last testimony of love and affection to his revered Marquis. While encouraging his troops, Lafayette's charger was struck by a cannon ball; horse and rider fell to the ground, Bellesime, with his usual alertness was at his General's side. He raised the Marquis and assisted him to mount his own horse. In this action Bellesime received several wounds which were supposed to be mortal. He was carried from the field and hastened to the camp where relief could be given to the sufferer.

This battle ended the war for Independence, and Lafayette ordered his sick and wounded to be gathered on board a French vessel that they might be quickly transported home where necessary care and treatment could be given them. To an old French surgeon he gave orders that his "brave aide-de-camp," as he always called Bellesime, should have every attention and comfort, for he had been more than a friend to him. In case of death he ordered that a decent burial be given him. According to a letter written by Bellesime, he states, "the doctor worried with me for a while." The vessel landed at New Orleans for medical supplies, the doctor thought it best to leave the wounded hero here for he had little hope that the sufferer could live to see the French shore. Another physician was given charge, and the vessel set sail for France with the other wounded soldiers, leaving Bellesime at New Orleans, which was close to the newly liberated colonies. The report made by the surgeon on arriving home was that Bellesime, Lafayette's friend, had died. Sorrow filled the heart of the Marquis at this news for he loved this self-sacrificing companion as a brother.

But death did not call the hero, on the contrary, his condition improved and he finally settled in St. Louis, then a growing town of the Louisiana Territory. He married an orphan girl, Mary Waters, whose parents had been killed by the Indians. She was of English descent and was born in Detroit. A French merchant, Provenchere, adopted and educated her. Few families were as happy as that of Bellesime. Twelve children graced the home and it was a favorite rendezvous for the elite of St. Louis, and for ladies and gentlemen of rank, living in New Orleans. Hospitality was a characteristic of the Bellesime home where everybody came with joy, the visit being saddened only by the thought of having to leave.

From the Rocky Mountains to Santa Fe, from Detroit to New Orleans, Bellesime was known. His nickname, "Old Eleckson", was

familiar to all. He was the first to establish a tavern and wagon-yard in St. Louis. This accomodation for farmers and voyagers was erected on Spruce and Myrtle Streets. Farmers, mountaineers, and boatmen loved and venerated him for his defence of liberty and justice. His strong personality, happy disposition and true Christian sentiments endeared him to all with whom he became acquainted. He had a tender love for music, and his old French flute often lulled his little ones to sleep. It was his delight to relate to his children, stories of his friendship with the Marquis de Lafayette, how after some hard-fought battle or a long march, they would seek a shade in Liberty's forest and there pipe some sweet French melody, a melody of home, that it might be borne across the great blue sea to those dear and loved ones there.

Few knew this dear old hero's history, and not until 1824 did his real identity reveal itself. The Marquis de Lafayette had arrived in the United States on a national visit. From his first landing the hearts of the Missourians were elated with the hope that the Great General would gratify them by visiting their state, then the most distant and the youngest member of the Union. They forwarded a message, a kind and pressing invitation to General Lafayette to pay St. Louis a visit. Lafayette's answer filled them with delight as he declared that it would be his happiness to visit his former countrymen and the land once owned by his loved France, but now the home of his dearest friends. Many days were spent in preparation, and at last the time had arrived when they could honor him who was more than a French General of the American Revolution. The sleepless night passed and when the happy day dawned more than half the population of St. Louis was about the steamboat landing, eager to catch the first glimpse of the boat that would bring them their venerated guest. After long hours of anxious waiting the vessel bearing the Marquis was seen. It glided close to the Illinois shore until opposite the sandbar on Duncan Island when the prow slightly turned toward the standing throng. What stillness! What rebounding heart throbs were concealed lest a sound should break the solemnity of the silence! There was one old heart which was beating faster, one fond love which was stronger, and one dear soul more eager to clasp "His General" to his heart than that vast multitude could tell, and that one was Bellesime, our hero.

The boat began to slacken speed for landing, Lafayette walked to the railing and waved the Stars and Stripes, while a shout such as the hills of St. Louis had never echoed before rose from the once silent throng and continued until the boat reached the bank. A committee escorted the Marquis to the carriage prepared to convey him to the Chouteau mansion on Market Street.

The honored guest could not recognize individuals in that vast multitude nor was he expecting a meeting with one of his Victory companions. Bellesime's tear-dimmed eyes gazed on in silence and a whisper echoed "Forgotten." Could this be possible? And then with a resolution animated by the hopes of clasping his dear Marquis

again to his heart, he resolved to tell the committee who he was. He approached Captain Miles and revealed his identity. The Captain informed Lafayette that an old gentleman, Bellesime by name, lived in the city and claimed to have been his companion on the Victory. For some time Lafayette thought, then he said it could not be possible, it must be an imposter, for his loved Bellesime had died in New Orleans in 1781. However he told the committee to bring the old man to him, he would gladly receive him. A messenger hastened to Bellesime and told him what Lafayette had said. "Well," said Bellesime," if Lafayette believes me to be an impostor, I will not go, I owe nothing to the Marquis de Lafayette." A second messenger was sent to insist upon the old man's coming and though his proud heart was pricked to the very core, he finally yielded to the entreaty and allowed the messenger to escort him to the reception. Bellesime requested that he might be introduced to Lafayette as a stranger. Mayor Lane brought in the old man and made the formal introduction. Lafayette and Bellesime shook hands. Lafayette stepped back, then the old gentleman spoke. "General, have you forgotten the combat with the British cruiser on the coast of Carolina?" Before Bellesime could utter another word Lafayette threw his arms around his companion and with entreaties begged him to forgive his incredulity. The scene was pathetic. The audience gazed on in silence, fearing a cheer would be a choked sob. The two heroes conversed together for some minutes in Italian. The Marquis invited Bellesime to accompany him in reviewing the cavalry troops which were drawn up in line to honor the visiting hero. Proudly did old Bellesime take his place beside his loved Marquis. After the survey of this splendid demonstration of military training, a banquet was served. It had been prepared by the members of the Masonic Lodge, of which association Lafayette was then a member. Bellesime was eagerly pressed to accept an invitation to be present at this reunion, but being a devout Catholic, he declined. Lafayette would not allow insistence, for he well knew the love of Faith that ever existed in his companion. But before departing, a short private interview was held between the two. Lafayette begged his old friend to accompany him back to France. His father's estate was without an heir and this great fortune would be his if a personal claim were made. Bellesime thought of his motherless children, some were young, and, reflecting on their need, he told the Marquis that his care for these children would be a greater inheritance than his father's estate. The Marquis asked Bellesime to accompany him to Washington where he could establish his claim with the government for services in the army. The generous lover of Liberty again refused, saying, "I gave my services to Liberty, I desire no recompense."

This hero, forgotten by all, died August 13, 1833. For three days his remains lay in state. The people of St. Louis and surrounding country were notified by a proclamation from the Governor of Missouri calling them to the burial of the friend of Liberty

and a companion of the Marquis de Lafayette. He was buried with military honors from the St. Louis Cathedral. The Grays accompanied the remains to the old North Cemetery, where all paid their last respects to the dear old hero of the American Revolution. True to his God, faithful to his adopted country, Bellesime there awaits the final call of Him who does not Forget.

A Sister of St. Joseph
of Carondelet.

AN APPEAL

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by the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis

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Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis

Secretary's Report for 1920-1921

At the last Annual Meeting of the St. Louis Historical Society all the old officers were elected for another term, with the exception of the Secretary and the Treasurer, to which offices Rev. Edward H. Amsinger and Mr. Edward Brown were respectively elected. Owing to ill-health and pressing business causing their absence from the city some of the officers were not able to attend all the meetings of the Society and the Executive Committee, but still they discharged their duties very faithfully and gave sufficient notice ahead of time, when they foresaw that they would be prevented from being present. The attendance of the membership at large at the regular meetings was not nearly so large as we feel it should have been. An average of about ten persons attended each meeting. On a few occasions a few more were present. Still some progress was made. The membership grew very considerably in numbers and our collections have been enriched by quite a few donations, the Library Committee reporting additions at every meeting. At the September meeting Father Rothensteiner read a very interesting and instructive paper on "The Old St. Louis Calvary and Cross." At the November meeting a highly interesting and very timely paper by Rev. Paul C. Schulte of the Old Cathedral about the first St. Vincent de Paul Conference founded in the United States and entitled: "The Old Cathedral Conference of the St. Vincent de Paul Society," was read by Fr. Rothensteiner. At the January meeting Fr. Rothensteiner read some extracts from the correspondence of Rev. Hilary Tucker, which furnished some very interesting information about this zealous priest's ministry in and around Quincy, Illinois, about 100 years ago. At the March meeting, which, however, was postponed till April 6, on account of Holy Week, Fr. Brennan gave an informal talk on "the History of the Earth as written by itself," treating the different strata of the earth's crust as so many historical records of its formation.

Unfortunately, the publication of the Society's periodical, *The St. Louis Catholic Historical Review,* was delayed several times, which, as last year, may be attributed, at least in part, to the still unsettled conditions of the times. It is the purpose of the Catholic Historical Society to treat of the religious and social influences, that have

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gone out from St. Louis as a center from the days of the earliest discoveries to the present time, which will soon belong to the past and as such be history also. The Society therefore should make a strong appeal to the interest and support of the educated classes in St. Louis, Missouri and the surrounding country. If more lively interest in the great historical past of our city and state could be aroused and better financial support secured, the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis would no doubt attain the object of its existence more effectively and do monumental work in the historical field.

EDWARD H. AMSINGER,
Secretary.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

Year Ending May 16, 1921.

Receipts.		*Dibursements.*	
Balance on hand May 1, 1920...	$ 98.75	Printing "Review"	$ 797.31
Membership Dues	435.00	Binding Vol. I.....	115.00
Proceeds Sale Vol. I.....	168.00	Ptg. Leaflets	20.75
Advertising	65.00	Miss. Val. Assn.	4.00
Subscriptions for "Review".....	159.00	Stamped Envelopes	22.26
"Review" Copies sold	18.62	Printing Cards	5.50
Donations	115.00	Exc. on Remittances	1.55
		By Balance	93 00
	$1,059.37		$1,059.37

To Balance on hand May 16th, 1921.....$93.00

EDWARD BROWN,
Treasurer.

LIBRARIAN'S REPORT

The Committee on Library and Publications begs to report the following additions made to our collections.

I

Archives

Since the last report published in the July-October Number of the REVIEW, we have been able to procure the following documents:

Badin, Stephen Theodore, Letter to the Card. Prefect of Propaganda, Rome, November 10, 1826.
Du Bourg, Bishop, To Card. Prefect of Propaganda, St. Louis, April 20, 1820.
———— To Card. Fontana, Pref. of Prop., February 24, 1821 (completed).
———— To same, May 8, 1821 (completed).
———— To same, February 8, 1822 (completed).
———— To same, St. Louis, October 1, 1822
———— To same, Baltimore, December 6, 1822.
———— To his brother Louis (Bordeaux), Washington, January 24, 1823.
———— To same, Washington, February 6, 1823.
———— To Rev. Philip Borgna, C.M., Washington, February 27, 1823.
———— To the Card. Pref. of Prop., Baltimore, March 29, 1823 (completed).
———— To Archbishop Caprano, Secretary of Propaganda, New Orleans, January 29, 1825.
———— To same, New Orleans, July 26, 1825.
———— To the Bishops of the United States, Natchitoches, La., October 4, 1825.
———— To Card. della Somaglia, Prefect of Propaganda, Natchitoches, October 6, 1825.

———— To Archbishop Caprano, New Orleans, January 26, 1826.
———— To same, New Orleans, January 30, 1826.
———— To same, New Orleans, February 17, 1826 (resignation).
———— To same, New Orleans, February 27, 1826.
———— To same, New Orleans, March 10, 1826.
———— To same, Hâvre (France), July 3, 1826.
———— To the Cardinal Nuncio of the Holy See in France, Paris, November 15, 1826.
———— To the Card. Prefect ot Prop. Montauban, May 1, 1827.
———— To Card. Cappellari, Prefect of Propaganda, Montauban, September 18, 1829.

Maréchal, Ambrose, Archbishop, To the Card. Prefect of Propaganda, Baltimore, August 25, 1825.

Martial, Auguste, Rev., To Billand (Rome), July 13—August, 1822 (very important for the description of religious condition in New Orleans)
———— To same, New Orleans, October 1—20—November 2, 1822.
———— To same, New Orleans, December 3, 1822.

Rosati Joseph, Rev., To Father Baccari, V. G. of the Cong. of the Mission, Rome, St. Genevieve, May 6, 1823.

Besides these documents procured from the Archives of Propaganda, an Anonymous Donor sent from Arcadia—the postmark and the nature of the documents sent do not permit our thanks to go astray if we address them to Father Wernert—on January 29, 1921, the Permit issued by the Health Department of St. Louis for the transfer and burial of the body of Rev. Francis Schreiber, deceased, at the Ursuline Convent at Arcadia on June 20, 1905, and buried in the Priests' Lot in Calvary Cemetery.

It may be in order to mark here that still other documents are daily expected from Rome. Among them are a number of Letters of Father De Andreis which, so far as is known, were heretofore considered lost and could not be used by his historian. A copy of these letters is extant in a somewhat unexpected place—the old Jesuit Fund of the *Biblioteca Vittorio Emmanuele.*

The archivists are glad to state that, whilst the collection of the Letters of Bishop Du Bourg at the Chancery was, three years ago, reported to contain "146 letters and documents," this collection, by means of copies obtained from various sources, amounts now to 212 numbers. It may be estimated that further research will enable the collection to reach the total of about 250 numbers. But the documents yet to be procured will, in all likelihood, add little in the way of new historical information. Indeed we make bold to say that the historical importance of the topics treated in our recent additions to this fund is such, that it affords any willing worker the possibility of treating with all desirable completeness the history of the American Episcopate of that prelate—that is much more than what should logically form Part II of a History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis.—It is perhaps also worthy of notice that of all these documents a typewritten copy has been taken, which will dispense workers from handling the now centenarian originals, and preserve these originals from the wear and tear inseparable from frequent perusal.

II

Library

The last report of additions to our Library is printed in the *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. II, No. 4, October 1920. Since that time most of the increase of our Library has been in the way of exchanges with the publications of various Historical Societies. We thus get regularly the following:

Acta et Dicta, published by the Catholic Historical Society of St. Paul, St. Paul, Minn.

The Catholic Historical Review, publ. quarterly by the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

The Fortnightly Review, St. Louis, Mo.

Historical Records and Studies, published by the United States Catholic Historical Society, New York.

Illinois Catholic Historical Review, publ. quarterly by the Illinois Catholic Historical Society, Chicago, Ill.

Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, publ. quarterly by the Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield, Ill.

Louisiana Historical Quarterly, published by the Louisiana Historical Society, New Orleans, La.

Michigan History Magazine, published quarterly by the Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing, Mich.

Minnesota History Bulletin, published quarterly by the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minn.

The Missouri Historical Review, publ. quarterly by the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, publ. quarterly by the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Lincoln, Neb.

Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, publ. quarterly by the Society, Philadelphia, Pa.

Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society, publ. by the Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield, Ill.

The Wisconsin Magazine of History, published quarterly by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Menasha, Wis.

The Hispanic American Historical Review, published quarterly, Baltimore, Md.

The Michigan Historical Commission have not only sent us the Magazine they issue, but also two volumes published by them: 1. *The Michigan Fur Trade*, by Ida Amanda Johnson, Lansing 1919, to which is annexed *The Pere Marquette Railroad Company*—An Historical Study of the growth and development of one of Michigan's most important Railway Systems, by Paul Wesley Ivey, Ph.D., Lansing, 1919. 2. *Life and Times of Stevens Thomson Mason, the Boy Governor of Michigan*, by Lawton T. Hemans. Lansing, 1920. Among the accessions are not mentioned works sent for review, which, according to a fair custom, remain the property of the reviewer.

III

Our Review

A third part is expected to this Report, dealing with the Society's publication, the *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*. All here present may easily follow its progress, and conclude for themselves that like

all things mundane, it has its ups and downs, even, it would seem at times from the irregularity of its appearance, more given to downs than ups. I do not speak here of its financial support: your treasurer has assured us that if it does not coin money, it however succeeds in making both ends meet. My concern presently is merely with the editing of it. Much against our liking we had to unite once more two numbers into one, so that you have at hands a double number. I need not say I firmly hope that this is the last time. But to any one who might, because he does not realize exactly the existing conditions, have been inclined to censoriousness, I may point out the cold fact that the Editor of said Review is of all the members of the Society the one on whom by far the greater and heavier part of the work done in the Society devolves. Contributors—too few, but they are most willing—do their share, to be sure; but his remains the lion's share, and it is of such a nature that very little of it can be conveniently done by anyone else. Now all this, of course, must come out of his spare time, for his duties as a priest, as a community man, and as a professor must come first and are not allowed to be neglected. This I say, and please take, not as an apology, but as an earnest invitation extended to all to help in the work. Our little Review has, I may say without false modesty, won at once a flattering place among similar publications in the appreciation of those who know: we cannot afford to lower its standard of excellence. Nor are we minded to do so. But let me say confidently: The more will be working—there are so many ways to help—the better the chance of doing good work. No fear here that "too many cooks spoil the broth": if efforts are properly co-ordinated, the finished product will be all the more satisfactory. We need a greater subscription list: many may co-operate; we need more contributors; more workers to share in the editorial labor—information, notes, proof-reading, etc.

CHARLES L. SOUVAY, C.M.

With this issue ends the series of letters exchanged between Bishop Du Bourg and the Congregation of Propaganda. This series, as our readers have not failed to notice, is incomplete; but as it is, it affords most valuable information both for the history of this Prelate and for that of the Church in these parts. Whilst, of course, efforts will continue to be made to recover the missing numbers, there is every reason to believe that their loss detracts little from our knowledge of the period.

We propose to begin with our next Number, the publication of a document still more important for our history, a copy of which is one of the most precious treasures of our Archives—the *Diary* of Bishop Rosati, so often referred to in the pages of this and other Reviews. Bishop Rosati kept, indeed, two Diaries: the one, which he entitled *Ephemerides Privatae,* by far the more complete; and the

other, where he entered all the official acts of his Episcopal administration. The *Ephemerides Privatae* is the Diary which we intend to publish.

It is contained in three large books, measuring each 12½ by 8 in. Vol. I extends from the time of Rosati's Consecration, March 25, 1824 (it rehearses briefly, though, the story of the negotiations with Rome in regard to his elevation to the Episcopacy, since the arrival of the Brief appointing him to the Vicariate Apostolic of Mississippi and Alabama), to June 4, 1829. This volume, unfortunately is incomplete and mutilated, and, no doubt, went originally to July 31, 1831. A space of more than two years, therefore, is now missing.—The second Tome goes from August 1, 1831, to December 31, 1836; and the third, from January 1, 1837 to December 31, 1840. There can be no doubt but, on January 1, 1841, Bishop Rosati must have commenced a fourth volume, and continued it until shortly before his death (September 25, 1843); but so far no trace of this volume has ever been found, and no mention of it is made in the Inventory of the "effects" contained in his room at the time of his death. Of the three tomes extant, the first and third are in the Archives of the Roman Procurator of the Congregation of the Mission in Rome; the first bears on the outside, the name of Felix Rosati, our Bishop's nephew, by whom it was given to the Roman Lazarists. The second volume belongs to the Archives of the Chancery of St. Louis.

In this Diary, the orderly Prelate entered faithfully every day the happenings of that day, even when they belonged to the ordinary routine, like saying Mass, going to Confession, hearing Confessions, letters written and received, Conferencs to the Seminarians, Conferences to the members of his Congregation, etc. We have, therefore, in these pages an accurate account of all the details of his life and activity: that is why this document is of immeasurable historical value for the period it covers. It may be added that it is invaluable also for the insight it affords us into the mind, heart and character of the good Bishop.

All the entries are made in Latin, as was common enough with the American Bishops of that time, and was quite natural with a man to whom Latin was like a second mother tongue.

Contrary to the practice adopted so far in this REVIEW of giving the original text of the Documents published, we shall print only an English translation of the *Diary*. Notes will accompany and explain or complete the text when necessary. It goes without saying that when the wording of the original is of special importance, it will be given in the Notes.

CENTENNIAL HISTORY OF MISSOURI (THE CENTER STATE) *by Walter B. Stevens. St. Louis, The S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1921.*— These five volumes of imperial octavo, compiled as a memorial of the

centennial of Missouri's statehood which we celebrate this year, we owe to the indefatigable industry of Mr. Walter B. Stevens, who in various publications issued during the last twenty years has made the field of Missouri state history during the American period peculiarly his own. Only the first two volumes of this work are to be described as history in the ordinary acceptation of the term; the last three are entirely taken up with biographical sketches of living Missourians. It is regrettable that this feature, however useful in its way for purposes of reference as a state-wide Who's Who, should bulk so large in a work that is meant to tell on a broader scale than has hitherto been attempted the story of Missouri's greatness. No doubt this is a plan often resorted to as a means of financing elaborate and expensive publications which might otherwise never see the light of day; but it is a plan that we are not accustomed to associate with any noteworthy or valuable contribution to the literature of history. One feels by contrast the greater dignity of the course followed by the Illinois Centennial Commission under which Professors Buck and Alvord brought out their scholarly volumes, the latter's "Illinois Country" being in particular the most readable and definite treatment of the subject since the days when Parkman gave to the world his classic volumes.

Mr. Stevens does not conceive his subject as a dramatic whole, which it is, with beginning, middle and end and with the dramatic elements of progressive incident, suspense and climax. His method is discoursive and topical, not consecutive. His book is not a gradually unfolding narrative which one has to read entire before he gets the complete story. It is a succession of more or less isolated, independent chapters dealing with all the varied phases of Missouri life, political, social, education, religious and economic. The method has its advantages, no one will gainsay. Highly interesting topics that enter into the background of Missouri history, such as taverns, trails, tracks, waterways, family life and customs, are dealt with in separate chapters and with a satisfying wealth of detail that cannot fail to engross the reader's attention. What one desiderates is a connected story. No one who wishes to follow the successive steps by which Missouri advanced from the pioneer conditions of a frontier state to the great commonwealth she is to-day will find a guide to his purpose in this elaborate work.

The chapters we turn to with especial interest are those dealing with the religious history of the state. Of these there are only two, Chapters V and XXX. In Chapter V, "Worship in Woods and Cabins," no mention is made of the Catholic Church, the chapter being taken up entirely with the pioneer experiences of the various Protestant denominations. In Chapter XXX the beginnings of organized Catholicity under Bishops Du Bourg and Rosati and its subsequent development down to what is taken to be an historical landmark in the growth of the Church, the laying of the corner-stone of the new St. Louis cathedral, are sketched, but in brief and summary fashion. The account, such as it is, is restricted almost entirely to the history

of the Catholic Church in St. Louis, no information being supplied concerning the organization and growth of the Catholic dioceses of St. Joseph and Kansas City, if we except the few paragraphs on pioneer Catholicity in Kansas City. Mr. Stevens has not, we are confident, willingly begrudged the Catholic Church any of the credit which is justly hers in the upbuilding of our commonwealth; but he has failed none the less to realize the greatness of her historic role in the development of the state with the result that the treatment accorded her in the work now before us cannot but be regarded as inadequate. At the same time numerous cordial tributes to the character and influence of Catholic ecclesiastics make it clear that the deficiencies of Mr. Stevens' work in the aspect under consideration arise from lack of adequate information and not from any prejudice or ill-will against the Catholic Church. The following lines which he writes on Archbishop Kenrick may be cited. "The extraordinary growth of Catholicism in St. Louis, the theological strength of the clergy, the thousands of conversions of residents, not so much from other churches as from the mass of the indifferent, are better understood when the example and precepts of Peter Richard Kenrick are known."

Numerous inaccuracies occur in the narrative, some of which may be pointed out. Father Rosati and his party did not accompany Bishop Du Bourg from Europe, (1:966). The prelate followed them a year later (1817). Moreover, Father De Andreis and not Father Rosati was in charge of the party of ecclesiastics who left Bordeaux in 1816. "St. Louis [in 1825] was a diocese with one bishop, three secular priests, five Lazarist fathers, one Jesuit, fourteen ecclesiastical students, five Jesuit scholastics and from 11,000 to 12,000 laity." As a matter of fact, there was west of the Mississippi in 1825 only one diocese, the undivided diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas, with two bishops, Bishop Du Bourg and his coadjutor, Bishop Rosati. Moreover, there were within the limits of that diocese at the period mentioned, besides six Lazarists, two Jesuit priests, Fathers Van Quickenborne and De Theux, six Jesuit scholastics, and a number of secular priests certainly in excess of three. Father Van Quickenborne, when he assisted at the consecration of Bishop Portier in 1826, was not "the chancellor of the little college of Jesuits." Father Van Quickenborne's college, later St. Louis University, opened its doors only in 1829. "The church in St. Louis has reason to be grateful that Rosati stood so firmly by his attachment to this city" (1:968). This sentence, in reference to Bishop Rosati's reluctance to go to New Orleans as bishop, conveys a wrong impression. It was not a merely natural preference for St. Louis as a place of residence that induced Rosati to take the stand he did. His health had never been good, while he was in the South, and he dreaded the loss of physical vigor and efficiency in the ministry if required to live there permanently. Moreover, he feared that he might not be a persona grata to the people of New Orleans.

The paragraph on early Catholicity in Kansas City(1:988) is replete with inaccuracies. Father De La Croix visited the Osage in

1822 not 1820. Purporting, it would appear, to quote from Garraghan's *Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City,* Mr. Stevens writes, "Father De La Croix in his report mentioned that he found a 'handful of Creole settlers at the mouth of the Kansas River.'" No such statement occurs in Father Garraghan's work. His actual words are in an opposite sense. "That he [De La Croix] visited a handful of Creole settlers at the mouth of the Kansas has been asserted, though on what evidence does not apear" (op. cit., p. 24). "Later, in 1834, came Father Roux, etc." Father Roux arrived at Kawsmouth in 1833. "Father Bernard Donnelly succeeded Father Roux in 1846" (1:989). Misleading. Father Roux returned from his mission on the site of the future Kansas City in 1835, the place being visited later by several Jesuit missionaries, among them Father Point, who resided there five months. Father Donnelly was rather the successor at Kansas City of these visiting Jesuit missionaries.

Attention may be called to some further misstatements of fact that have come under the reviewer's notice. Judge Wilson Primm's explanation of the origin of the name of the River des Peres, quoted without any apparent suspicion as to its correctness, bristles with mistakes. "A number of the religious order of Trappists or Monks from Canada had, under the authority of the Bishop of Quebec, Canada, settled at Cahokia in what is now St. Clair County, Illinois" (1:106). The Trappists in question came not from Canada, but from France, whence they emigrated first to Kentucky and later to Florissant, which they left to settle not in Cahokia, but alongside of the Big Mound on the Collinsville Road in Madison county, Illinois. These Trappists were never resident on the River des Peres, the name of which is rather to be connected with the Jesuit missionaries who lived with the Kaskaskia Indians at the mouth of the river in the opening years of the eighteenth century, as Father L. J. Kenny, S.J., has conclusively shown. (Cf. *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review,* April, 1919).

The "first free school west of the Mississippi" is said to have been established by the Unitarians in St. Louis in 1836 (2:15). As a matter of fact free schools were established by Mother Duchesne first at St. Charles in 1818 and later in the 'twenties at Florissant and St. Louis. A parochial school for boys attached to St. Charles Borromeo Church, St. Charles, Mo., was opened as early as 1829. The first medical school in St. Louis was not the one connected with Kemper College (2:68). This distinction belongs to the first medical school of St. Louis University, established in 1836. Kemper College began its medical department only in 1840. There is no evidence that Secretary Calhoun opened correspondence with Bishop Du Bourg at St. Louis touching the education of Indian boys (2:15). The first church in St. Louis was erected in 1768 not in 1776 (1:968).

Misprints have been noted as follows: Castuc for Casto (Gonzalez), 1:966; Teagre for Tenagra (1:968); Classene for Claessens (1:512); Achenil for Acheul (2:6); Ande for Aude (2:7).

The illustrations, most of them from the rich collection of the Missouri Historical Society, are numerous and well-chosen and are a real attraction to any lover of Missouri history. All in all, while not to be placed in the same category with Mr. Houck's splendid contributions to the pioneer history of the state, Mr. Stevens' volumes will furnish a vast range of highly interesting reading matter for that very numerous class of persons to whom high standards of historical scholarship are not a matter of deep concern.

DOCUMENTS FROM OUR ARCHIVES

BISHOP DU BOURG'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH PROPAGANDA.

XXXIX

TO ARCHB. PETER CAPRANO,

Secretary of Propaganda.[1]

Ill.me ac R.me Domine,

1° Sempronius et Julia, contracto coram civili judice matrimonio, subinde vero legislativa auctoritate divortio separati, ad novas nuptias convolare cupiunt. *Julia,* catholica, ad Episcopum pro facultate nubendi confugit, allegans judicatum prioris Conjugii nullitatem, ratione *disparitatis* cultus. — *Sempronius* quippe, nullius Religionis sequax, declarat se nusquam, quod ipse noverit, Baptismum in ulla secta suscepisse. Idemque testatur ipsius Avunculus, quocum a juventute, demortuis Parentibus, commoratus est. Quid tunc Episcopus? Numquid potest fieri ut inscius ipse, inscioque avunculo, in infantia nempe, baptisatus fuerit, etsi nullum hujus indicium remaneat? Ab Amp.ne V.a promptam et decisivam dubii istius solutionem supplex efflagito.

II. E decem casibus ad quos limitata fuit concessa mihi facultas dispensandi super impedimento affinitatis in primo gradu laterali, quinque jam, infra octo a concessione menses, absumptis, pro ampliatione ejusdem facultatis supplico.—Semel enim concessa ab Epo hujusmodi Dispensatio necessitatem quandam inducit in quocumque ejusdem generis casu indulgendi, ne ignaris aut male affectis ansa de Epi partialitate conquerendi, et in Religionem ipsam invehendi, praebeatur. Ad hoc, cum ejusmodi matrimonia legibus civilibus permissa sint, negante Ecclesia, periculum imminet ne partes ad judicem, vel pseudo-ministrum confugiant, ut jam plurimis, maximo Religionis detrimento, evenit.

Elapsi fere sunt decem anni a concessi mihi in Decennium generalibus facultatibus. Iterum igitur pro earum renovatione postulo et fausta omnia Amp.ni V.ae adprecans

Cum summa veneratione maneo
Dominationis V.ae Illme ac Rmae
Novae Aureliae Julii 26.a 1825
Humills. ac devotissmus famulus
✠ Lud. Guil. Epus Neo-Aurelianensis

Ill.mo ac Rmo DD.
Petro Caprano, S. C. de Prop. Fide secretario, Romam.

[1] Original in Archives of Propaganda, *Scritture Referite nei Congressi,* Cod. 8, *America Centrale, Dal Canada all' Istmo di Panama, Dal* 1823 *a tto il* 1826.

DOCUMENTS FROM OUR ARCHIVES

TRANSLATION

Most Rev. Archbishop:

1° Sempronius and Julia, after contracting marriage before the Judge, were afterwards divorced by the Legislature and desire now to marry again. *Julia,* who is a Catholic, applies to the Bishop, alleging that the former marriage has been declared null and void, owing to *disparitas cultus.*. As to *Sempronius,* who belongs to no religion, he declares that, as far as he knows, he was never baptized in any sect. The same is attested by his uncle, with whom he has lived from his early youth after the death of his parents. What is the Bishop to do? May it not be that, unknown to himself, and unknown to his uncle, Sempronius was baptized in infancy, though no evidence of it is extant. Please Your Grace to give me promptly a definite answer to this doubt.

2. Of the ten cases to which was limited the faculty granted me to dispense from the impediment of relationship in the first degree in collateral line, five already within eight months have been used; hence I beg for an extension of this faculty to more cases. For once the Bishop grants such a dispensation, he is morally obliged to grant it in similar cases, in order that he may not give to the ignorant and to the evil-minded reason to complain of his partiality and to attack Religion on this score. Add to this that, as such marriages are lawful in the eyes of the civil law, if the Bishop refuse, there is danger that the parties will go to the judge, or even a so-called minister, as has already been done by many, to the utmost detriment of Religion.

Ten years have almost elapsed since I received the Decennial general Faculties. I therefore beg for their renewal; and with my best wishes to Your Grace,

with the profoundest respect remain Your Grace's
Most humble and devoted Servant
✠ Louis Wm., Bp. of New Orleans.

New Orleans, July 26, 1825.

To the Most Reverend
Peter Caprano, Secretary of the S. C. of Propaganda,
Rome.

XL

TO CARD. DELLA SOMALIA,

Pro-Prefect of Propaganda.[1]

Eminentissime Domine Pro-Praefecte,

Acceptis Sac. Cong.nis litteris, quibus jubeor ad Neo-Eboracensem sedem, Rmi D. Connolly morte viduatam, eos proponere quos maxime idoneos judicaverim, ad illam ex miserabili statu quo redacta est,

[1] Original in Archives of Propaganda, *Scritture Referite nei Congressi,* Cod. 8, *America Centrale, Dal Canada all' Istmo di Panama, Dal* 1823 *a tto il* 1826.

erigendam; nulla adjecta mora, mentem meam *denuo* aperiam. *Denuo,* inquam; quia jam occasione translationis Rmi D. Cheverus a Bostonisensi ad Montalbanensem Cathedram, opinionem meam hac ipsa de re Sac. Cong.ni praesignificaveram. In eadam scilicet sententia, quam tum propugnavi, permaneo, nempe uniendas esse sub uno capite Neo-Eborac. et Boston.m Ecclesias, tum propter earum propinquitatem, qua fit ut duorum dierum spatio ab una ad alteram perveniri facile possit—tum quia utraque paucis congregationibus constat, Bostoniensis praecipue, quae vix duas vel tres, easque permodicas, extra urbem numerat, cujus proinde Episcopus vix a simplici Parocho discernitur. Haec quoque ab initio fuerat mensven. mem. Archipraesulis Joan. Carroll, uti pluries non solum Sac. Cong.ni, sed et nobis familiaribus suis significavit, quae quidem praesenti experimento videtur satis superque confirmata; nemini quippe nostrum dubium est nullitatem Dioecesis Bostoniensis praecipuam causam fuisse, cur Revmus D. Cheverus suae ab ea translationi manus ultro dederit. His adjuciendum puto quod, cum ex una parte lugenda experientia compertum sit, adventitios Praesules, etsi aliunde optimos, nondum tamen Americanis moribus, legibus ac usibus assuefactos, detrimentum potius Ecclesiis nostris quam utilitatem adferre; ex altera vero, cum ad tot, sive jam erectas, sive in posterum erigendas in his Statibus sedes implendas, perpauci in Americano Clero adhuc existant, omnibus illis dotibus ornati, quas Apostolus enumerat, quoque in his regionibus multo magis necessaria sunt, quam forsan in alia quacumque, Episcopalis ordinis decus postulare videtur, ut, solum in casu verae manifestaeque utilitatis, novae erigantur cathedrae; et si quae sint inter erectas, quae sine gravi incommodo, immo potius cum majori Episcopatus decoro, aliis uniri possint, uniantur.

Quod attinet ad designationem Candidatorum, repetendum duco quod in praefata Epistola Sac. Cong.i affirmabam, vid. omnium quos usquam noverim, sacerdotum, longe aptissimum, et ut melius dicam, *unicum* vere et modis omnibus aptum, mihi videri Rev.m Bened. Fenwick, 45 circiter annos natum, Societati Jesu plurimis abhinc annis mancipatum, alias Neo-Eboraci Pastorem, dein Charlestonii Vicarium generalem, subinde Carmelitis discalc. Sanctimonialibus praepositum, nunc Praesidem Collegii suae Soc.tis Georgiopoli in Marylandia. Hic praeterquam incomparabili prudentia et animorum tractandorum solertia, spectata pietate, raraq. facundia ornatus ab omnibus agnoscitur, duobus praesertim titulis ad sedem Neo-Eborac. praeferendus videtur: 1° utpote *nativitate Americanus,* quae res omnium opinionum et voluntatum, inter tot extraneas partes quibus infausta illa Dioecesis miserrime distrahitur, ipsi conciliare summopere apta est. 2° quia in ea ipsa civitete tot amicos jam numerat quot civitas habet incolas, nulla facta distinctione sive religionum sive nationum. Necdum enim e memoria hominum excidit, quanto studio quantaq. efficicia vineae illi per plurimos annos adlaboraverit, et quot salutis fructus ex ea reportaverit, inter quos insignis fuit trium sectae angl. Ministrorum ad gremium S.ae Matris Ecclesiae conversio, duorumque ex his ad

Sacerdotium provectio. Sed quod majus est, agrum illum spinis et vepribus consitum susceperat excolendum, et paucorum annorum spation in amoenissimum hortum mutaverat. Disctssit heu! *et iterum exortae spinae suffocaverunt illum.* Quid mirum quod morigerati omnes et Religionis studiosi illum votis omnibus reclament? Unico impedimento irretitam viedo R.di Ben.ti Fenwick promotionem. Societatis sc. voto, quo dignitatibus Eccl.ae renunciavit: sed hoc facilt, mandato apostolico potest dissolvi. Nova certe non erit hujusmodi dispensatio; nec puto eam unquam ob graviora momenta fuisse concessam.

Hic profecto, nisi aliter jussus, sisterem. Cum vero mihi in mandatis sit duo vel amplius proponere, inter quos, quem maximo probaverit, unum Sacra Cong.o seligat,

2° loco Rev.m. Principem Demetrium Aug. De Galitzin designabo, virum satis jam Sac. Cong.ni ob eximias ipsius dotes, spectandum, quam ut meis encomiis egeat. Provecta tamen ipsius aetas, ad sexagesimum, ni fallor, attingens, infirma valetudo, origo extranea, et pauca, ut puto, magnarum civitatum experientia, totidem ipsius nominationi obices adferre possunt.

3° loco: Rev.m. D. McGuire, Hibernum sacerdotem, dudum Sac. Ces. Maj. Viennae concionatorem, nunc Pittsburgi in Pennsylvania Missionarium, de quo, etsi cum ipso nulla mihi necessitudo intersit, optime tamen sentio. Fateor nihilominus me adeo extraneis factionibus quae utram Neo-Eborae. et Philad.sem Ecclesias hucusque verterunt, esse perterritum, ut propter ejus originem, licet aliunde meritissimi, provectionem ejus pertimuerim.

4° Idem dicam de Rev.do D. Power ejusdem nationis, a pluribus annis S.ti Petri Neo-Ebor. Pastore, et nunc, ni fallor, Dioecesis, sede vac. administratore, qui apud omnes, quos audierim, optimam famam obtinet.

His, cum mandatis Sac. Cong.nis plene satisfactum putem, nihil superest quam ut D. O. adprecam ut Em.am Vestram diu sospitem servet ac felicem, Me, cum omni reverentia, in sacrae purpurae amplexu, subscribam,

Eminentiae Vestrae

Humillimum et obsequent.um famulum

✠ Lud. Guil. Du Bourg, Ep. Neo-Aur.

Natchitoches, in Louisiana
in decursu Visit. eplis — die Oct. 6.a 1825.

TRANSLATION

Your Eminence:

I received the letter of the S. Congregation[2] directing me to propose for the See of New York, bereft of its Bishop the Right Rev. Connolly, the candidates I deem most capable to raise it from the miserable condition into which it is sunk. Without delay I shall ex-

[2] This letter is not extant, at least in the Archives of the St. Louis Chancery.

press *once more* my opinion on the matter. I say, *once more,* for at the time of the transfer of the Right Rev. Cheverus from the See of Boston to that of Montauban, I already made known to the S. Congregation what I thought on this subject.[3] I am still of the same opinion which I then advocated, namely that the two Churches of New York and Boston ought to be united under one and the same head, both on account of their nearness, which permits to go easily from the one to the other in two days, and because the one and the other are made up of few parishes, Boston especially, which has only two or three, and these very small, outside the city, so that its Bishop is hardly more than an ordinary Pastor. Such in the beginning was likewise the view of the late Archbishop Jno. Carroll, which he expressed repeatedly not only to the S. Congregation, but also to us his friends; and the present experience, it seems, has more than confirmed this view. None of us indeed has the least doubt that the smallness of the Diocese of Boston was the chief cause why the Right Rev. Cheverus lent a most willing hand to his transfer from there. I think I ought to add, too, that, on the one hand, as a sorrowful experience has made it evident that Prelates from abroad, even though otherwise excellent, but as yet unfamiliar with American practices, laws and customs, have proven rather detrimental than useful to our Churches; and, as on the other hand, to fill so many Sees, either actually in existence, or to be erected later on, there are as yet very few American priests adorned with all the qualifications enumerated by the Apostle, and perhaps much more necessary in this country than anywhere else, the dignity of the Hierarchy seems to demand that new Sees should not be created except in cases of true and evident utility; and if, among those already in existence, there are some which may be united, without grave inconvenience, and perhaps even to the greater dignity of the Episcopate, then they should be united.

In regard to the designation of Candidates, permit me to repeat here what I said in the afore-mentioned letter to the S. Congregation, namely, that of all the priests I know, by far the most suitable, or better still, the only one truly and all around suitable, seems to me to be the Rev. Benedict Fenwick: he is about 45 years of age, has belonged for a number of years to the Society of Jesus, was at one time Pastor of New York, then later Vicar General of Charleston, and afterwards Superior of the discalced Carmelite nuns, and is now President of the College of his Society at Georgetown, Maryland. His incomparable prudence and skill in dealing with men, his remarkable piety and rare eloquence are acknowledged by all; and, besides, for two reasons, in my opinion, he should receive the preference for the See of New York: first, he is a native of America, and this in that unhappy Diocese, lamentably torn by so many foreign parties, is most capable to conciliate to him all opinions and wills; secondly, in the city of New

[3] We are not in possession of this communication; as the transfer of Dr. Cheverus from Boston to Montauban took place in 1823, this must be the date of the letter here referred to.

York he counts as many friends as there are inhabitants, irrespective of religion or nationality. People still remember the zeal and success with which he labored in that vineyard for a number of years, and the spiritual fruits which he reaped there, in particular the conversion of three Anglican ministers, two of whom were later promoted to the priesthood. And what is best, is that this field, which was so full of thorns and brambles when he took charge, was by his care transmuted within a few years into a most pleasant garden. No sooner had he left, than, alas! the thorns cropping up again smothered it all. No wonder then, that all upright people and all those who have at heart the care of religion wish ardently for his return. There is only one obstacle that I see in the way of his promotion, namely, the Society's vow to renounce all ecclesiastical dignities: but that impediment may be easily removed by a command of the Holy See. Such a dispensation would certainly be no novelty; nor do I think that it was ever granted for a graver cause.

Here I should stop if I had not been told to propose two or more from among whom the S. Congregation may choose the one most acceptable to it.

In the second place I shall mention the Rev. Prince Demetrius Augustine de Galitzin, so well known already to the S. Congregation on account of his excellent qualities as to need no recommendation of mine. However, his advancing age—he is about sixty, if I mistake not—, his poor health, his foreign origin, and, so far, as I know, his limited experience of the ministry in large cities, may prove as many difficulties against his appointment.

In the third place: the Rev. McGuire, a native of Ireland; formerly preacher to His Holy Imperial Majesty at Vienna, now on the Mission of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania; although I do not know him personally, I have heard much good of him. I confess, however, I am so much afraid of the foreign parties which have turned topsy turvy the churches of both New York and Philadelphia, that on account of his nationality, and even though he may otherwise be most worthy, I should be afraid of his promotion.

I would say the same of a fourth, the Rev. Power, also an Irishman who has been for a number of years Rector of St. Peter's, New York, and now is, if I mistake not, Administrator of the Diocese: all who speak of him entertain a high opinion of him.

Having, I trust, fully satisfied to the wishes of the S. Congregation, it remains to me only to pray Almighty God to keep Your Eminence yet long in good health and happiness, and, kissing the sacred purple, to subscripe myself, with the profoundest respect,

of Your Eminence,

the most humble and obedient Servant

✠ L. Wm. Du Bourg, Bp. of New Orl.

Natchitoches, Louisiana,
in the course of the Episc. Visitation, October 6, 1825.

XLI

TO ARCHB. PETER CAPRANO,

Secretary of Propaganda.[1]

Ill.me ac R.me D.ne P.ne Col.me

Literae Amp.nis tuae, datae 16 Octobris proximi elapsi, hac ipsa hora mihi redditae jubent ut mentem meam aperte significem de Sacerdote Cellini, sc. *qui sint hominis mores, quae pietas, quae prudentia, doctrinaque, qua de causa a me Pastoris munere privatus sit, careatne vere pecunia, sitne tandem sacerdos cujus opera utilis esse in Missionarii officio possit.*

De *moribus* et *pietate* valde delicata est quaestio. Debeo tamen veritati aperte dicere D.num Cellini ita imprudenter se gessisse erga certam Matronam viduam aliunde de Religione optime meritam, in cujus domo habitabat, ut vehementibus suspicionibus apud plerosque e suis parochianis ansam dederit. Hic enim ut plurimum videbatur non solum incongruo, sed vere indecenti habitu, etiam in cubiculo matronae, indutus, patroni personam gerere, omnes quotquot sibi displicebant a Mulieris conspectu et colloquio arcere, quin et epistolas ad eam directas aperire, imo et supprimere, famulis suprema et vere herili auctoritate mandare, uno verbo modos omnes assumere quae soli marito conveniunt. Caeterum parochianos superbe, dureque tractabat et lapis scandali erat, potiusquam verus et studiosus ovium suarum Pastor.—Quae quidem mihi abunde suffecissen, ut eum ab illa parochia ad aliam transferrem. Verum ulterius processerat malum, et eo usque devenerat, ut nisi severius in eum egissem, Religioni, meo, quoq. ipsi characteri insanabile vulnus impegissem. Hic scilicet, artibus suis ita debilem et credulam mulierem circumegit, ut ab ipsa plenam et integram bonorum suorum, utique non mediocrum, donationem sibi fieri obinuerit. Quod ubi rescitum est, universus exortus est clamor, et non defuerunt qui mortem ipsi D. Cellini minitarentur. De his omnibus

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[1] Original in Archives of Propaganda, *Scritture Referite nei Congressi*, Cod. 8, *America Centrale, Dal Canada all' Istmo di Panama, Dal* 1823 *a tto il* 1826.

The tone of this letter, and the impassioned wording of the Bishop strictures on the character and conduct of Father Cellini, manifest clearly that the prelate was under the influence of his oversensitiveness at the time of writing. It is evident Bishop Du Bourg had lent a too complacent ear to gossipy reports. When one remembers the great praises bestowed on Father Cellini when the latter was in Missouri, and even some time after he had gone to Grand Coteau, La., one cannot resist the impression that this total reversal of feeling was due to some personal wound received directly or indirectly from Cellini. No doubt the latter's influence on Mrs. Smith, and the donation made by her of her property to Father Cellini, had a great deal to do with the Bishop's judgment. But there is another side to the affair, which, right or wrong, must be gathered from Cellini's correspondence. At any rate, such a prudent—tven timid—disinterested witness as Father De Neckere, reported to Bishop Rosati in a way that makes us understand that Father Cellini was not as black as he is here represented. Rosati's report, too, was very mild; and, at a later date, after the departure of Bishop Du Bourg, he did not hesitate to give him a place in the Diocese of St. Louis.

certior factus, ipsum jussi me adire de gravibus quibusdam negotiis mecum agiturum: quod cum venisset, literis ipsi significavi ne in parochiam suam quacumque de causa regrederetur. Cui jussioni nedum obtemperaret, confestim regressus est, contra Episcopum, suum quoq. superiorem Rmum D. Rosati, in cujus Congreg.m quinque abhinc annis receptus fuerat, acerrimas et impudentissimas ventilans querimonias; illicque probabilius remanisset, ni Sacerdos quidam, quem eo ipse miseram, mali progressus exploraturum. excommunicationem ei, meo nomine, minatus esset.

His paucis plene satisfactum mihi videtur petitis de ipsius pietate, moribus et prudentia.

Quoad pisius doctrinam attinet, vere dicam pausos ignorantiores, similque in sua opinione pervicaciores, me unquam offendisse.

Utrum vero pecunia careat, haec duo mihi constant—1.um fere mille scitatis romanis onustum hinc discessisse, 2um non ita pridem quadringentos, in cambiali contra D.num Lanov Parisiis, ipsi ab eadem matrona fuisse transmissos.

Hinc judicabit Amp.do Vestra quam utilem homo hujus farinae eperam istis missionibus conferre possit. Vae cuivis Episc.o qui cum eo agendum habiturus sit.

Precans Deum ut Amplitudinem Tuam diutius sospitet et servet

Amp.nis Tuae Illmae ac R.mae

Cum summa reverentia maneo

Humill. observantiss.

✠ Lud. Guil. Epus Neo-Aurel.s

Nova Aureliae Jan.i 26, 1826

Illmo ac Rmo D. Pietro Caprano

SS. CC. de Prop. Fide a Secretis

Sigillata erat Epistola, quum mihi occurrit jam ante discessum D.ni Cellini, inter eum et praefatam matronam convenisse de ipsius reditu cum aplica missione, deque amborum transmigratione in Kentukium, qua de causa ipsa jam omnia sua vendidit eo quam primum ipsi praecursura, et ei memoratos 400 nummos, in viae subsidium, transmisit. Nil igitur mirum quod tam ardenter missionem scillicitet quam si obtinuerit, compatiat charissimo Fratri meo Bardensi: nullum enim novi hominem inobedientiorem Epli auctoritati infensiorem.

✠ Lud. Guil. Epus Neo-Aurel.s.

XLII.

TO ARCHBP. PETER CAPRANO

Secretary of *Propaganda.*[1]

Ill.me ac Rev.me Domine, P.ne Col.me

Inter negotiorum et afflictionum varietatem quibus continuo oppresus jaceo, mihi ad Amp.m Tuam scribenti, e memoria semper exci-

[1] Original in Archives of Propaganda, *Scritture Referite nei Congressi,* Cod. 8, *America Centrale, Dal Canada all' Istmo di Panama, Dal* 1823 *a tto il* 1826.

dit postulare transumptum authenticum Bullae creationis hujus Sedis Novae Aureliae, datae anno 1795, quod in archivio nostro deest, forsan ab eo ex industria *sublatum* opera eorum quorum interest negare Ecclam parochialem S.ti Ludovici in hac urbe, in *Cathedralem* fuisse erectam. Necessarium etiah esset, ut omnis quaecumque tollatur de illlius Instrumenti fidelitate dubietas au cavillatio, subscriptionem Secretarii Cancellariae Romanae authenticari per Consulum Americanum, si quis Romae degerit; sin minus per Ministrum Plenipotentiarium ejusdem nationis apud Regem Christianissimum, quod obtineri facile poterit, mediante Legato Franciae apud Sanctam Sedem, qui ipse affirmare potest dictam subscriptionem, et instrumentum ita firmatum Parisios ad Ministrum exterarum relationum transmittere, ut ibi a memorato Foederatorum Statuum Plenipotentiario chirographo et sigillo suo muniatur, et inde transmittatur Consuli Franciae in hac Civitate qui illud reddat vel mihi, vel me absente, R.mo D.no J.pho Rosati, meo Coadjutori. De hoc ad Amp.m Tuam scribere pluries animus mihi fuerat; sed specialiter hodie mihi recurrit occasione epistolae cujusdam anni 1807, quam in scriniis nostris reperi, cujus scriptor Vicarium generalem, Sede vacante, alloquens eum arcet a sacris officiis in dicta Ecclesia, die quodam festivo, celebrandi, ea ratione quod, *cum sibi* constaret Ecclesam S.ti Ludovici nunquam auctoritate pontificia in *cathedralem* erectam fuisse, nullum vicario etiam E.po jus illud denegent. Certe ultimis hisce diebus agitata est quaestio, utrum cathedram Episcopalem in ea erectam subsistere sinerent. Et fateor audaciam qua cum mendacium illud affirmatum erat, mihi ipsi per plures anos fucum fuisse, donec in manibus R.mi Archiepi D. Mareschal memoratae erectionis bullae exemplar perlegi, in quo disertis verbis designatur parochialis S.ti Ludovici Novae-Aureliae ut cathedralis, donec alia possit assignari. Precor igitur ut quam primum huc transmittatur preciosum illud monumentum omnibus formalitatibus, ut supra, munitum. Interim precor Deum optimum, ut Amp.m Tuam diu sospitem servet et incolumem,

Novae-Aureliae
Jan. 30, 1826

Amplitudinis Tuae Illmae ac Revmae
Humillimus et obseq.mus famulus
✠ Lud. Guil. Epus Neo Aurel.

Ill.mo ac Rev.me
D. P. Caprano

TRANSLATION

Most Reverend Dear Archbishop:

In the midst of the many affairs and troubles which beset me continually, I have always, in my letters to your Grace, forgotten to ask for a authentic Copy of the Bull of erection of this See of New Orleans. This Bull, issued in 1795, is not to be found in our archives, whence perhaps it was *abstracted* by such as had interest in denying

that the parish Church of St. Louis, in this city, had been erected into the *Cathedral*.[2] It would be necessary also, in order to cut the root of all doubt or cavil as to the genuineness of this document, to have the signature of the Secretary of the Roman Chancery certified by the American Consul, if there is one in Rome; or, in case there be none, by the Plenipotentiary Minister of America to the Most Christian King—which may be obtained easily through the Ambassador of France to the Holy See, who himself may certify the afore-mentioned signature, and then transmit the document thus countersigned by him to the Minister of Foreign Relations in Paris, where the Plenipotentiary of the United States may affix his signature and Seal to it, and have it forwarded to the French Consul in this City, who will hand it to me, or, in my absence, to the Right Rev. Joseph Rosati, my Coadjutor. It had been repeatedly my intention to write to Your Grace about this affair; put particularly to-day did the thought came back to my mind, suggested by a certain letter, dated 1807, which I found in our archives; in this letter addressed to the Vicar General, during the vacancy of the See, the writer forbids the said Vicar General to officiate in the Church of St. Louis on a certain feast-day, on the plea that, as he was sure the church had never been by Pontifical authority raised to the dignity of cathedral, the Vicar General had absolutely no right to preside therein. This is enough to make one fear that this same right might be denied even to the Bishop. At any rate the question was lately agitated, whether the Episcopal throne placed in it could be allowed to remain. I must confess that the audacity with which this falsehood was affirmed, for several years imposed upon me, until I read in the hands of the Most Rev. Archb. Marechal a copy of the Bull of this erection, in which the parish-church of St. Louis is explicitly designated as the Cathedral of New Orleans, until another could be assigned. I beg you, therefore, to forward me at your earliest convenienee this most precious document furnished with all the formalities mentioned above. Meanwhile I pray God to keep Your Grace in good health.

I am, Most Reverend Archbishop,

Your most humble and devoted Servant

✠ Louis Wm. Bp. of New Orl.

New Orleans, Januar 30, 1826

The Most Rev. P. Caprano

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[2] It will be recalled that the erection of the Church of St. Louis into the Cathedral of the new Diocese of New Orleans was recorded by Father P. Zamora in the Baptism Register of the parish of St. Landry, Opelousas, La. See *Review*, Vol. III, January—April, 1821, p. 22.

XLIII.

TO ARCHBP. PETER CAPRANO,

Secretary of Propaganda.[1]

Illme ac R.me Domine, P.rone Col.me

Mihi proposueram nihil de recenti institutione Vic.i Aplici pro Floridis et Alabama Romam scribere, ne forte suspicio aliqua oriretur me hujusmodi determinationis esse contrarium. Puto tamen me officio meo defuturum, si amplius hac de re silerem. Jam satis superque manifestaveram Sac. Congr.i non solum per me non stare quo minus Floridae a mea jurisdictione separarentur, imo id mihi cum primis in votis semper fuisse. His quod adjungatur Alabama sub uno Vicario Aplico, nihil meo judicio desiderabilius. Sed duo sunt super quibus mihi videtur praemature actum fuisse.

1.m Necesse fuerat explorare utrum media suppeterent, quibus hujusmodi Vicarius, tum suis, cum Missionariorum necessitatibus prospicere posset. Circa quod aperte dicere, possum et debeo, exceptis duabus vel tribus parochiis quae vix in praesentiarum uni parocho sufficere unaquaeque valet, nihil omnio in hoc immenso terrarum tractu subsidii pro Religionis fomento inveniri.

Perpauci quippe sunt, iique longis spatiis distracti, et insuper pauperrimi Catholici. Prima igitur esse deberet Sac. Cong.is solicitudo, fundum aliquem stabilire vel saltem redditum annuum determinare. quo Vicarius et duo vel tres saltem itinerantes Missionarii, alerentur, nullo populis imposito gravamine. Sic certe aliquid sperandum esset, secus nullo modo.

Secundum: quoad designationem personae, mihi videtur Sacram Congr.m in errore fuisse inductam a quocumque Rev. Michaelem Portier ipsi proposuit. Consulto insinatus fuisse suspicor dictum Sacerdotum esse Lugdunensem presbyterum; nimirum ut ne quidem putaret Sacra Congregatio de consulendo mecum circa dotes et idoneitatem eligendi. Ita certe est, si natalitia considerentur; verum si sacerdos Cong.i expositum fuisset juvenem illum ab aetate viginti annorum, meae Diocesi fuisse adscitum, sub oculis meis continuo versatum, et a me ad Sacros ordines promotum, puto nulla alia ex parte quaestitas fuisse informationes. Quae si a me fuissent sciscitatae, nihil progressum hac in re fuisset, cum veritati debeam dicere esti virtue et ingenio praeditum, longe adhuc ab hac gravitate, moderatione, sui imperio, doctrina ecclesiastica, prudentia, experientia, quae episcopum decent, praesertim in hujusmodi regionibus, ubi sibi soli sufficere debeat, distare Rev.m Mich. Portier; quod mirum videre non potest si consideretur eum, a tempore ordinationis suae, sex circiter abhinc annis, vix duos Sacro Ministerio, reliquos institutioni juventutis in primariis scholis devovisse. Quod profecto in causa fuit cur omnibus ad quorum notitiam pervenit ejus institutio, admirationem maximam

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[1] Original in Archives of Propaganda, *Scritture Referite nei Congressi*, Cod. 8, *America Centrale, Dal Canada all' Istmo di Panama, Dal* 1823 *a tto il* 1826.

faceret. Utrum acceptare, an declinare onus sibi propositum deberet Me interrogavit; et licet mentem de negotio tam delicato, super quo Sacra Cong.o mecum consultandum non judicaverat, ipsi aperire repugnarem, victus tamen ejus precibus, efficii paterni tandem esse duxi, quid de ipsius idoneitate, quidque de hujusmodi oneris gravitate sentirem, palam significare; quo factum est ut absque haesitatione ulla literas Aplicas Romam cum suis excusationibus remitteret.

Haec omnia ad Amp.m Vestram scribendum putavi; non, quod absit, querimoniae modo, sed ut muneri meo faciam satis. Hic enim potissimum applicanda mihi videtur D. Cypriani sententia: *Episcopatum esse in solidum.*

Quod ad me attinet, Illme Domine, summa impatientia Paschatis solemnitatem praestolor, quam profectionis meae in Europam terminum praefixi. Longior quippe mea in hac regione permanentia neque cum bono Religionis, nec cum familiae meae securitate consistere potest. Multus mihi fuit labor, praeteritis his temporibus, nepotum, imo et Fratris mei charissimi vindictam in aggressores meos compescere, et vix una nunc transit hebdomada, quin in diariis libellis aliqua in me jactentur convitia, occasione infelicis illius hispani sacerdotis (Sigura) in unam e suburbanis ecclesiis laica auctoritate intrusi cui, etsi ab ipsimet suis fautoribus summopere contemnantur, in odium tamen mei, aperte patrocinantur; indeque permulti ansam arripiunt veterem in mobilem projiciendi. Quamdiu naturalium meorum defensorum brachia ligare amplius detur, plane nescio; cum tamen sola cogitatio quod, mei causa, sanguis,[2] memorum cognatroum fundi possit nullam mihi requiem habere patitur.

Haec, ut spero, mihi apud Beatissimum Patrem nostrum favebit excusatio, pro dimissa mea aut ad tempus Coadjutori meo assignata non expectato Sanctitatis Suae consensu. In hoc enim mihi suffragare, imo et imperare videtur Jus ipsum naturale; nec unquam potiori ratione praesumendus mihi videtur fuisse Superioris assensus. Quod si necesse fuerit Romam petere, ut causam meam coram Sanctissimo Domino et Patre nostro dicam, quod spero me brevi post adventum in Galliam resciturum, incunctanter pergam, nihil dubitans eum mihi fore propitium.

Interea Deum enixe rogans ut Amplitudinem Vestram diu suspitem servet ac felicem,

Cum summa reverentia maneo
Amplitudinis V.ae Illmae ac Rmae

Nova Aur.ae Feb. 17, 1826

Humillimus et obsequentissimus famulus
✠ L. Guil. Du Bourg Epus Neo-Aur.

Illmo ac Rev.mo DD. Petro Caprano, Archbo Icon. S. Cong. de Prop. Fid a secretis

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[2] Word illegible.

TRANSLATION

Most Reverend Dear Archbishop:

I had resolved not to write about the recent institution of a Vicar Apostolic and at least two or three itinerant missionaries without imsuspicion that I was opposed to this decision. However I would consider it a breach of duty on my part if I kept silence any longer. I have long since manifested more than sufficiently that not only I was not averse to the separation of Florida from my jurisdiction, but even that this was all along one of my great wishes. That Alabama be joined to Florida under one and the same Vicar Apostolic, nothing, in my opinion, is more desirable. But there are two points on which it seems to me action was taken prematurely.

1° There should have been some inquiry made as to whether there are at hand the means to support both the Vicar Apostolic and his missionaries. On this subject I may—and must—say openly, that, with the exception of two or three parishes which actually can support each one priest, and that with difficulty, no means whatever are to be found in that immense territory to foster the development of Religion.

For, as a matter of fact, the Catholics there are very few, and far apart, and, moreover, very poor. The first object of the solicitude of the S. Congregation should be to establish some fund, or at least determine some annual income, which could support the Vicar Apostolic and at least two or three itinerant missionaries without imposing any burden on the people. In this way, one could hope for something; otherwise nothing is to be hoped for.

2° In regard to the designation of the person, it seems to me that the S. Congregation has been induced into error by anyone who proposed to it the Rev. Michael Portier. I have a suspicion it was deliberately intimated that that priest belongs to the clergy of Lyons: this was done clearly in order to prevent the S. Congregation from consulting me about the qualifications and fitness of the candidate. The assertion is true, in so far as his birthplace is concerned; still if that gentleman had told the S. Congregation that this young man has been incorporated into my Diocese since he was twenty years of age, has lived constantly under my very eyes, was promoted by me to Sacred Orders, I am convinced that informations would not have been sought anywhere else than here. Now had I been asked these informations, the affair would have stopped right there, as I owe it to truth to declare, that virtuous and talented as the Rev. Michael Portier is, he is still far from possessing that gravity, moderation, self-control, ecclesiastical knowledge, prudence and experience, which a Bishop must have, particularly in this country, where he has to reckon on himself alone. These deficiencies of his will not appear surprising, if one but considers that, since the time of his ordination, about six years ago, he has exercized the sacred ministry for scarcely two years, the rest being spent in teaching in primary schools. Hence the utmost surprise of all those who have heard of his appointment. He has

TRANSLATION

asked me whether he should accept or decline the burden offered him; despite my reluctance to express my opinion on so delicate a subject upon which the S. Congregation did not deem it fit to consult me, yielding at last to his entreaties, I have considered it my duty as a father to let him know plainly what I thought about his fitness and the weight of such a burden. Whereupon without any hesitation he has sent back the Apostolic letters with his excuses.

I have thought it well to write all this to Your Grace, not to complain—far be the thought!—but to discharge my duty. This is indeed preeminently a case where, to my mind, we should apply the saying of St. Cyprian, that "the Episcopate stands and falls together."

As to myself, Most Reverend Archbishop, I am awaiting most impatiently the feast of Easter, which I have determined as the date of my departure for Europe. For a longer stay in this country is incompatible with both the good of Religion and the safety of my family. I had a great deal of trouble lately to stop my nephews, nay even my dearest brother from taking revenge of those who attack me; and now scarcely a week passes by that I am not grossly insulted in the newspapers at the occasion of that miserable Spanish priest (Sigura), who was foisted upon the church of one of the suburbs by the trustees; even though this man is utterly dispised by his abettors, yet these, out of hatred towards me, make themselves openly his supporters; this incident has resulted in many taking this opportunity to [2] . . . How long I shall yet be able to restrain my natural defenders, I know not; but the mere thought that on my account blood—the blood of my relatives—may be shed does not leave me a moment's rest.

This, I trust, shall be with our Holy Father an excellent excuse for my resigning my burden or confiding it temporarily to my Coadjutor, without waiting for the consent of His Holiness.[3] This course seems to be approved, nay even commanded, by Natural Law itself, and in no case were there ever better reasons, it seems to me, to presume the Superior's consent. Should it be necessary for me to go to Rome, in order to plead my cause before the Holy Father, I hope I shall learn it soon after landing in France, and I will start at once, having no doubt that he will grant my petition.

Meanwhile, praying God earnestly to keep Your Grace yet many years in good health and happiness,

I remain with the most profound respect,

Your Grace's

Most humble and obedient servant

✠ L. Wm. Du Bourg, Bp. of New Orl.

New Orleans, Febr. 17, 1826

To the Most Rev. Peter Caprano, Archb. of Iconium, Secretary of Prop.

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[3] This letter, and in it, this paragraph and the preceding, are most important in the history of Bishop Du Bourg's mysterious resignation. Here he alleges his main reason for this step; other motives will be adduced in subsequent letters; but they obviously played only a secondary part in his reaching this momentous decision.

XLIV

TO ARCHBP. PETER CAPRANO,

Secretary of *Propaganda.*[1]

Ill.me ac Rev.me Domine, P.rone Col.me,

Etsi verear me literarum mearum frequentia patientiam Amp.nis Vestrae fatiget, quaedam tamen, praecedentibus meis addenda videntur, per quae illis, ut praesertim posterioribus, robur accedat.

Jam satis, et ad nauseam usque, de odio quo homines isti oderunt me gratiis, aures Sacrae Cong.is et Vestrae Amp.is obtudi. Nescio tamen quomodo me fugit observare hinc scandalum pluribus e meo clero subortum, hinc etiam aliquos ansam arripuisse liberius et insolentius mecum agendi; inter quos, et in primis, R.m Michaelem Portier, eum ipsum quem ad Episcopatum, tremendum in his regionibus onus promovere cogitat Sacra Cong.o, me piget nominare. Unde patet me nulli proficuum amplius hic esse posse. Utrum odium mea culpa mihi provenerit, nescio, Deus scit — Hoc scio, quod bonitatem et indulgentiam ad extremos limites, erga omnes, exercuerim, et quod nullum verbum, etiam sacerdotum contemptui aut insolentiae unquam opposuerim, veritus scilicet eos inimicorum meorum phalangi se adjuncturos, et dissentiones clericorum cum Epo maximo scandalo occasionem daturas. — Non quod suspicatum velim praefatum Rev.m Portier fide aut virtutibus esse destitutum; sed levis omnino et inconsideratus homo est, jugi cujuslibet impatiens ,independentiam affectans, nullam anini finitatem et firmitatem habens, paratusque omni vento girari.

Facile animedvertit Sacra Cong.o in hujusmodi circumstantiis, me, alioqui summa sensibilitate praeditum, omnium hominum infelicissimum esse debere; et ita res se habet; adeo ut servorum sortem, meae comparatam, paradisum judicaverim; nihilque dubitarem in severissimo Monasterio poenitentiam ad ultimum vitae terminum, si Summo Pontifici libuerit, protrahere quam vel unum amplius annum hoc onere gravatum expetere.

Vix credi potest quam contagiosa, ipsimet clero, virisque alias morigeratis, sint libertatis et independentiae principia quae in his Statibus per omnes sensus imbibunt; unde mihi semper persuasum fuit vix aliquid boni sperari posse nisi ex Congregationibus, aut ordinibus religiosis, in quibus viget stricta obedientia. Hinc continuum studium meum ad fovendas hujusmodi fundationes in ista Dioecesi, ingratissima et difficillima omnium. Hinc sperandum est R.mum D. Rosati, cum aliunde universali existimatione tum Cleri, cum populi gaudeat, ope suae Congregationis utilissimam Religioni operam in hac Louisiana navaturum. — Nihilque mea prolongata commoratione facerem, nisi bonum illud retardare, quin et forsan illa ipsa dilatione difficilius aut etiam impossibile redere. Haec, cum coram Deo parata

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[1] Original in Archives of Propaganda, *Scritture Referite nei Congressi,* Cod. 8, *America Centrale, Dal Canada all' Istmo di Panama, Dal* 1823 *a tto il* 1826.

XLIV

TO ARCHBP. PETER CAPRANO,

Secretary of Propaganda.[1]

Ill.me ac Rev.me Domine, Prone Col.me,

Etsi veream me literarum mearum frequentia patientiam Amplitudinis Vestrae fatiget, quaedam tamen, praecedentibus meis addenda videntur, per quae illis, ut praescriptis posteritatis, robur accedat.

Jam satis, et ad nauseam usque, de odio quo homines Iuti oderunt me gratis, aurea Sacrae Congis et Vestrae Amplis obtundi. Nescio tamen quomodo me fugit observare hinc scandalum plurimis e meo clero subortum, hinc etiam aliquos ansam arripuisse liberius et insolentius mecum agendi; inter quos, et in primis, R.m Michaelem Portier, cum ipsum quem ad Episcopatum, tremendum in his regionibus onus promovere cogitat Sacra Congo, me piget nominare. Unde patet me nulli proficuum amplius hic esse posse. Ultrum odium mea culpa mihi provenerit, nescio. Deus scit — Hoc scio, quod bonitatem et indulgentiam ad extremos limites, erga omnes, exercuerim, et quod nullum vetitum, etiam assentationem contemptui aut insolentiae nequam opposuerim, veritus scilicet eos inimicorum meorum phalangi se adjunctoros, et dissentiones clericorum cum Ego maxime scandalo occasionem daturas. — Non quod suspicatum velim praelatum Rev.m Portier hoc aut virtutibus esse destitutum; sed levis omnino et incon-siderata homo est, jugi culpabilis impatiens, independentiam affectans, nullam amni finitatem et firmitatem habens, paratusque omni vento ferri.

Facile animadvertit Sacra Congo in hujusmodi circumstantiis, me aliquot summa sensibilitate praeditum, omnium hominum intelligentissimum esse debere; et ita res se habet; adeo ut servorum sortem, meae comparatam, paradisum judicaverim; nihilque debitarem in severissimo Monasterio poenitentiam ad ultimum vitae terminum, si Summo Pontifici libuerit, protrahere quam vel unam amplius annum hoc onere gravatum experire.

Vix credi potest quam contagiosa, ipsimet clero, virisque aliis morigeratis, sint libertatis et independentiae principia quae in his Statibus per omnes sensus imbibunt; unde mihi semper persuasum fuit vix aliquid boni sperari posse nisi ex Congregationibus, aut ordinibus religiosis, in quibus vigeat stricta obedientia. Hinc continuum studium meum ad fovendas hujusmodi fundationes in ista Diocesi, ingratissima et difficillima omnium. Hinc sperandum est R.mum Dnum, cum aliunde universali existimatione tum Cleri, cum populi gaudeat, ope suae Congregationis utilissimam Religioni operam in hac Louisiana navaturum. — Nihilque mea prolongata commoratione hac-tenus, nisi bonum illud retardare, quin et forsan illa ipsa difficultates aut etiam impossibile redere. Haec, cum coram Deo peracta

[1] Original in Archives of Propaganda, Scritture Riferite nei Congressi, Canada, Diocesi di Arichat, Del Canada all'Istmo di Panama, Del 1845 a tutto il 1862.

mente revolvo, magis ac magis persuadeor, nedum ipsius divinae voluntati abdicatione mea contradicam, imo nihil agere me posse quod ipsius gloriae et ovium mihi concreditarum utilitati magis consonum fuerit.

Parcat importunitati meae Amp.do Vestra, et misertus tam deplorandae sortis, manum adjutoriam extendere non dedignetur,

Humillimo suo et obsequent.mo famulo

✠ Lud. Guil. Ep.o N. Aurel.

Novae Aureliae Feb.rii 27, 1826.
Illmo ac Rev.mo D.no Petro Caprano
S. C. de Prop. Fide a secretis.

TRANSLATION

Most Reverend Dear Archbishop:—

Even though I have reason to be afraid that my frequent letters are tiresome to your Grace, there are a few things which it seems necessary to add to my previous communications in order to render them, especially the last, more weighty.

Enough and more than enough have I already dinned into the ears of the S. Congreg. and of Your Grace about the unjust hatred wherewith these people hate me. I forgot, however, I know not how, to remark that this has caused scandal among quite a number of my clergy, and has furnished to others a pretext to act with me disrespectfully and even insolently. Among the latter I am sorry to have to mention above all the Rev. Michael Portier,[2] the self-same man whom the S. Congregation intends to appoint to the Episcopal dignity,—a burden really tremendous in this country. Hence it is clear that my usefulness here is absolutely at an end. Whether this hatred has come to me by my own fault, I know not; God knows it. But this I know, namely, that I extended kindness and indulgence even to the extreme limits, towards all, and that I never replied a word even to the expressions of contempt or insolence of the priests, being afraid that these would swell the ranks of my enemies, and that dissensions between the Clergy and the Bishop might give rise to grave scandal. In saying this my intention is not to give the impression that Fr. Portier is lacking in faith or virtue; but he is given to levity, inconsiderate,

[2] It would not be fair to pass an unfavorable judgment on Bishop-Elect Michael Portier, on the sole evidence of this accusation of Bishop Du Bourg, The prelate had always been very sensitive to criticism; and it seems that Father Martial did not go very far astray in his appreciation, when he wrote to his friend Billaud, at the French Embassy in Rome that the Bishop, who was weak with those who flattered him, could not brook any criticism. Did Father Portier, about the time of the writing of this letter, forgettul of the oversensitiveness of the prelate, venture to make some unflattering remark? We cannot say with certainty, although this seems to be what is intimated by the Bishop. Falling upon overwrought nerves, the criticisms of Portier must have caused a deep and painful wound. Bishop Du Bourg analyzed excellently his own case when he says, some lines below: "In the midst of such circumstances, most keenly sensitive as I am, I must be the most unhappy of men."

restive, affecting independence, purposeless, devoid of firmness and ever ready to veer with every wind.

The S. Congregation may easily understand that, in the midst of such circumstances, most keenly sensitive as I am, I must be the most unhappy of men; and indeed such is the case, so much so, in fact, that I should deem the condition of slaves actually a paradise, compared to my onw condition, and I would not hesitate to ask to end my days, if it so please the Sovereign Pontiff, in the most rigorous Monastery rather than remain only one year with that burden.

It is scarcely possible to realize how contagious even to the clergy and to men otherwise well disposed, are the principles of freedom and independence imbibed by all the pores in these United States. Hence I have always been convinced that practically all the good to be hoped for must come from the Congregations or religious Orders among which flourishes strict discipline. Wherefore my constant care has always been to foster the foundation of such establishments in this most ungrateful and difficult Diocese. For this reason it is to be hoped that the Right Rev. Bp. Rosati, who ,at any rate enjoys the esteem of all, among both the clergy and laity, by means of his Congregation, may do very good work in Louisiana. My staying longer here would do nothing but delay this good; nay even perhaps might it contribute to render it more difficult, or even impossible. When I meditate all these things before God, I become more and more convinced that not only shall I not go against the will of God in resigning my See, but I can do nothing better and nothing more perfectly in accordance with His glory and the utility of the flock committed to my care.

Please your Grace pardon my insistence, take pity on my deplorable condition, and deign extend a helping hand to

Your most humble and obedient Servant

✠ L. Wm., Bp. of N. Orl.

New Orleans, February 27, 1826.
To the Most Rev. Peter Caprano,
Secretary of Propaganda.

XLV.

TO ARCHBP. PETER CAPRANO,

Secretary of Propaganda.[1]

Ill.me ac Rev.me Domine, Prone Col.me,

Recens accepi a Rmo Collega nostro Bardensi, Epistolam, quam operae pretium duxi, autographum ad Amp.m Vestam transmittere, ut quae sit inter Epos istorum statuum, de nominationibus ad vacantes, aut recens institutas sedes, opinionum consensio, meliori et compen-

[1] Original in Archives of Propaganda, *Scritture Referite nei Congressi*, Cod. 8, *America Centrale, Dal Canada all' Istmo di Panama, Dal* 1823 *a tto il* 1826.

diosiori via discere possit. Est haec epistola responsio uni e meis in qua fratribus meis consilium meum hac de re proponebam, quam idcirco, anglico idiomate, ut erat conscriptam, illi adjiciendam putavi.

Doleo valde, Religionis causa, quod in casu Presb.i Michaelis Portier, omissae fuerit consuetae indagationes, praesertim ab iis praesulibus quibus notus sit, et sub quorum regimine per octo ultimos annos est conservatus. Quidquid alii de eo asserere potuerint referri solum potest ad ipsius adolescentiam. Vix enim undevicesimum attigerat, cum Lugduno sub meo ductu exiit, moribus sane et igenio inter aequales conspicuus, sed adhuc nimium juvenis, ut quis deinceps futurus esset certo potuerit conjici. Exinde vero ne pedem quidem a mea dioecesi unquam movit, nulli proinde ex Americanis Epis, praeter me et Coadjutorem meum se dignoscendum praebuit. Ut primum sonuit vox hujus nominationis, a risu temperare non potuerunt plerique ipsius amici et consacerdotes; sed quod me multo accerbiori dolore affecit, ipsimet laici et mulieres, etiam inter morigeratos, summam admirationem testati sunt, quod juvenis quem nihil inter aequales distinguit aut commendat, qui nulla rerum experientia pollet, ad tantam et tam arduam dignitatem evectus fuerit. Non defuerunt qui me hujus determinationis accusarent, quibus vix persuadere potui nullam in ea partem me habuissé, nec unquam fuisse consultum. Quod si probi et religiosi ita sentiant, quid erit de dissolutis et impiis, quibus ista regio scatit?

Nolim Amp.m Vestram suspicari, me aegre ferre sive Floridarum separationem, sive amissionem D. M.is Portier; illam enim diu postulavi, nec aliud de extensione illa territorii praeter molestia mihi accedit. Istum vero, propter animi inconstantiam et affectatam independentiam, alio se transferre cuperem, praesertim ubi sub obedientiae vinculo fraenata ipsius levitate, naturales ipsius dotes ad majorem ecclesiae utilitatem possent maturescere. Ad hoc nullus utrivis desiderio nunc mihi locus esse potest, qui, quod ad me attinet nihil praeter meam liberationem aut cupio aut cogito, sed etsi sponsus istius Ecclesiae esse desinam, non cessabo tamen ipsi bene velle, et illius augmentum prop posse promovere. Ideo sententiam meam de iis quae ad Religionis honorem spectant, liberius depromo, sperans Amp. Vestram et Sac. Cong.m mihi condonaturos si quid minus reverenter expresserim. Nihil enim antiquius habeo quam ut altissimam demissionem meam erga S.tam Sedem et Sacram Congregationem modis omnibus significem. Meque ipsum verbo et opere adprobem

Amp.nis Vestrae Ill.mae ac Revmae

Novae Aureliae, Martii 10, 1826,

Humillimum et obsequentissimum famulum

✠ Lud. Guil. Du Bourg Epus Neo-Aur.

Illmo ac Revmo Dno
Petro Caprano — Archpo
Iconiensi S. C. de Prop. Fide a Secretis

TRANSLATION

Most Reverend and Dear Archbishop:—

I received lately from our Right Rev. Colleague of Bardstown a letter, of which I thought it my duty to forward the original to Your Grace, in order that you may understand in a better and shorter way the consensus of opinion which exists among the Bishops of the United States, regarding the appointments to the vacant or recently established Episcopal Sees. This letter is a reply to one of mine, in which I was setting forth to my brother-bishops my views on the subject: this my letter I enclose herewith in English, just as it was written.[2]

Natchitoches (La) in the course of our
Episcopal Visitation, October 4, 1825.

Right Rev. Sirs and Very Dear Brethren,

About one year ago, if my memory serves me well as to time, I received an invitation from *Propaganda,* which I must suppose to have been addressed also to every Bishop in the United States to give my opinion for the appointment of a successor to Dr. Cheverus in the See of Boston; and just now a similar one has reached me, respecting that of New York, vacated by the death of Dr. Connolly. From this it is natural to conclude that the Holy Congregation has come to a settled plan, not to proceed henceforth in the American nominations, but upon the joint suffrages of the American Bishops.

The plan is, no doubt, a very correct one in every point of view. But its efficacy must necessarily depend upon the mode of carrying it into operation. The present one appears to me extremely defective inasmuch as the unavoidable discrepancy of insulated opinions must necessarily throw Propaganda into the greatest perplexity as to the choice of one subject among the several that may be proposed, particularly as each of them may eventually chance to obtain but a single vote in his favor: the consequence of which must be an indefinite protraction in the appointments, the greatest calamity that can befall our infant Churches.

Reunion of Bishops on those all important occasions, would, if practicable, be the best remedy to the impending evil, and for my part, cost what it might, neither fatigue nor expeuse would deter me from attempting a long journey on an errand of such interest to Religion. I allow, however, that in many cases, either the advanced age, infirmities, or even the poverty of some of the Prelates might throw insuperable obstacles in the way of these desirable meetings. At least would I propose an understanding among the Bishops, by means of epistolary communications. The Archbishop, or in case of his absence, or death, the eldest Bishop might be commissioned by the Holy See, in the emergency of any vacancy, to confer by letters, with his colleagues, to suggest to each of them his own ideas, to receive their in return, and in case of such division of opinions as might still embarrass the nominations, to acquaint them with the number of votes given to each of them, in order that, upon a new consideration of the subject, the Bishops might, if they thought proper, modify their former opinions, and join in making a common return. Intricate as this process may appear, it seems to me by far the most expeditious and the best calculated to satisfy the minds of the Sacred Congregation, by affording them at once a full view of the general opinion of the Bishops on the respective merits of the candidates.

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[2] This letter was sent from Natchitoches, La., October 4, 1825, that is, just about the time Bishop Du Bourg was writing on the same subject to Card. della, Samalia, Pro-Prefect of Propaganda (Letter XL above). Here is the text of this communication to the Bishops of the United States, as it is found in the Archives of Propaganda, *Scritture Referite nei Congressi,* Codice 8—clearly the copy sent by Du Bourg to Archbishop P. Caprano:

TRANSLATION

Most Reverend and Dear Archbishop:—

I received lately from our Right Rev. Colleague of Bardstown a letter, of which I thought it my duty to forward the original to Your Grace, in order that you may understand in a better and shorter way the consensus of opinion which exists among the Bishops of the United States, regarding the appointments to the vacant or recently established episcopal Sees. This letter is a reply to one of mine, in which I was setting forth to my brother-bishops my views on the subject: this my letter I enclose herewith in English, just as it was written.[1]

Natchitoches (La) in the course of our
Episcopal Visitation, October 4, 1843.

Most Rev. Sirs and Very Dear Brethren,

About one year ago, if my memory serves me well as to time, I received an invitation from Propaganda, which I must suppose to have been addressed to every Bishop in the United States to give my opinion for the appointment of a successor to Dr. Chevervus in the See of Boston; and just now a similar one has reached me, respecting that of New York, vacated by the death of Dr. Connolly. From this it is natural to conclude that the Holy Congregation has come to a settled plan, not to proceed henceforth in the American nominations, but upon the joint suffrages of the American Bishops. The plan is, no doubt, a very correct one in every point of view. But efficacy must necessarily depend upon the mode of carrying it into operation. The present one appears to me extremely defective inasmuch as the inevitable discrepancy of insulated opinions must necessarily throw Propaganda into the greatest perplexity as to the choice of one subject among the several that may be proposed, particularly as each of them may eventually come to obtain but a single vote in his favor: the consequence of which would be an indefinite protraction in the appointments, the greatest calamity that can befall our infant Churches.

Reunion of Bishops on those all important occasions, would, it presumes, be the best remedy to the impending evil, and for my part, cost what might, neither fatigue nor expense would deter me from attempting a long journey on an errand of such interest to Religion. I allow, however, that in many cases, either the advanced age, infirmities, or even the poverty of some of the Prelates might throw insuperable obstacles in the way of these desirable meetings. At least would I propose an understanding among the Bishops by means of epistolary communications. The Archbishop, or in case of absence, or death, the eldest Bishop might be commissioned by the Holy See, in the emergency of any vacancy, to confer by letters, with his colleagues, in regard to each of them his own ideas, to receive their in return, and in case of such division of opinions as might still embarrass the nominations, to acquaint them with the number of votes given to each of them, in order that, after a new consideration of the subject, the Bishops might, if they thought proper, modify their former opinions, and join in making a common return. I indicate as this process may appear, it seems to me by far the most expeditious of the best calculated to satisfy the minds of the Sacred Congregation, by affording them at once a full view of the general opinion of the Bishops on respective merits of the candidates.

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[1] This letter was sent from Natchitoches, La., October 4, 1843, that is about the time Bishop De Neckere was writing on the same subject to Card. Franzoni, Pro-Prefect of Propaganda (Letter XL above). Here is the copy of this communication to the Bishops of the United States, as it is found in the Archives of Propaganda, Scritture Riferite nei Congressi, Codice 8—
fly the copy sent by De Neckere to Archbishop P. Cajano:

A far shorter cut assuredly would be that every Bishop should be provided with a Coajutor to succeed him on his demise. But this, I am sensible, may be liable to many objections, flowing chiefly from the difficulty of making provisions for *two* Bishops when a sufficient maintenance can hardly be found for *one*. I should conceive, however, that titular Bishops themselves being happily exempt in this country from every kind of costly representation, Coadjutors might, with still greater reason, be contented for the support of their Episcopal dignity, with the same emoluments deemed sufficient to support them as subordinate Pastors. Be it as it may I cannot help thinking that it is a strong idea entertained, I am told, in some of the ecclesiastical offices at Rome, that Coadjutors should not be granted to Bishops on foreign Missions but in cases of extreme necessity; and though, at present, personally disinterested on the subject I would willingly propose to my Brethren to join in a simultaneous address to Propaganda pointing out the happy results that would arise from this measure in keeping up uniformity in the administration, insuring the continuation of establishments commenced, precluding intrigues and warding off the manifold dangers attending protracted vacancy. All that should be reasonably required would be that the Titular demanding such an auxiliary, should present satisfactory vouchers on the merits of the subject proposed by him, supported by the suffrages of *two*, at least, of the other Bishops.

Shall I not be accused of intrusion in thus presuming to take the initiative, in a matter, which as it regards all my colleagues, would, with more propriety have been canvassed by any of them than by me, the least of all? I must own that this reflection has long deterred me from any such communication. Yet, recollecting the word of St. Cyprian "Episcopatus est in solidum" which is particularly enforced in the application made to each of us by the Holy See, I have concluded that every member of the Episcopal body is strictly indebted to all of his Brethren for a candid disclosure of all his own views towards the consolidation and advancement of the common interest, and consequently that it were in me a breach of duty amounting to the most culpable indifference to Religion to withdraw from my colleagues those lights which I may, though, perhaps, erroneously deem useful for our common guidance. I fondly hope therefore to be pardoned, not only for the foregoing hints, but also for the communication of my answer to Propaganda, with respect to the new appointment, the whole of which I mean to submit to the superior judgment of my brethren and Most Revered Masters, with an entire deference to, and a cordial acquiescence in their decisions.

At the time of the venerated Patriarch of the American Church, Archbishop Carroll was soliciting the division of his then immense Diocese, he was, as he himself repeatedly told me particularly desirous to see Boston and New York united under one Bishop and could not help manifesting some vexation that the contrary opinion had prevailed at Rome. His chief reasons were, the propinquity of those two cities, which made it easy to travel from one to the other in a couple of days—and the comparatively small number of Catholic Congregations in both territories, particularly in that of New England; which would render the situation of a Bishop in Boston hardly dissimilar from that of a simple parish-priest; a situation truly discouraging for a prelate of an active mind, and little honorable to Episcopacy. I was forcibly struck at these observations, which, since have turned to be real forebodings. For who doubts now, but to the circumstance of the insignificancy of the See of Boston is ciefly due the irretrievable loss for America of its late Incumbent? In consequence therefore of these reflections, when Propaganda did me the honor of consulting me on the nomination to the Church vacated by the translation of Dr. Cheverus I clearly expressed my opinion of the propriety of reuniting Boston and New York under one spiritual head; and in answer to the present call I renew my answer to the same effect.

Now as to the designation of subjects fit to fill up that most important station and particularly (to use the expression of Propaganda) to raise the Church of New York from the state of depression and distraction into which it is fallen, I have returned four names, viz.:

1. The Rev. Ben. Fenwick
2. The Rev. Demetrius de Galitzin
3. The Rev. N. McGuire, of Pittsburg
4. The Rev. N. Power, of New York,

giving it as my decided opinion, that however eminent the merits of the three latter may be, which I hold in the highest estimation, the first should unhesitatingly be preferred: 1st, as a *Native American,* a circumstance which, in the present state of the church at New York distracted as it is by foreign parties, highly qualifies the Rev. Ben. Fenwick as a mediator of peace; 2ndly, as having already been most successfully employed in stations of high responsibility, particularly in New York and Charleston; in both which he established a character of consummate prudence, indefatigable industry and eminent talents and whence he carried with him the respect and regrets of all classes of inhabitants without any difference of Religions or of nations.

With great respect and brotherly attachment, I remain,
Right Reverend and very dear Brethren,
Your most humble servant,
L. Wm., Bishop of New Orleans.

I much regret, for the sake of Religion, that in the case of Father Michael Portier, the customary inquiries were omitted, especially from such prelates as know him, and under whose jurisdiction he has lived during the last eight years. Whatever others might state about him can have bearing only on the years of his youth. For scarcely was he nineteen years of age, when he came from Lyons under my direction; he was then conspicuous among his fellow-students by his conduct and talents, but yet too young for anybody being able to forecast what he was to be later on. From that time on, he has never left my Diocese; hence no American Bishop, outside of myself and my Coadjutor, had ever any chance to know him. No sooner did the first rumor of his appointment reach here, than most of his friends and fellow-priests could not help laughing heartily over it; but what saddened me yet much more, laymen and women, even among those well-disposed, manifested their wonderment, that a young man, whom nothing singles out and recommends particularly among his fellows, and who has no experience, should be raised to such a high and difficult position. Some did accuse me of this decision, whom I could scarcely convince that I had absolutely nothing to do with it, and had never been consulted about it. When good and religious people are feeling that way, what can you expect of the men of loose morals and of no religion, so numerous in this part of the country?

I would not have Your Grace conceive the least suspicion that I am sorry of the dismemberment of Florida from my Diocese, or of the loss of Father M. Portier. That Florida should be taken away from me, I have long petitioned; and I have never reaped anything but trouble from that wide expanse of territory. As to Father Portier, on account of his levity of mind and his affectation of independence, I wish he would go somewhere else, where under the bridle of obedience that levity of his might be checked, and his natural talents might grow to maturity for the greater utility of the Church. But there is no use now of me wishing either of these things, as, in so far as I am personally concerned, I have no other longing and no other thought but for my

freedom; however, even though the bands uniting me to this Church are to be severed, yet I shall never cease to wish it good, and to promote its increase by all means in my power. This is why I most freely set forth my opinion about what concerns the honor of Religion, hoping that Your Grace and the S. Congregation will pardon any expressions of mine which might appear somewhat lacking in reserve, for I have nothing more at heart than to manifest by all possible means my most profound respect to the Holy See and the S. Congregation, and to prove myself by word and deed,

Your Grace's

Most humble and obedient Servant,

✠ Louis Wm. Du Bourg, Bp. of New Orl.

New Orleans, March 10, 1826.

To the Most Rev. Peter Caprano,
Archbishop of Iconium,
Secretary of the S. Cong. of Propaganda.

XLVI.

TO ARCHBP. PETER CAPRANO,

Secretary of *Propaganda.*[1]

Illme ac Rev.me Domine

Post 30 dierum felicissimam navigationem, ecce ad oras Galliae laetus appellor, brevi Romam iter arrepturus. Peragrata tota Foederata America usque ad Novum Eboracum, ubi prima Junii navem conscendi, occasionem nactus sum singulas ferme lustrandi Dioceses, et propriis oculis earum necessitates explorandi. Neo-Eboracum praecipuam clamat Sanctae Sedis sollicitudinem, ut quamprimum de idoneo Pastore ipsi provideatur. In varias quippe factiones discerpta videtur viduata illa Ecclesia, quae tamen, ut puto, facile coalesceret, si, neglectis caeteris ad Episcopatum praetendentibus, ad ipsius regimen assumeretur Rev.us A. Kohlmann, So. Jesu, nunc in Collegio Romano degens, qui cum Neo-Eboraci per plurimos annos olim pastorale munus dignissime gesserit, omnibus etiam nunc ita receptus est, ut *primo loco* a plerisque, *secundo* a caeteris reclametur. Vereor tamen ne nimis sero nuncius iste Romam adveniat. — Vereor etiam ne ipse contentionum et aemulattonum quae in illo clero misere praevalent, certior factus, onus Episcopale mordicus rejiciat, quod profecto ipsi vix tolerandum fieret, nisi ex *Americanis* sacerdotibus, qui in dicto Romano Collegio plures jam annos extiterunt, duo vel tres in partem sollicitudinis ipsi consociarentur. Hoc unco scilicet modo sperari potest subordinationis et Ecclesiasticae unionis restauratio.

De his, plurimisque aliis ad bonum Ecclesiae Americanae spectantibus, praesens opinionem, non dico *meam,* sed ferme omnium qui ejus

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[1] Original in Archives of Propaganda, *Scritture Referite nei Congressi,* Cod. 8, *America Centrale, Dal Canada all' Istmo di Panama, Dal* 1823 *a tto il* 1826.

statum intime noverunt, eo liberius depromam, quod jam in suspicionem venire nequeam me ullo partium affectu moveri, siquidem firmius adhaereo proposito sedem meam abdicandi, speroque me facile demonstraturum, non solum pacis mea, sed praesertim Religionis plurimum interresse, ut saepius oblata mea resignatio benigne tandem acceptetur. In ea certe persuasione mecum consentiunt quotquot ex intimis familiaribus prudenter consulere potui, qui mihi ad unum auctores fuere ut loco meo quamprimum cederem, periculum in mora futurum esse opinantes.

Si nondum actum est de nominatione Rev.di Micha.is Portier ad Vicariatum Apost.cum Floridarum et Alabamae, cujus *Breve* felici hora Romam retromisit, sperans tamen (prout mihi certius constat) gratam sibi vim esse inferendam, muneris mei esse duco Amplitudini Vestrae significare, electionem istam tantum administrationis in tota America movisse, ut mihi eam, omnes ad quos ejus pervenit notitia, graviter exprobraverint, putantes scilicet me praecipuam in ea partem habuisse, vixque fidem mihi adhibuerint, eam me inconsulto factam, asseveranti.

Nihil me ultra ab itinere, Romam versus, prosequendo demorabitur, praeter valetudinis curam, quae post tam longam terra marique peregrinationem, aliquot saltem dierum quietem et refrigerationem exposcit; ardenter enim cupio ad Beatissimi Patris pedes advolare, Amplitudique Vestrae facie ad faciem, illas existimationis et obsequii mei significationes edere, quas nunc literis venerabundus offero

Amp.is V.ae Illmae ac Revmae

Havre, Julii 3, 1826

Humillimus et devotiss.us famulus

✠ Lul. Guil. Epus Novae Aur.ae

Illmo ac Revmo D.no Petro Caprano Arch.o Icon.i
S. C. de Propaganda Fide a Secretis; Romam.

TRANSLATION

Most Rev. Archbishop:—

After a most happy voyage of thirty days, I have just joyfully landed in France and shall start shortly for Rome. As I travelled all the United States as far as New York, whence I sailed on June 1st, I had a good opportunity of seeing nearly all the Dioceses of that country and to see their needs with my own eyes. New York more than any other place should be the object of the solicitude of the Holy See, and a suitable Pastor should be given it without delay. Several factions indeed seem to tear asunder that Church bereft of its Bishop; yet all these factions,I think, would unite easily, if before all other candidates Father Kohlmann, S.J.[2] now residing in the Roman College,

[2] That Bishop Du Bourg proposes now Father Kohlman for New York, after so warmly recommending, the year before, the appointment of Father Benedict Fenwick, is not to be ascribed to fickleness, but to the fact that, early in 1825, Rome, on the recommendation of Bishops Conwell, England, Flaget and E. D. Fenwick, had appointed B. Fenwick to the See of Boston. He was consecrated Nov. 1, 1825 in the cathedral of Baltimore.

was appointed; as he most worthily discharged the pastoral office in that city for a number of years, he even now enjoys such a repute that he is the first choice of the greater number, and the second of the others. However, I am afraid that this intelligence may reach Rome too late. I am afraid also that he, being aware of the dissentions and misunderstandings prevailing among the clergy of that Diocese, may absolutely refuse the burden, which indeed could be rendered bearable to him only if, among the *American* priests residing in the Roman College, for a certain number of years, two or three be given him to share his solicitude. This is the only means capable of restoring there subordination and Ecclesiastical unity.

On this subject, and others regarding the welfare of the Church in America, when I am there I will give I do not say *my* opinion, but the opinion of those who know the situation, all the more freely that I cannot be now open to the suspicion of being moved by any interest, as I am more than ever resolved to resign, and I trust I can easily demonstrate that not only the peace of my soul, but above all the interest of religion, demand that my resignation so often tendered, be at last accepted. This persuasion is shared by all those of my friends whom prudence permitted me to consult, who all agreed that I should withdraw as soon as possible, and thought any delay to be detrimental.

If so far no action has been taken on the subject of the appointment of the Rev. Michael Portier to the Vicariate Apostolic of Florida and Alabama,[3] the Brief for which he sent back to Rome in a moment of happy inspiration, hoping, however (as I am perfectly sure), that he may be forced to accept, I deem it my duty to declare to Your Grace that this election has excited such a wonderment throughout America, that all who know of it expressed to me their undisguised dissatisfaction, as they thought that I was mainly responsible for it, and would hardly believe me when I assured them everything had been done without consulting me.

Nothing will detain me from pursuing now my Romeward journey, except the care of my health, which, after such a long trip by land and sea, demands at least a few days of rest and refreshing; I earnestly long to fly to the feet of His Holiness, and to pay to Your Grace by word of mouth the tribute of my consideration and respect which I reverently now offer in writing.

Your Grace's

Most humble and obedient Servant,

✠ Louis Wm., Bp. of New Orl.

Havre, July 3, 1826.

To the Most Rev. Peter Caprano, Archbishop of Iconium,
Secretary of the S. Congr. of Propaganda, Rome.

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[3] Action had been taken in Rome on the subject some time since; and whilst Bishop Du Bourg was on the ocean, a new brief had arrived in New Orleans, commanding him *in virtute s, obedientiae* to accept the episcopal office and the charge of the Vicariate Apostolic of Alabama. He communicated this document, on June 19 to Bishop Rosati, then in New Orleans.

XLVII.

TO ARCHBP. PETER CAPRANO,

Secretary of Propaganda.[1]

Ill.me ac Rme Domine,

A Rev.do Franc.o Niel, Roma nuper Parisios reduce, cum summa laetitia accepi SSmi D.i Nostri gratia dirupta tandem esse vincula, quae me Neo-Aurelianensi Ecclesiae mancipabant, mihique jam liberum esse propriae sanctificationi unice vacare. Burdigalam ad hunc finem, festinus me recipio, ubi paratum me semper inveniet Amp.do V.a ad omnia grati animi et reverentiae obsequia. Imo etsi valetudine fractus, et quietis potissimum indigeo, Romanam peregrinationem laetus suscipiam, si Amp.ni V.ae videatur Americanae Ecclesiae proficuam ibi fore operam meam. Multa certe sunt de quibus oretenus Amp.m V.m alloqui proposueram, quae vix litteris possint explicari, quibus forsan plurimum juvari posset Religionis in illa regione conditio, et promoveri prosperitas. Etsi etenim lugenda necessitate coactus, ab illa me separari postulaverim, nunquam tamen desinam illius utilitatis, pro posse, adlaborare.

Sanctissimo Domino Nostro, pro liberationis meae beneficia, impensissimas grates, per Amplitudinem Vestram relatas velim, Meque sibi omni devotionis et venerationis secum devinctum dignetur agnoscere

Hum.um et obs.mum famul.

✠ Lud. Guil. *alias* Ep. Neo-Aurel.

Rhotomagi, Julii 11.a 1826.
Em.o ac Rev.mo Domino Petro Caprano
Arch.o Icon.si S. C. de prop. Fide a Secretis,
Romam.

TRANSLATION

Most Reverend Archbishop:—

The Rev. Francis Niel who came back recently to Paris from Rome, communicated to me the most welcome news[2] that His Holiness has at length in his kindness severed the bonds which united me with the Church of New Orleans, and that I may now attend only to my own sanctification. For this purpose I hasten to go to Bordeaux, where Your Grace will always find me ready to offer you the marks of my gratitude and respect. Nay even, though I am somewhat broken

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[1] Original in Archives of Propaganda, *Scritture Referite nei Congressi*, Cod. 8, *America Centrale, Dal Canada all' Istmo di Panama, Dal* 1823 *a tto il* 1826.

[2] A letter of Father F. Niel to Msgr. Soglia, in Rome, dated Paris, July 18, and contained in the same volume of the *Scritture Referite* says in part: "You undoubtedly have heard of Bishop Du Bourg's arrival in France. As soon as I heard he had reached this country, I wrote to him to announce to him that the Pope had accepted his resignation; he has answered my letter and seems to be satisfied."

XLVII.

TO ARCHBP. PETER CAPRANO.

Secretary of Propaganda.

Ill.me ac Rme Domine,

A Rev.do Franco Nigl, Roma nuper Parisios reduce, cum summa ... accepi SSmi D.i Nostri gratia dirupta tandem ea vincula, ... Neo-Aurelianensi Ecclesiae mancipabant, multique jam liberum ... sanctificationi unice vacare. Burdigalam ad hunc finem, ... me recipio, ubi paratum me semper invenit Amp.do V.a ad ... et reverentiae obsequia. Imo etsi valetudine fracta, ... potissimum indigeo, Romanam peregrinationem laetus su- ... Amp.ni V.ae videatur Americanae Ecclesiae proficuam Ibi ... operam meam. Multa certe sunt de quibus orationis Amp.m V.m ... proposuerim, quae vix litteris possint explicari, quibus forsan ... juvari posset Religionis in illa regione conditio, et promo- ... prosperitas. Etsi etenim ingenda necessitate coactus, ab illa me ... postulaverim, nunquam tamen desinam illius utilitatis, pro ... adlaborare.

Sanctissimo Domino Nostro, pro liberationis meae beneficio, in- ... gratas, per Amplitudinem Vestram relatas velim. Meque ... devotionis et venerationis aeque devinctum dignetur appro-

Ham.um et obs.mum famul.

✠ Lon. Gvn. olim Ep. Neo-Aurel.

... Julii 11.a 1824.

... ac Rev.mo Domino Petro Caprano ...

... Leon.si S. C. de prop. Fide a Secretis,

Romam.

TRANSLATION

... Reverend Archbishop:—

The Rev. Francis Nigl who came back recently to Paris from ..., communicated to me the most welcome news that His Holi- ... has at length in his kindness severed the bonds which united me ... the Church of New Orleans, and that I may now attend only to ... own sanctification. For this purpose I hasten to go to Bordeaux, ... Your Grace will always find me ready to offer you the marks ... gratitude and respect. Nay even, though I am somewhat broken

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... Original in Archives of Propaganda, Scrittury Riferite nei Congressi, Cod. ... Scrittura Centrale, Dal Canada all' Istria di Panama, Del 1823 a tto il 1824.

... A letter of Father F. Nigl to Mgr. Soglia, in Rome, dated Paris, July 18, ... contained in the same volume of the Scrittura Riferite says in part: "You ... undoubtedly have heard of Bishop Du Bourg's arrival in France. As soon ... I heard he had reached this country, I wrote to him to announce to him that ... I hope and accepted his resignation; he has answered my letter and seems ... satisfied."

in health and need rest above everything else, I will undertake the journey to Rome, if Your Grace should think my presence there may be of use for the interest of the Church in America. There are indeed many things which I had proposed to mention to Your Grace in conversation, and could hardly be explained by letter, and whereby the condition of Religion in that country might be greatly helped and its prosperity promoted. For although a sad necessity compelled me to ask to be separated from it, still I shall never cease to work in its behalf to the limit of my ability.

Please return in my name most earnest thanks to the Holy Father for the benefit of my freedom, and deign consider me linked to Your Grace by every sentiment of devotedness and veneration

Your most humble and obedient servant

✠ Louis Wm., *formerly* Bp. of New Orl.

Rouen, July 11, 1826.

To the Most Rev. Peter Caprano, Archbishop of Iconium, Secretary of the S. Congr. of Propaganda.

XLVIII

TO THE NUNTIO

to Paris.[1]

Eminence,

Mr. l'abbé Hercule Brassac eut la générosité et le dévouement en 1817 de quitter sa respectable famille en France, pour me suivre aux missions de la Louisiane. Il y reçut de moi les SS. Ordres *sub titulo Missionis*. Son vénérable Père ayant successivement perdu son Epouse et 10 de ses Enfans, m'écrivit il y a un an pour me prier de lui accorder la consolation d'embrasser encore une fois l'unique fils qui lui restoit. Il étoit difficile de refuser une pareille faveur à un Père plus que septuagénaire, si cruellement éprouvé dans ses plus tendres affections. L'abbé Brassac est aujourd'hui en France en congé disposé à repartir pour la Louisiane si telle est la volonté de Dieu, manifestée par ses Supérieurs. Je ne le suis plus, Eminence—sans cela Je ne tiendrois pas aux prières du vénérable viellard,, qui me redemande l'unique appui de ses dernières années. Je m'adresse avec confiance à V. Em. pour le prier de vouloir bien s'intéresser à cette affaire suprès de S. Em. le Cardl. Préfet de la Propagande de qui elle dépend principalement.

Je suis avec un profond respect

De Ve. Eminence

Paris le 15 Novre, 1826.

Le très humble et très ob. serviteur

✠ L. Guil, Ev. de Montauban

S. Emce. Le Cardinal Nonce
Apostolique à la Cour de France.

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[1] Original in Archives of Propaganda, *Scritture Referite nei Congressi*, Cod. 8, *America Centrale, Dal Canada all' Istmo di Panama, Dal* 1823 *a tto il* 1826.

TRANSLATION

Your Eminence:

The Rev. Hercules Brassac[2] had, in 1817, the generosity and devotedness to leave his respectable family in France, in order to follow me to the Louisiana missions. There I conferred upon him the Sacred Orders *sub titulo Missionis*. As his venerable Father lost successively his wife and ten of his children, he wrote to me a year ago to request me to grant him the consolation of embracing once more the only son left him. I could not deny such a favor to a father more than three score and ten years of age, cruelly tried in his most tender affections. Father Brassac is now in France on a leave of absence, ready to go back to Louisiana if such is the will of God, manifested by his Superiors. Had I still jurisdiction over him, Your Eminence, I could not resist the prayers of the venerable old man, who is beseeching that the only prop of his declining years be left to him. Hence I beg confidently Your Eminence to interpose in his behalf with His Eminence the Prefect of Propaganda, whom this affair principally depends.

I am with the deepest respect
Your Eminence's
Most humble and obedient servant
✠ L. Wm., Bp. of Montauban.

Paris, November 15, 1826.
To His Eeminence the Cardinal Nuntio
to the Court of France.

XLIX

TO THE CARD. PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA.[1]

Eminence,

Mgr. Rosati, mon successeur à la Louisiane, rendant justice à me sentiments pour une Eglise qui fut et sera toujours le premier objet de ma sollicitude, et supposant que mon opinion touchant ses intérêts peut être de quelque poids dans le jugement de la S. Congrégation de la Propagande, me presse d'écrire à V. Emce., pour appuyer de mon suffrage les demandes qu'il vient tout récemment de lui adresser. Je désire sincèrement que ce digne Prélat ne se soit pas plus qu'il en soit trompé dans l'une que dans l'autre de ses deux suppositions. Quoi qu'il en soit je mettrai toujours le plus vif empressement à seconder ses vues; heureux si Je puis encore fournir au moins quelques lumières qui tournent à l'avantage de cette intéressante Mission.

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[2] On the Rev. Hercules Brassac, see Archbishop S. G. Messmer's article *The Reverend Hercules Brassac*, in *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 392-416; and *Brassac's Correspondence with the American Bishops*, (1818-1861), pp. 448-470, in the same issue of the above-mentioned periodical.

[1] Original in Archives of Propaganda, *Scritture Referite nei Congressi*, Cod. 9, *America Centrale, Dal Canada all' Istmo di Panama, Dal* 1827 *a tto il* 1828.

Je vois avec douleur, Eminence, que l'extrême modestie de Mgr. Rosati lui inspire une aversion insurmountable pour le Siège de la Nouvelle Orléans. Il est persuadé qu'il faut à ce poste des talens plus distingués que les siens. Je ne suis pas de son avis, et j'ai la conviction que nul autre Evêque n'y ferait plus de bien que lui. Ce n'est pas tant l'éloquence, qu'une science solide, une profonde sagesse et une vertu à l'abri de toute atteinte, que demande cette importante situation. La première de ces qualités ne ferait peut-être que lui attirer des Censeurs; les autres lui ont déjà conquis l'affection et le respect universels.

Je sens non moins tout ce qui est dû de déférence à une répugnance aussi caractérisée, dans un Prélat aussi vertueux. Son tempérament d'ailleurs de paraît pas fait pour les ardeurs qui dévorent ce climat pendant la moitié de l'année, et sa conservation est trop précieuse à la Religion pour qu'on doive l'exposer à un si grand danger.

Il n'y a selon moi qu'un moyen de concilier tous les intérêts, c'est de laisser à Mgr. Rosati pour un temps indéterminé l'administration des deux divisions de ce grand Diocése, et de lui donner un Coadjuteur pour l'assister ou le suppléer dans la basse Louisiane, Toutes mes lettres précédentes à la S. Congregation ont exprimé ce voeu, et je me réjouis que lui-même il le partage. C'est qu'en effet, malgré sa modesti, il lui étoit difficile de se dissimuler que nul autre que lui ne pourra de longtemps réunir les coeurs et fixer la soumission d'un clergé hétérogéne toujours prêt à se diviser ou à s'émanciper; et la qualité de Supérieur de la Congrégation de la Mission lui donne pour cela des avantages qui ne peuvent appartenir qu'à lui.

Il propose pour Coadjuteur Mr. Léon de Neckeré, prêtre de sa Congrégation, flamand d'origine, qui a déjà passé près de dix ans dans la Louisiane, homme rare pour les connoissances, les vertus, et surtout pour le don d'une éloquence distinguée, soit en anglais, soit en français. Deux choses cependant pourroient militer contre lui, sa jeunesse et sa santé. Il a tout au plus atteint sa 28e. année—mais son physique, sa gravité et sa sagesse sont de 40 ans. — Sa santé fatiguée par l'application et le travail sédentaire a surtout beaucoup souffert, du climat froid et sec de la haute Louisiane; mais elle se trouve bien de la chaleur humide de la Nouvelle Orléans: il est à cet égard précisément l'eavers de Mgr. Rosati. Ainsi, puisque surtout il n'est question que de lui conférer une autorité dépendante, il paroîtroit que ce choix serait désirable. Plusieurs raisons accessoires pourraient en confirmer la sagesse. — Mr. de Neckeré est universellement respecté de ses Confréres et du peuple — et comme Flamand, il est probable qu'il attirerait bientôt à la Mission un certain nombre de ses compatriotes, qui de toutes les nations sont ceux qui en général y réussissent le mieux.

Je crains seulement qu'on ne puisse, par les seuls moyens de persuasion, le déterminer à accepter le pesant fardeau de l'Episcopat, doublement pesant dans un pays tel que la Louisiane. Ill ne faudra probablement rien moins pour l'y résoudre qu'un ordre péremptoire de Sa Sainteté.

Si la Sac. Congrégation adopte ces vues, Elle peut m'adresser ses dépêches, que je me ferai un honneur de transmettre, d'une maniére sûre, soit à Mgr. Rosati à la Louisiane, soit à Mr. de Neckeré, qui est aujourd'hui en congé dans sa famille en Belgique.

Je suis avec un profond respect,
De Votre Eminence,
Montauban 1er Mai, 1827.
Le trés humble et trés obéissant serviteur,
✠ L. Guil. Du Bourg Evêque de Montauban.

TRANSLATION

Your Eminence,

Bishop Rosati, my successor in Louisiana, doing justice to my sentiments towards a Church which was and shall ever be the first object of my solicitude, and supposing that my opinion touching its interests may have some weight upon the decisions of the S. Congregation of Propaganda, begs me insistently to write to Your Eminence to suport the petition which he directed recently to the same Congregation.[2] I sincerely desire that this worthy Prelate may not be mistaken in either supposition. However this may be, I will always manifest the greatest eagerness when it is a qustion of fostering his views, happy if thereby I am still able to shed at least some light which may turn to the advantage of that interesting Mission!

I regret to see, Your Eminence, that the extreme modesty of Bishop Rosati inspires him with an unsurmountable aversion for the See of New Orleans. He is convinced that the position requires talents more distinguished than his. I do not share his opinion, and am convinced that no other Bishop may do there more good than he. It is not so much eloquence, as solid knowledge, profound wisdom, and a virtue above every suspicion, which are demanded in that important office. The first of these qualities would perhaps only invite censure; the others have already won for him the affection and respect of all.

I realize none the less whatever deference is due to so marked a repugnance in a Prelate of such sterling virtue. His constitution, moreover, does not seem suited for the scorching heat prevailing in that climate during half of the year; and his preservation is too precious to Religion to permit to expose him to so great a danger.

There is only, that I can see, one means to reconcile all the interests at stake, namely to leave to Bp. Rosati for an unlimited length of time the administration of both parts of that great Diocese, and to give him a Coadjutor to assist him or supply his place in Lower

---

[2] The allusion is, as the rest of the letter shows, to the reluctance of Bishop Rosati for accepting the See of New Orleans. The story is told at length in an Article of Rev C. L. Souvay, C. M., entitled, *Rosati's Elevation to the See of St. Louis* (1827), published in Vol. III, No. 2 (July, 1917) of *The Catholic Historical Review*, pp. 165-186.

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Je suis avec un profond respect,

De Votre Eminence,

Montauban 1er Mai, 1827.

Le très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

✠ L. Gust. Du Bouzo Evêque de Montauban.

TRANSLATION

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Louisiana. All my previous letters to the S. Congregation expressed this wish, and I am glad that he himself is saying the same. For indeed, with all his modesty, he could scarcely be blind to the fact that no other man will be able for a long time to unite the hearts and assure the submission of a clergy made up of all kinds of men, ever ready to be divided or to take liberties; and his office of Superior of the Congregation of the Mission gives him advantages which no other can have.

He proposes as Coadjutor, Father Leo De Neckere, a priest of his Congregation, native of Flanders, who has already spent well-nigh ten years in Louisiana, and is exceptionally remarkable by his knowledge, his virtues, and, above all, the gift of a most distinguished eloquence both in English and in French. Two objections, however, might be raised against him. his youth and his health. He is scarcely twenty-six years of age,[3] but his outward appearance, his gravity and his wisdom are of a man of forty. His health undermined by application and sedentary work suffered very much from the cold and dry climate of Upper Louisiana; but it benefits by the damp heat of New Orleans; from this point of view, he is just the reverse of Bp. Rosati. So, as there is, after all, question of conferring upon him only a dependent authority, this choice seems well-advised. Several secondary reasons might confirm the wisdom of it. Father De Neckere is universally respected by his brother-priests and the people, and as he is Flemish, it might probably attract soon to the Mission a certain number of his fellow-countrymen, who, of all nationalities, are those who are succeeding best.

I am afraid only that persuasive means may not be able to determine him to accept the weighty burden of the Episcopate, which is doubly heavy in a country like Louisiana. Probably nothing short of a peremptory command of His Holiness will be able to prevail upon him.

Should the S. Congregation adopt these views, it may direct to me its despatches, which I will consider an honor to forward by sure means, either to Bp. Rosati in Louisiana, or to Father De Neckere, who is now on a leave with his family in Belgium.

I am with the deepest respect,

Your Eminence's most humble and obedient servant,

✠ L. Wm. Du Bourg, Bishop of Montauban.

Montauban, May 1, 1827.

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[3] Father Leo De Neckere was born at Wevelghem, then in the Diocese of Ghent, Belgium, on June 5, 1800. He was, therefore, almost twenty-seven years of age at the time of the writing of this letter. Bishop Du Bourg's error, however, is slight and immaterial: Father De Neckere had not reached the *Episcopal age.*

L.

TO CARD. CAPPELLARI

Prefect of Propaganda[1]

Eme ac Rev. me Domine,

Literis datis 29 a Augui. proxime elapsi, petit a me Ema. Vestra quid sentiam de postulatione R. P. D. Josephi Rosati mei in Louisiana successoris, circa reductionem festorum et jejuniorum cujos postulationis transcriptum in adjuncto folio habetur.

Respondeo, nihil a me de eo sttutum in Synodo Dioecesana a me coacta, ut putat Rev. Episcopus, sed solummodo in ea publicatum Oraculum SS. mi D. 1 Nostri Pii Papae VII propria manu firmatum (quod in archiviis Episcopatus Neo Aurelianensis, sub discessionem meam, reliqui), quo Summus Pontifex annuit 1° ut consuetudini jam invectae in Baltimorensem Metropolim circa reductionem festorum et vigiliarum, in mea Diocesi ahaereretur. 2° ut nihil immutaretur in alia consuetudine quae in Louisiana ab Hispanis inducta fuerat, diebus sabbati per annum carnibus vesct.

In dicta autem synodo, investigatum fuit qui essent dies sive festorum sive jejuniorum, vel antiquitus in Louisiana, vel nova concessione in Baltimorensi servati, collatisque testimoniis redactus est eorum catalogue ad numerum in epistola R. P. D. Rosati expressum.

Quod ad opportunitatem proragandae et confirmandae in posterum dictae indulgentiae attinet, Haec mihi comprobata videtur ex optimis rationibus a successore meo adductis.

Errat tamen de facto ubi dicit me a Summo Pontifice confirmationem hujusmodi consuetudinum petiisse quam nescit utrum acceperim, qua loquendi forma satis prodit, se vel ignorare penitus, vel oblitum fuisse, quomodo dictam confirmationem obtinueram, nempe sub discessionem meam a Roma, mense Januario 1816, Summum Pontificem adii cum libello precum, inter quas praedicta postulatio adnumerabatur, cui *pro gratis, ad judicium Episcopi* subscripsit Sanctissismus. Autographum autem hujus libelli, Novas Aureliae, ut dixi, mox inde profecturus, in Archivio Episcopali reliqui. Nil mirum proinde si nihil de ea petitione in S. Congregationis tabula inveniri potuerit.

Summa cum Reverentia, plenaque in hanc Sacram Congregationem devotione, haberi volo

Eminentiae Vestrae

Montis Albani, die 7 bris 18 a 1829.

Humill. et obsequentise. famulus,

✠ Lud. Guil. Epus Mtis Alb.

Emo et Revmo D. Cardli. Cappellari
S. Congr. p. F. Praefecto.

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[1] Original in Archives of Propaganda, *Scritture Referite nei Congressi*, Cod. 10, *America Centrale, Dal Canada all' Istmo di Panama, Dal* 1829 *a tto il* 1832.

I.

TO CARD. CAPPELLARI

Prefect of Propaganda

Original in Archives of Propaganda, Scritture Riferite nei Congressi, Cod. Storia Centrale, Del Canada all' Anno di Penano. Del 1829 a tto d 1832

TRANSLATION

Your Eminence:

In your letter dater August 29, Your Eminence asks my opinion on the petition of the Right Rev. Joseph Rosati, my successor in Louisiana, concerning a reduction of the feasts and fasts, and a copy of said petition was enclosed in the letter.

My answer is that, in the Diocesan Synod which I called, I regulated nothing contrary to the impression of the Right Rev. Bishop; all that was done was to publish in that Synod the pronouncement signed by our Holy Father Pius VII's own hand (which, at my departure, I left in the Episcopal Archives of New Orleans), whereby the Sovereign Pontiff granted: 1° that we should follow in my Diocese the custom already introduced in that of Baltimore in regard to the reduction of the feasts and vigils; 2° that nothing should be changed in another custom introduced into Louisiana by the Spaniards, to eat meat on Saturdays during the year.

In the same Synod investigations were made concerning the feast or fast days observed both from old times in Louisiana or by virtue of the concession made to Baltimore, and after comparing the testimonies, a catalogue of these days was made including the number mentioned in the letter of Bp. Rosti.

With regard to the opportunity of continuing and confirming for the future this grant, I would recommend it on the reasons adduced by my successor.

He is mistaken, however, when he says that I asked from the Sovereign Pontiff the confirmation of this custom, but does not know whether I obtained it. This expression of his indicates clearly that he is totally ignorant, or forgetful of the way I had obtained that confirmation, namely when, on leaving Rome, in January, 1816, I went to the Sovereign Pontiff with a list of petitions, among which was the one in question; at the bottom of this document the Holy Father wrote: *pro gratia, ad judicium Episcopi.* The original of this list of petitions I left in New Orleans, as I said, in the Episcopal Archives, at the time of my departure. No wonder, therefore, that nothing about it should be found in the Records of the S. Congregation.

With the utmost respect, and complete devotedness to the S. Congregation, I beg you to believe me,

Your Eminences' most humble and obedient servant,

✠ Louis Wm., Bp. of Montauban.

Montauban, September 18, 1829.

To His Eminence Card. Cappellari,

Prefect of the S. Congregation of Propaganda.

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THE DAWN OF MISSOURI'S HISTORY[1]

Probably the first white man to great Missouri land was the Spanish De Soto. Long before Missouri pleaded for statehood, long before the colonies proclaimed their independence, long before the colonies were formed—before even the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock,—there came from the Floridas the Spanish conquistador De Soto, westward bent, as were so many of his compatriots, lured by the glory of conquest and the love of gold.

It was in the year 1540 that in his westward march over the savannahs of the South, De Soto and his soldier comrades reached the Father of Waters, which in its southern course may claim him as its discoverer, and was destined a year or so later to furnish him a grave.

He crossed the great river and reached its western shores somewhere in what is today the state of Arkansas, and then with his six or seven hundred followers marched northwards. It is difficult today to retrace his journey, for although the places he sojourned at and the Indian tribes he met are described in detail by the chroniclers, yet the names are strange, and the descriptions vague and fantastic; so that over all is a shadowy uncertainty, which, since there were none to follow in his footsteps, makes the task of retracement impossible today. It is quite certain that his journey was northwards and that he came a considerable distance into Southeast Missouri.

Somewhere west of New Madrid, probably in the basin of the St. Francis River, De Soto rested after a three days' march. He had made friends with a powerful tribe of Indians that dwelt there. They were called by the Spaniards "Caquins" and were probably the same as the Kaskaskias, so well known in later history.

Now, after some parley, with exchange of greetings and presents, the Cacique of the tribe arose, saluted De Soto and addressed him: "Señor, you are superior to us in prowess, you surpass us in arms. These you behold around you are the warriors of my nation. Since your God must be more powerful than ours, we, the chieftains and warriors of the nation, humbly supplicate you to pray to your God for us." Now, De Soto, protesting his own sinfulness, ordered his men to go to the forest near by, cut down the tallest tree they could find and fashion from it a cross. Now the chronicler tells us

1. Discourse of the Most Reverend Archbishop of St. Louis at the solemn Mass celebrated at the Old Cathedral on Sunday, October 9, 1921, for the Centennial celebration of Missouri's statehood.

THE DAWN OF MISSOURI'S HISTORY[1]

that so large was the tree that it took a hundred men to move it. They carried it to the neighboring mound and the cross being formed they lifted it on high before the soldier and the savage.

On the next morning the solemn procession was formed, led by De Soto and the Indian Chief. Then followed the soldiers of Spain and the Indian warriors, then the priests who came with De Soto, clad in brilliant vestments, chanting their hymn of praise, the glorious *Te Deum laudamus*. Around that cross they gathered, before it were lowered flags of Spain, and the vast assemblage, soldier and tribesman alike, bowing low, offered their greetings before the symbol of redemption to the white man's God. And the chronicler tells us that "even the soldier heart of De Soto was moved to tenderness to see in this strange and pagan land a savage people worshipping with humility and tears before the cross of Christ."

So let it stand that three hundred and eighty-one years ago there was raised for the first time within the confines of the State of Missouri the cross of Christ. Indeed the scene is one the Christian imagination loves to linger on, for beyond its historic value and deep significance it has in it all the elements of fantasy and romance.

There is the mound where the sunshine rests. Around it stand in serried ranks the soldiers of Spain. Brightly wave the flags, the inspiring flags of Castille and Aragon. Here is nodding plume and gilded cuirass and gleaming sword. There the earth-stained bodies and painted faces of the Indian braves. Stolid of countenance are they, watchful and suspicious. And now, over all, the song of the friars. They are thinking not of lands or gold, but how they may serve and Christianize the savage. The song is sung, the *Vexilla Regis*. It is caught by the soldiers and echoes down the forest glades, while above the song and the singers, above the soldier and the savage, up there between the forest and the sky, stands the conquering symbol, the Cross of Christ.

And this was in Missouri three hundred and eighty years ago.

It is a long step from De Soto's time to our own day, and yet I will crave your indulgence while I relate an incident which occurred but a few years ago, which recalls and in a sense reproduces the one described above.

Some eight or ten years ago a group of St. Louis ladies, members of the sodality of the Sacred Heart (the Children of Mary), many of them descendants of Missouri's first settlers, journeyed down to De Soto's land. Reaching the St. Francis River at the place where it enters the State of Arkansas, they took a raft and were towed upstream about fifteen miles, and then on the banks of the river where still stood the forest primeval, where still grew the cypress and water oak and hemlock, this devoted band set up the cross and builded the altar and gathered prayerfully around it as did De Soto's followers in the long ago. So far as we can decipher De Soto's journey, it was that way he came, for there is the basin of the St. Francis, there to the east is "Crowley's Ridge" and Caligoa there in the distance.

And I thought as I witnessed that scene in the silent forest, a repetition of one enacted in the very beginning of Missouri's history, that though times change and institutions decay, though the flags of France and Spain have long since been lowered, though even the forest monarchs yield to the woodman's ax, yet borne by hands and hearts such as these, the Sacred Standard shall to the end remain, resplendent and unconquered.

About the year that De Soto marched westward in quest of gold a similar expedition was being fitted up on the Mexican border. Coronado, too, dreamed of gold and conquest, only that his dreams were more fantastic than De Soto's. Looking eastward from his New Mexico camp, he thought he saw on the eastern horizon vast plains and great cities and herds of cattle and fertile lands—them he would conquer and possess, and great would be his name—a conquistador, a conqueror, a hero for evermore. So with camp supplies and followers, mostly soldiers, he marched through what is today Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska and (perhaps) Missouri. His journey is described by his chroniclers, who give us signs and names and relate wondrous things, but how to fit them to the geography of today is a difficult and impossible task. Certain he came to mighty rivers and encountered strange peoples and traveled many leagues, but the seven cities of Cibola ne'er did he see. Then, when wearied by traveling and fighting, his remaining soldiers persuaded him to return, to return disillusioned and empty handed. But one of the group remained behind, for he, the friar, Juan de Padillo, found what he sought for. He found the Indians, whole tribes of them, savage and abandoned. With them he remained and taught them, until through the treachery of an alien tribe he was murdered. Somewhere in the Middle West lie the bones of its protomartyr, Juan de Padillo.

Now, though the Cross was set up in the Southland and it gleamed from the Western plateaus three hundred and eighty years ago, yet we of St. Louis are satisfied to wait a century or more for its certain and definite advent in the hands of the illustrious Jesuit missionary, Père Marquette.

Up there at St. Ignace, in the winter of 1672, the great missionary, Louis Joliet, was preparing for the great journey of discovery allotted to them. It was the day long wished for by Father Marquette. On the feast of the Immaculate Conception, which he was then celebrating, he said: "I have longed that under the Blessed Mother's protection I might be permitted to visit in God's name and as His ambassador the numerous tribes of Indians that dwell by the banks of the Father of Waters."

The following May, 1673, they select their Indian guides, assemble their flotilla of canoes, cross to Green Bay, then up the Fox River, make their portage across the divide into the Wisconsin and then into the broad waters of the Mississippi.

And now commences the great journey. In frail barks (six canoes) they glide down the river, stopping here and there where the tribes were encamped. Father Marquette spends a few days with each, then hurries on. Passed they now the mouth of the Des Moines River, now the Illinois, and then to the wonderment of the travelers, the great yellow Missouri comes sweeping down, at flood tide bearing, as Father Marquette said, whole islands on its angry crest.

And here at last, where St. Louis now stands could be seen, if we were here to see, the blackrobe gliding by; cross in hand, he scatters benediction. And this was the summer of 1673.

It is not necessary to dwell on that journey further, nor to recount the wonders and trials he encountered on the way: only to remark that while Marquette did not stop at St. Louis he undoubtedly landed on Missouri, for the record quite clearly points to his and Joliet's discovery of iron down in what is now Perry County and of their investigation of the same.

Now, with Marquette our real history begins; after him came the *voyageur* and the *coureur des bois,* and the fur trader, and then the village and *Monsieur le Curé,* then the Church, and thus grew Kaskaskia and Cahokia and Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis. During the century and a half that elapsed between Marquette and the admission of Missouri to the Union, it is safe to say nine-tenths of all that was done and nine-tenths of all who migrated here were French; that consequently the French gave us our earliest civilization, and now, after a hundred years I am wondering if it was not also the best; for, representing and reproducing as they did, the best there was in fair France at the time that France ruled Europe, it appears certain that for genuine refinement, culture and graciousness it has stood and still stands unrivaled and unsurpassed. And these French colonists were Catholic, Catholic "to the manner born." They gave to river and town the names of the Christian heroes their nation honored; the feast days and fasts they observed, and they lived in an atmosphere more or less religious. They loved their language, their traditions and their ancient faith, and whatever is recorded of their labors here may well be set down as the *Gesta Dei per Francos.*

Refined in manner, they were a charitable people as well. To them we owe the St. Vincent de Paul Society and the beginnings of the many charitable institutions which gem our city, and for us Catholics of today are our consolation and our crown.

Time is not given me to continue. I should have spoken of Missouri's one hundred years and instead I have gone centuries back of it to catch for you some faint reflections from the morning dawn of Missouri's history. But bright is the light that comes from that day's dawning, for it is the light of the Cross.

And now commences the great journey. In frail barks (six canoes) they glide down the river, stopping here and there where the tribes were encamped. Father Marquette spends a few days with each, then hurries on. Passed they now the mouth of the Des Moines River, now the Illinois, and then to the westernmost of the travelers, the great yellow Missouri comes sweeping down, at flood tide bearing, as Father Marquette said, whole islands on its angry crest.

And here at last, where St. Louis now stands could be seen, if we were here to see, the blackrobe gliding by; cross in hand, he scatters benediction. And this was the summer of 1673.

It is not necessary to dwell on that journey further, nor to recount the wonders and trials he encountered on the way; only to remark that while Marquette did not stop at St. Louis he undoubtedly landed on Missouri, for the record quite clearly points to his and Joliet's discovery of iron down in what is now Perry County and of their investigation of the same.

Now, with Marquette our real history begins; after him came the voyageur and the coureur des bois, and the fur trader, and then the village and Mamurre le Cure, then the Church, and thus grew Kaskaskia and Cahokia and Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis. During the century and a half that elapsed between Marquette and the admission of Missouri to the Union, it is safe to say nine-tenths of all that was done and nine-tenths of all who migrated here were French; that consequently the French gave us our earliest civilization, and now, after a hundred years I am wondering if it was not also the best, for, representing and reproducing as they did, the best there was in fair France at the time that France ruled Europe, it appears certain that for genuine refinement, culture and graciousness it has stood and still stands unrivaled and unsurpassed. And these French colonists were Catholic, Catholic "to the manner born." They gave to river and town the names of the Christian heroes their nation honored, the feast days and fasts they observed, and they lived in an atmosphere more or less religious. They loved their language, their traditions and their ancient faith, and whatever is recorded of their labors here may well be set down as the Gesta Dei per Francos.

Refined in manner, they were a charitable people as well. To them we owe the St. Vincent de Paul Society and the beginnings of the many charitable institutions which grew our city, and for us Catholics of today are our consolation and our crown.

Time is not given me to continue. I should have spoken of Missouri's one hundred years and instead I have gone centuries back of it to catch for you some faint reflections from the morning dawn of Missouri's history. But bright is the light that comes from that day's dawning, for it is the light of the Cross.

And I have dwelt thereon for a double purpose. I wanted to bring home to you and to others the utter fallacy of the position of those who now would say, in face of this history, that our Catholic religion is a thing alien to, a thing foreign in our State; that as such it may perhaps be tolerated, but nothing more; that Catholics because they are Catholics should be satisfied if they are not interfered with by the police, but that they must be very careful not to irritate nor unnecessarily to obtrude themselves on their more intelligent or more American neighbors.

But my second and more vital purpose is that our Catholic people, heirs of these things, may, remembering them, prove themselves in this day not unworthy of their fathers in the faith; that some of their zeal and all of their faith and charity may be yours.

Your increasing opportunities should aid you the more intelligently to uphold their standard. They brought order out of chaos. They set up civilization where there was savagery and in place of tomahawk and scalping knife they brought the standard of the Prince of Peace.

What they planted and watered with their tears be yours to cause to grow to still fairer proportions and more ample beneficence.

✠ JOHN JOSEPH GLENNON,

Archbishop of St. Louis.

SOME HIGH LIGHTS IN MISSOURI HISTORY

On August 10, 1821, President Monroe, as the closing incident of a dramatic struggle that had lasted through three years, signed the proclamation which admitted Missouri into the Union. The present year, 1921, is accordingly the centennial of Missouri's statehood. Old folks are proverbially reminiscent; and a State that has reached the century-mark may well give itself to retrospection and look back fondly on the steps by which she made her triumphal progress from the primeval wilderness to the towering heights of peace, plenty and social prosperity on which she stands today. And yet, as Houck, who has given us the classic history of early Missouri, points out, the history of the State begins long before 1821. Before there was a State of Missouri, there was a colonial Missouri and a territorial Missouri and it was in the colonial and territorial phases of its development that the real foundations of the commonwealth were laid. The history of Missouri, above that of most other States, is rich in all the elements of the dramatic, the picturesque, the colorful; and at no time more so than during the period which preceded 1821. In the series of historical scenes which follow we are carried in three instances only beyond the American occupation; yet for the sons and daughters of Missouri who in this centennial year will set themselves to read the story of her growth from the first rude beginnings onward, every scene in the series will have its appeal as every one of them beyond question has its significance in the history of the State.

I.

THE RAISING OF THE CROSS

May, 1541

The First Incident in Missouri History.

In 1541 Ferdinand De Soto, Spanish conquistador, came up from Tampa Bay with his soldiers of fortune to the Mississippi, which he crossed at some still unidentified point, probably near the site of Memphis. Then, marching up the right bank of the river, he halted in May-time at a place a little north of the south line of Missouri, at or near New Madrid, it would appear, in order that his followers might take a well-earned rest. And while they rested there in delightful rustic bowers which the Indians fashioned for their strange

SOME HIGH LIGHTS IN MISSOURI HISTORY

visitors, an incident occurred, the memory of which shall never quite perish from among us, for it is the first thing that history has to record of the land we call Missouri. To De Soto came an Indian chief or cacique and said, "Sire, you and your men are of greater prowess than we; so must your God be of greater might than ours. Beg Him, therefore, to send us rain, for our corn is parched and great fear there is that we lose it all." To which petition De Soto made answer that he would do as he was requested. So, calling the chief carpenter, Francisco the Genoese, he bade him hew down a tree in the near-by forest, the tallest he could find, and make out of it a cross. And Francisco did as he was bidden, felling a huge cypress, of such weight that a hundred men together could scarce lift it from the ground. Then out of the cypress he fashioned a mammoth cross which was set up on a hill or rather Indian mound that overlooked the Spanish camp. And on the morrow, at De Soto's word, a great procession was formed of fully a thousand persons, Indians mingling with the Spaniards, and the cacique walking beside De Soto. The friars chanted the litanies and the soldiers made the responses thereto. And when the procession was arrived at the cross, each and every one approached it devoutly, bent the knee before it and kissed it in token of reverence to the symbol of man's redemption; after which that majestic hymn of Christian praise, the *Te Deum Laudamus*, was sung and the ceremony was over. Then, wonderful sequel to that impressive prologue of Christian supplication and worship, in the middle of the ensuing night came a great, copious downpour of rain. The delighted Indians hastened to express their gratitude to De Soto, but he made answer that their thanks were due not to him but to Almighty God, Creator of heaven and earth, who was the bestower of these and other far greater mercies.[1]

Such is the first scene disclosed by the curtain of time as it rises above the stage of Missouri history.

II.

MARQUETTE AND JOLIET

In the June of 1673 Louis Joliet and James Marquette, the Jesuit, fresh from their discovery of the Mississippi, glided in their canoe over its turbid waters past the limestone bluff on which St. Louis was to rise in later years. That they were the first of white men associated by their presence, passing though it was, with the site of the metropolis, is a circumstance that brings them within the purview of Missouri history; but theirs is a much more substantial claim to distinguished mention in the life-story of the State. Marquette and Joliet were in a very literal sense the men who put Missouri on the map. On Marquette's autograph map of 1673 the name of the State, with reference to an Indian tribe, appears as Oumessourits; in Joliet's

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[1] HOUCK, *History of Missouri*, Vol. I.

II

MARQUETTE AND JOLIET

autograph map of 1674 as Messouri; and finally in Marquette's published map of 1681 (Thévenot) as Oumissouri, which last form curtailed of the initial syllable, gives us the spelling as we have it today. Not only did these two enterprising Frenchmen put Missouri on the map; they also did the same for the names Osage and Kansas, which (in forms almost identical with those in use today) appear for the first time in history on the Joliet and Marquette maps. The commonwealth of Missouri thus owes the first historical mention of its name, the name of its second city and the name of one of its most beautiful rivers (Osage) to the same distinguished pair who have gone down in history as the discoverers of the great waterway that washes the entire eastern limit of the State. The chronicler of the commonwealth's greatness will not fail to salute with grateful recognition these two commanding figures that thus step on the stage at the very dawn of Missouri history.

III.

THE DAY OF THE THREE MASSES

December 8, 1698

As the first recorded incident in the history of Missouri was the solemn and worshipful raising of a cross, so the earliest recorded incident in the history of St. Louis was the celebration of that central act of Christian worship, the Mass. In the late fall of 1698 three priests belonging to the Society of Foreign Missions, their names, Montigny, St. Cosme and Davion, with the gallant M. De Tonty in their company, came down to the Lower Mississippi from Canada under commission from the Bishop of Quebec to set up mission-posts among the Indian tribes settled along the great waterway. Passing through Chicago or what was to become such, they were the guests there of the Jesuits, Pinet and Binneteau, in their little mission house of the Guardian Angel, built on ground which is now in the very throbbing centre of the great metropolis of the West. Father Montigny and his party, having descended the Mississippi to a point opposite the village of the Tamaroa, landed from their canoes on the west bank of the river. Here, then, they tarried a while on ground that is now within the municipal limits of St. Louis, probably near the foot of Arsenal Street; and here, on December 8, 1698, the festival of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mother of God, all three priests, it would appear, offered the august sacrifice of the New Law. Every Missourian and especially every St. Louisan will look back in a spirit of solemn pride on that memorable day when the site that was to see the growth of the first city of the State passed from out the night of prehistoric darkness into the clear sunshine of recorded history; and it is an easy date to remember, for the incident occurred exactly two hundred and twenty-two years ago last December 8, 1920.

IV.

A SECOND PLANTING OF THE CROSS

December 12 (13?) 1698

Only a few days pass since the coming of the missionary-priests, Montigny, St. Cosme and Davion to the site of St. Louis, when they write still another memorable page in the history of Missouri. One hundred and fifty-seven years later than De Soto's raising of the cross at the southeast corner of the State, the initial incident in Missouri history, these clerical pathfinders place another cross on Missouri soil. Wonderful it is that the first scenes to meet our gaze as the pageantry of Missouri history unfurls before us are these prayerful unfurlings of the standard of Christianity. On December 12 or 13, 1698, on a hill in Perry County overlooking the Mississippi near Cape St. Antoine, Father Montigny's party planted their cross with appropriate ceremony. Within a few days of its occurrence, Father St. Cosme put the incident on record in a letter to Canada. "We ascended the island or rock with some difficulty by a path and we planted a fine cross on it, chanting the Vexilla Regis, while our people fired three discharges from our guns. God grant that this cross, which has never yet been known in this place, may triumph here and that our Lord may abundantly spread the work of His Holy Passion, so that all these savages may know and serve him."

Let it be noted here, as a sequel to this glorious incident, that the narrator, Father St. Cosme, later paid the full cost of his adventurous zeal, dying at the hands of the Indians he had come to evangelize.

V.

MISSOURI'S EARLIEST SETTLEMENT

The Mouth of the River Des Peres.

1700.

On the north bank of the river Des Peres at its junction with the Mississippi just within the south limits of the city of St. Louis, there existed for a few years subsequent to 1700 a French-Indian settlement, Missouri's earliest growth of civilized life. Hither, in that year, came the Kaskaskia Indians, having moved down from their village on the Illinois River where Marquette twenty-five years before had set up among them the first outpost of Christian civilization in the Mississippi Valley. Hither also came the Tamaroa and with them the French from their village on the opposite side of the Mississippi. With the Kaskaskia was their pastor, Gabriel Marest of the Society of Jesus, and with the Tamaroa was their pastor also, François Pinet, of the same Society, the latter having but recently closed his Miami mission, the earliest religious establishment ever set up within the limits of Chicago. François Pinet, Chicago's first resident priest, was

likewise one of the group of Jesuit missionaries at the Des Peres settlement to whom belongs the distinction of having been the first resident priests on the site of St. Louis; so early a link of historical association do we discover between the metropolis of the Great Lakes region and the no less forward-looking metropolis of the Mississippi Valley.

VI.

THE FOUNDING OF STE. GENEVIEVE

Missouri's Earliest Permanent Settlement

1730.

The little French-Indian community at the mouth of the Des Peres hovers ghostlike for a brief spell over the threshold of Missouri history and then fades utterly from view into the surrounding gloom. Until yesterday, when it lifted its head clear of the mists of myth and legend and took rank as the first patch of civilized life ever laid out on Missouri soil, nothing of it more substantial had endured than a faint memory enshrined in the name of the stream, the Des Peres, or "Fathers' River", along the banks of which it one time nestled.

To another Missouri settlement on the Mississippi, St. Genevieve, some sixty miles below St. Louis, falls the distinction of being the earliest in the State to last down to our own day. It was started on its career somewhere around 1730 in the "Big Field" (*le grand champ*) three miles or so below the present site of Ste. Genevieve. Of this, the old St. Genevieve, *le vieux village,* surviving records tell us practically nothing. Later, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, as the site of the old village fell bit by bit into the onrushing waters of the Mississippi, the French habitants shifted their homes some distance up the river and a new St. Genevieve was gradually formed. Here French social life of the pre-American period, woven of many charms, flourished apace and here to this day, despite the ravages of modernity, not a little of the eighteenth century atmosphere and color lingers on.

No other place within the limits of the State brings you as close as does St. Genevieve to the realities of French culture and civilization that form so much of the background of Missouri history. On its streets you pass antique colonial houses with gable roofs and comfortable porches, mansions of an other day in which Monsieur and Madame once lived out their placid days with perhaps a truer relish of life than is possible to us moderns caught up in the rushing tide of twentieth century existence. You enter these houses and find the old-world suggestiveness of their exteriors echoed within. The exposed rafters of the ceiling catch your approving eye and you marvel to find wooden pegs and staples doing service for nails. For one who loves to visualize Missouri's storied past, a visit to St. Genevieve is a rare delight.

VII.

THE FOUNDING OF ST. LOUIS

February 14, 1764

On December 3, 1763, Pierre Liguest Laclede, with plans in his head for a settlement that would command the entire Missouri River fur-trade, rode with Auguste Chouteau, a stripling of fourteen, to the top of a declivity overlooking the Mississippi, the same high ground on which the St. Louis Court House stands today. Looking east, he felt that every natural advantage was present to render the ground that stretched before him to the river-edge an ideal site for his proposed settlement. To young Chouteau he accordingly then and there delivered instructions to come up the following spring with a party of forty men then in winter quarters at Fort Chartres and lay off the new post according to plans he himself would furnish. That there might be no mistake about the location, Laclede blazed some trees with his own hand. To the blazed trees accordingly came Chouteau as soon as navigation opened, landing with his men on February 14, 1764, probably at what is now the foot of Market street. On the morning of the following day he put his men to work. Laclede soon joined the party, streets and lots were platted, houses built, commons and common-fields staked off and all the conventional adjuncts of a typical French settlement duly provided for, including an entire square dedicated to church purposes. Such was the founding of St. Louis, the canonized hero-king of medieval France lending his name to the little Christian community which men of his race had thus set up on the banks of the Mississippi. Sebastian Meurin, priest of the Society of Jesus, whose remains lie in the historic Jesuit cemetery at Florissant, was the first clergyman to officiate in the village; the first chapel, of logs, went up in 1768; the first resident clergyman, the Spanish Capuchin, Father Valentine, arrived in 1773 and St. Louis on the religious side was well started on its progressive march to the development of today which has merited for it the title of the Rome of America. No less marvellous was the material development of Laclede's trading-post. It captured and held for years the Missouri-River fur trade, doing in 1769 a business in furs of $80,000 a year. Later it lost its ascendency in this capital field of trade, but in 1920, the wheel having come full-circle, won it back again, becoming the world's greatest fur-center, with sales aggregating $20,000,000 a year.

VIII.

THE DAY OF THE THREE FLAGS

March 10, 1804

On March 10, 1804, the curtain was rung down on the first two acts in the drama of Missouri history, to rise promptly on a third, which, by the grace of God, we still see played out before our eyes. On

that day the flags of Spain and France were furled and the Stars and Stripes raised over the western moiety of the Mississippi Valley.

Three great world powers, France, Spain and the United States have exercised proprietary rights over Missouri soil. The French regime began on the day that Robert de La Salle at the mouth of the Mississippi claimed the entire basin of the mighty waterway for Louis Quatorze, giving it the name Louisiana in honor of that great potentate and burying a leaden plate in the river bank in token of formal occupation; and it ended in 1762 by the secret cession to Spain on the part of France of the city of New Orleans and the western portion of the Mississippi Valley. (In 1763, by the Treaty of Paris, the eastern portion of the Mississippi Valley was ceded by France to England). The Spanish regime lasted until 1803, when, by the treaty of San Ildefonso, Louisiana (as the portion of the Mississippi Valley west of the river continued to be called) was ceded back to France, the Spaniards, however, remaining in occupation till the Americans came. For Napoleon, master of France's destinies at the moment, fearful lest Louisiana, which had thus recently come into his possession, should fall into the hands of the English, negotiated its sale to the United States. The Louisiana Purchase was effected in April, 1803, France ceding to the United States the whole territory of Louisiana "forever and in full sovereignty" for a consideration of $15,000,000 or about 3 cents per acre.

Then, on March 10, 1804, the succession of the three sovereignties, Spanish, French and American, was symbolized in St. Louis with appropriate ceremony. First, the Spanish colors were lowered on the flagstaff planted before the shabby little Government house at Main and Walnut Streets. Next, the French colors were lowered, following which the Stars and Stripes were run up and the United States entered in possession of the richest and amplest sweep of territory that has ever come to swell our national domain. In this epoch-making drama the arresting figure is that of the Spanish Governor of Upper Louisiana. No government could have entrusted so weighty a business as the surrendering of an empire to more fitting hands than those of Don Carlos De Hault De Lassus. Courtesy, tact, high-minded Christian sentiment attended his every move on the memorable occasion. The official papers which he issued at the transfer, as you read them in Houck, are a delight. "God have you in his holy keeping," is his last word to the Spanish commandants that were to lay down their charges in consequence of the transfer; and so with a prayer on her lips Spain bowed herself with dignity and grace off the stage of Missouri history.

IX.

THE FOUNDING OF KANSAS CITY

1821—1838

In 1821 Francis Gesseau Chouteau, resident of St. Louis and nephew of Auguste Chouteau, Laclede's associate in the founding of

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that city, left what was then as it is now, the first city of Missouri, and with his wife and children made his way in a pirogue up the Missouri River to the mouth of the Kansas. The journey took twenty days, a matter of some seven hours to the present-day traveler by rail. Here, then, at the great southwest bend of the Missouri, where its waters mingle with those of the Kansas, came Francis Gesseau Chouteau, employee of the American Fur Company, to open a trading post for that pushing corporation. No men ever had a keener eye for natural sites of advantage than the old French path-finders and city-builders; and with the instinct of his kind Chouteau selected this location as the inevitable gateway to a great inland trade. "I should deceive myself greatly if considerable money is not to be made in this place", he wrote to a brother in St. Louis, the earliest forecast on record of the commercial possibilities of the site now occupied by Kansas City. One by one the elements gathered out of which was to issue the Kansas City that we know. As late as 1838 the standard gazetter of Missouri had no other name for the settlement at the mouth of the Kansas than "Chouteau's." But in that year Gabriel Prudhomme's farm of two hundred and seventy one acres came into the hands of a stock company which proceeded to lay it off as a town to which it gave the name of Kansas. Thus were laid the foundations of the second city of the State, seventeen years after Francis Chouteau had come to the mouth of the Kansas to point out the potential greatness of a locality which has since developed as by magic into one of the world's largest centers of commerce and trade.

X.

THE FOUNDING OF ST. JOSEPH

1830—1843

On the left bank of the Missouri some seventy miles above the mouth of the Kansas, the ground lifts up sharply enough from the water-edge into a line of thickly-wooded bluffs—the Blacksnake Hills of the Indians before the white man found his way to this charming pleasure spot of unspoiled nature. Here was a favorite crossing place of the Indians as they made passage of the great river below. A likely spot enough for a trader's hut; nay, even for a community of whites if enough of such could be found with heart to fight the battle of life in this remote corner of the Missouri frontier. So at least thought Joseph Robidoux III, native-born St. Louisan, and merchant-trader by occupation, who in 1827 planted his trading post at what is now a point on Main Street in the city of St. Joseph. In 1830 he acquired the land on which the future city was to rise. Eight years later Peter De Smet, Jesuit and blazer of missionary trails across the Great Plains, on his way up the Missouri to evangelize the Potawatomi of Council Bluffs, made a short stop at Blacksnake hills to exchange

greetings with his friend Joseph Robidoux IV, one-time student at St. Louis University. The Robidoux's were still the only white residents in the locality, which went by the name of Robidoux's Landing. "There I had a long talk with J[oseph] R[obidoux], who keeps a store and runs his father's fine farm. He showed me a great deal of affection and kindness and expressed a wish to build a little chapel there, if his father can manage to get some French families to come and settle near them. The place is one of the finest in Missouri for the erection of a city." Joseph Robidoux's dream of a city springing up around his trading post blossomed into reality. Settlers flocked in, Robidoux's Landing became St. Joseph, with a town-plot made out and duly recorded in St. Louis in 1843, and the founder lived to see it a city of twenty thousand inhabitants.

XI.

THE FLATHEAD MISSION

1841

When Father Peter De Smet set out from St. Louis University in the spring of 1841 to lead the first Catholic missionary-party that ever crossed the great plains to Oregon, he opened up a chapter in Missouri history as fascinating as any within its covers. The significance of the chapter lies in the fact that it shows Missouri to have been something more than a sort of purveyor-in-chief to the Great West of traders, trappers, trail-blazers and adventurous pioneers. The State has also been a beacon light of Gospel truth to the Indian tribes in their native habitats from the Western frontier up to the shores of the Pacific.

When that curious mixture of savage culture and lofty spiritual aspirations, the Salish or Flatheads at the headwaters of the Columbia River, began to grow anxious for a teacher that would advance them in knowledge of the white-man's prayer, their thoughts turned towards St. Louis. Already in 1831 four of their tribe had reached that city, two of them dying there after receiving Catholic baptism. They were followed in 1835 by Ignace La Mousse, the Iroquois, and his two sons, the latter baptized on that occasion at St. Louis University. Ignace returned West without the priest he had come to beg of the ecclesiastical authorities in St. Louis. Later he set out on a second visit to St. Louis, but was massacred on the way. Finally, in 1839, two young Flathead warriors braved the perils of the wilderness to urge again the sending of a Catholic priest to their people beyond the Rockies. The Jesuits of Missouri, being now in a position to heed these repeated cries of spiritual distress, sent out Father De Smet in the spring of 1840 to ascertain by personal investigation the actual prospects of missionary effort in that quarter. His report was encouraging; and in the spring of 1841 he headed a party of missionaries who crossed the Great Plains to open among the Flat-

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heads in the Bitter Root Valley the first American Catholic Indian Mission west of the Rock Mountains. Other parties of Jesuit missionaries went out from Missouri in subsequent years, and a great missionary enterprise on behalf of the Indian tribes of the Northwest was thus gradually organized. After the Flatheads, other tribes were in turn evangelized—Coeur d'Alenes, Kalipsels, Skoyelpi, Flatbows, Okinagans, Kutenai and at a later period, Blackfeet, Crows, Gros Ventres, Arapaho, Shoshoni and Sioux. A great outpouring of divine grace on all these children of the soil and an unforgetable chapter in the story of Christian missionary endeavour in the New World. And the chapter opens with the going forth from Missouri in 1841 of Father De Smet and his confreres to effect a spiritual conquest the glory of which lights up with reflected radiance the State of which it was one of the most cherished privileges of the great missionary to call himself a citizen.

The foregoing episodes, events, high-lights or whatever you wish to call them, in Missouri history present no connected story. They stand isolated and apart, detached units, but brimful of meaning. They are suggestive, and this must be our excuse for presenting them in so fragmentary a fashion, of the wealth of inspiring detail that enters into the story of Missouri and gives that story its indubitable power to attract and charm. Let Missourians in this centennial year of the commonwealth's admission to statehood come to know as most of them probably have not known before, the priceless heritage that is theirs in Missouri's storied past. Few, if any, states in the Union so link themselves up with the romance and pageantry that belong to old-world civilizations as does our own. And in the historic deeds of her makers, their pluck, their energy, their enterprise, their masterful wrestling with the wilderness, Missouri shows at play all those varied forces that have placed our beloved United States in the forefront of the nations of the world.

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN, S.J.

RUMMAGING THROUGH OLD PARISH RECORDS

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE CHURCH OF LAFAYETTE, LA.

1821—1921

Petit Manchac, Vermillionville, Lafayette—each of these three names might well be taken to typify a distinct period in the life of the thriving little city by the Bayou Vermillion. To the latter it owes not only the name by which it was long known, but its very existence. Years before the American Revolution, when the Attakapa redman, whose presence is still attested almost at every step, roamed in his primaeval liberty through the beautiful hunting grounds west of the Bayou, Petit Manchac had already acquired a bit of notoriety. Up to Petit Manchac rowed the canoes of English smugglers; there, safely ensconced between the high banks of the Vermillion and behind the luxuriant forest growth on either side of the stream, to the great annoyance of the Spanish officials, they bartered for peltries the product of civilization most coveted by the benighted natives: firearms, ammunition and . . . fire-water.

The coming of the exile Acadians to the Attakapas gradually brought a welcome change along the Vermillion. After a much needed rest in the neighborhood of the Post of St. Martin, they soon realized they could not remain huddled together in the camps [1] which had been set up for them on the Tèche, and where death soon caused great ravages. Aided by the Department of *Población y Amistad de Indios*, [2] some gradually left their first refuge to seek a home to the northwest, on the Côte Gelée and even across the Vermillion and along the Bayou Carencro. [3]

Well could the newcomers be attracted by the country opening before them. Just west of the Bayou was the southernmost extremity of the same ridge upon which the Post of Opelousas, farther up north,

1. Those camps were successively established in different locations; at least such is the inference naturally drawn from the expressions of the church Registers of St. Martin's.: "premier," "dernier camp d'en bas."

2. Established in 1767.

3. This Creek's name, which is found commonly used in documents of the end of the eighteenth century, and, therefore, must have been introduced a number of years previous, seems to bear testimony to the early presence in the neighborhood of an English-speaking element of population. Carencro—a corruption of "carrion crow"—is the name of the buzzard in the Louisiana French dialect.

had been keeping watch for the last fifty years. The whole district "has an appearance and peculiarities that are unique in the colony of Lower Louisiana. It is an intermixture of hills and valleys, and presents an agreeable diversity of high and level country. . . . (The perspective) varies every moment, and at the least change of position, the picturesque points of view with which it is embellished. Another advantage or pleasure, at least, peculiar to that district, is that of the springs and clear running water by which it is irrigated. Everywhere else one sees only the dull and gloomy waters of the river and bayous, or the still, brackish water of the lakes." [4]

Yet another advantage attached to the new location, an advantage much appreciated by these staunch Catholics exiled for their faith: their concessions were within reasonable distance from St. Martin. By degrees the banks of the Bayou Carencro, the Grande Prairie and the surrounding country west of the Vermillion, well suited for cattle-raising, were dotted with extended farms, of which a small portion was cultivated, and the rest given over to innumerable herds of cattle.[5] The Parish Registers of St. Martin afford us a glimpse into the population of the district in the last decade of the eighteenth century: the names of Mouton, Duhon, Arcenaux, Bernard, Broussard, Breaux, Thibodeaux, Benoit, Hébert, Landry, Martin, Guédry, Trahan, which are to this day so common in Lafayette, represent the Acadian element. Other inhabitants were of various origins: Louis Bonin was a native of the Alibamons; Jacques Fostin came from the Illinois (Kaskaskia),[6] and le Chevalier Alexandre De Clouet [7] evidently from France.

In those times of great missionary rambles, no doubt but that these new settlements were visited from time to time by the pastors of St. Martin des Attakapas;[8] but we have no distinct records of such visits made by Fathers Joseph de Aracena (1782-1783), Gefrotin (1783-1787), Merceda (1787-1788), Bernard de Deva (1788-1791) and George Murphy (1792-1794). But with the coming to St. Martin's, on March 8, 1795, of Father Michael Bernard Barrière, we begin to have positive documentary information concerning the pastoral visitations to the settlers about the Vermillion. The rôle played by

4. Berquin-Duvallon. *Vue de la Colonie Espagnole du Mississippi ou des Provinces de Louisiane et Floride Occidentale.* Paris, An xi (1803), p. 54.

5. About the year 1800, a head of cattle was worth four to five dollars, and a horse six to eight.

6. His wife, Françoise Trahan, whom he married at St. Martin's, on July 18, 1772, was an Acadian.

7. Alexandre De Clouet was, in 1775, captain and lieutenant-governor of the Attakapas and Opelousas. He had married Dame Louise Favrot. The *Register des Baptêmes* of St. Martinsville informs us that a daughter, Marie Louise Hiacinthe De Clouet, was born to them April 8, 1776 and baptized on August 26 of the same year; she was, the same day, godmother to Louise Ducrest. This precocious godmother was just sixteen months old. According to a letter of Governor Claiborne to Secretary Madison, dated New Orleans, January 24, 1804, A. De Clouet was still commandant of the District of the Attakapas in the early part of 1803; he must have moved to the Bayou Vermillion shortly after the above date; at any rate, he is given as a resident of the latter place at the time of the marriage of his daughter Marie Charlotte to François Chevalier De Lhomme, August 7, 1809.

8. It seems that certain rectors, dissatisfied with the name, adopted other patrons: so we find successively in the Records the parish designated at St. Joseph and St. Bernard. The original name at last was restored and prevailed.

that worthy priest in the early history of Catholic Lafayette will be our excuse for a more extended notice.

Father Barrière, born at Bordeaux, France, had been ordained for some years and was exercising the holy ministry in his native country at the time the French Revolution broke out. But when, in less than three years, the long looked-for Sun of liberty was shuffled out by the dark clouds of godless anarchy, and the priests had to stifle their consciences by taking the schismatic oath of the *Constitution Civile du Clergé,* or else face the terrible pontoons of Rochefort or even the guillotine, Barrière, staunch in his allegiance, escaped the consequences of his fidelity as an *insermenté* by timely putting the frontier between him and the ubiquitous informers of the Committee of Public Safety. By what circuitous route he found his way to Baltimore, where he offered his services to Bishop Carroll, we know not. At all events, the American prelate welcomed him and before long, in September 1793, he was on his way to Kentucky, with the high-sounding title of Vicar General of the Bishop for those remote districts, and in company with another Frenchman, Father Stephen Theodore Badin, the proto-priest of America, ordained just a few months before (May 25, 1793).

> The two missionaries left Baltimore on the 6th of September, 1793, and traveled like the Apostles, on foot to Pittsburgh, over bad roads and a rugged wilderness country. On the 3rd of November, they embarked on a flatboat, which was descending the Ohio, with six others, These boats were all well armed, for fear of an attack from the Indians. About that time, however, General Wayne was preparing his great expedition against them; and they had enough to do to defend their own wigw ms, without prowling about near the frontier settlements.
>
> The boats were seven days in going down to Gallipolis; and between this place and Pittsburgh, the travelers saw but two small towns Wheeling and Marietta. The two priests remained for three days at Gallipolis, the inhabitants of which place were French Catholics, who had been long without a pastor.[9] They heartily welcomed the missionaries, who, during their brief stay, sang High Mass in the garrison, and baptized forty children. The good French colonists were delighted; and shed tears on their departure. They were but a remnant of a large French colony of about 7,000, who had emigrated to America four or five years previously. A French land company had purchased for them a large territory on the Scioto river; but the title to these lands proved defective: the colonists were defrauded, and many of them returned in disgust to France, bitterly inveighing against Yankee shrewdness in bargaining.
>
> The two missionaries landed at Limestone, or Maysville, where there were at that time about twenty families. They proceeded on foot to Lexington, a distance of about sixty-five miles. They passed the first night in an open mill, six miles from Limestone, lodging on the mill-bags, without any covering, during a cold night, late in November. On the next day, they passed the battle-ground of the Blue Licks, where Mr. Barrière picked up the skull of one of those who had fallen there eleven years before. He carried it with him, and retained it as a relic of the disastrous battle, and a *memento* of death. On the first Sunday

9. On that ill-fated colony, see Lawrence J. Kenny, S. J.: *The Gallipolis Colony* (1790), in *The Catholic Historical Review,* Vol. iv, No. 4 January 1819, pp. 415—451.

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of Advent,[10] Mr. Badin said Mass, for the first time in Kentucky, at Lexington, in the house of Mr. Dennis McCarthy, an Irish Catholic, who acted as clerk in the commercial house of Colonel Moyland, brother of the then Bishop of Cork.

The missionaries had with them but one chalice; and after having offered up the Holy Sacrifice, Mr. Badin traveled sixteen miles to the Catholic settlement in Scott County, where Mr. Barrière said Mass on the same day. Preparations were then in progress to erect in this place a frame church. Mr. Badin remained in Scott County for about eighteen months, occasionally visiting the other Catholic settlements in Kentucky; Mr. Barrière proceeded immediately to take charge of the Catholic families in the vicinity of Bardstown.

The difficulties of the times, and the rude state of society in the infant colonies, soon determined Mr. Barrière to leave the country. His habits had been already formed, and he thought that he could not adapt himself to the new state of things in the wilderness.[11] Accordingly, about four months after his arrival in Kentucky, he left the State. In April, 1794, he departed from Louisville in a pirogue[12] for New Orleans, which, with all Louisiana and Missouri, was then in possession of the Spaniards.

The Spanish government was at that time apprehending an attack on Louisiana from the French Republic; and Mr. Barrière, being a Frenchman, was arrested and detained for some time at New Madrid. He immediately wrote to Baron Carondelet, the Spanish Governor of Louisiana, representing the objects of his visit: and the Baron soon liberated him, and permitted him to proceed, without further molestation, to New Orleans. Shortly after his arrival in this city, he went to Attakapas, where he labored zealously on the missions.[13]

Not long after his arrival at St. Martin, Father Barrière commenced the regular rounds of the extensive territory confided to his care. As, on his return home,[14] he never failed to register the Acts of sacerdotal ministry accomplished during his mission, these entries afford us valuable information on Catholic life in the district in and around the modern Lafayette. Of any village then in existence we do not hear a word—a good evidence that there was as yet none at the time: the priest stopped at the houses of his parishioners. Usually, it seems, he crossed the Bayou between Breaux Bridge and Carencro, then went south and re-crossed the Vermillion about, or a little south of the present site of Lafayette, whence he reached home over the Côte Gelée. Sometimes, for one reason or another, he changed his itinerary, and we see him go by way of the Côte Gelée to some habitation near the present site of Lafayette.

From the testimony of the Church Registers of St. Martin it ap-

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10. December 1, 1793.

11. To these difficulties must be added that of the language. He was never able, it seems, to get sufficient hold on th English, and his entries on the Registers of the Louisiana parishes where he officiated bear witness to this fact.

12. "A large species of canoe, in common use at this period on the larger of the western waters." Ben. J. Webb, *Catholicity in Kentucky*, p. 163.

13. M. J. Spalding: *Sketches of the Early Catholic Missions of Kentucky*, pp. 61 foll. What Archbishop Spalding writes further of Father Barrière's subsequent life in Louisiana, and death, is not always accurate; but this does not diminish the value of the foregoing account, based on first-hand information. Ben. J. Webb, in the volume cited above, follows very closely Archbishop Spalding.

14. Father Barrière lived about a mile from the village, but walked in every day to say Mass. On Sundays he remained about the church all day. *The Church of the Attakapas*, 1750—1889, in *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, Vol. xiv, 1889, pp. 462—487.

pears that during the time of his incumbency at the latter place (March 8, 1795 to October 1804), Father Barrière visited this neighborhood some fifteen times. These little *salidas*—to use his own expression[15]—took him habitually three or four days. His customary stations were, about the site of the modern village of Carencro, at Mrs. Arcenaux[16] and Pierre Hébert's, although we find him occasionally stopping with Pierre Bernard, François Caramouche, Joseph Mire, Joseph Breaux[17] and, in 1804, Frédéric Mouton. Farther south, at the Grande Prairie, Father Barrière found the large plantation of Jean Mouton "l'Oncle, dit Chapeau",[18] where he never failed to go; once in a while we meet him also at the house of Marin Mouton, Jean's brother, of Anselme Thibodeaux, Don Nicolas Rousseau, Joseph Hébert, Louis Trahan and Pierre Trahan. Still farther down along the Bayou, he sometimes visited Mrs. Daygle and the Landrys, whilst on the Côte Gelée he was twice the guest of Don Jean Baptiste Broussard[19] and once of Jean Baptiste Comeaux.

From this little survey of Father Barrière's missionary activity in connection with the then almost prehistoric Lafayette, we already get an inkling of his character. He appears to us as a good, simple man and an unselfish, pious and zealous priest. A glance at his records of this period and the work he undertook to save from destruction the church papers left by his predecessors betray, moreover, a happy and uncommon habit of order, which could be inspired only by genuine interest in, and love of his parish. And should anyone be tempted to think that his pastoral visits to these quarters were too rare and far apart, let him bethink himself that the good man had, besides his flock of St. Martin and along the Vermillion, "other sheep that were not of this fold". The territory under his spiritual care was immense, and we see him once in a while saddle his horse for trips down the "Baillou Tech," as he writes, the Prairie St. Jacques, la Côte des Anglais, la Prairie Salée, la Côte des Allemands,[20] and returning by way of New Iberia (already in existence and known by that name), where he stopped at the house of Joseph Saingermain, a native of Fort de Chartres, Illinois. At other times he had to direct his course down the Bayou Vermillion, or yet *en el parage de la Punta,* as he puts it, where he assembled the scattered Catholics of the neighborhood in the habitation of Mrs. Claude Martin. When we bear in mind that the

15. The entries of that period are written in Spanish.

16. He usually writes the name 'Arsonnau.'

17. He spells 'Bro'.

18. This Jean Mouton Sr., was the son of Salvator Mouton, an Acadian, who in 1755 was living in the parish of St. James and engaged in tilling the soil. The Archives of the church of St. Martinsville show that he and his wife, Anne Bastaroche, had emigrated to Louisiana from Acadia. They died shortly afterwards, leaving three children in early childhood: Marin, our Jean, who was born at Halifax, and a daughter. Jean Mouton, when first noticed, was engaged in boating up the Wachita and Arkansas rivers, trading with the Indians. Afterwards he settled in the parish of the Attakapas, where he married Marthe Bordat towards the year 1783. Thirteen childrtn were born of this marriage: Jean Baptiste (fils), Joseph, François, Charles, Don Louis (père), Alexandre, Emile, Césaire, Marie, Adelaide, Marthe, Céleste and another daughter.

19. Then lieutenant of the militia.

20. Not the Côte des Allemands on the Mississippi river, but another German settlement apparently in St. Mary's parish.

pastor of St. Martin's owed his ministrations to so many far and wide, it seems, after all, that his parishioners of the Grande Prairie did not fare ill at his hands.

Before we take a short leave of Father Barrière—for we shall meet him again, it will not be amiss to allude here to a little episode which occurred towards the end of his stay at St. Martinsville and carried his name to the very Capital of the American Republic. This incident, which affords us an insight into another feature of Father Barrière's character, is but one instance of the troubles caused in the Church of Louisiana at the time of the change of government. It is thus told by Governor Claiborne in a letter to Secretary Madison, of May 29, 1804:[21]

> Sir:
>
> In the District of Attakapas a very great dispute has arisen between two priests. A man by the name of Barrier[22] was superseded by Mr. Laussat,[23] and a priest of the name of Veal[24] named his successor,[25] Lately the Head of the Catholic Church in Louisiana, a Mr. Welsh,[26] recalled Veal, declared his powers under Mr. Laussat nul and reinstated Barrier.
>
> A few Sundays since, the rival priests appeared at the Church attended by their different Partizans who were numerous and very much inflamed.
>
> Lieutenant Hopkins, the Civil Commandant of the District, apprehending that the public peace was endangered, took upon himself to shut the doors of the Church, and deny entrance to either party, until the matter was reported to me, and my instructions received.
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> This expedient preserved the public peace, and was, I learn, very pleasing to all parties.
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> I have referred the affair to the Rvd. Mr. Welsh, the head of the Catholic Church in Louisiana, and addressed to Lieutenant Hopkins a letter, etc.
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21. Original in the Department of State, Washington, Bureau of Rolls and Library. Gov. Claiborne's Correspondence relative to Louisiana, Vol. II. Prnted in *Lousisiana under the Rule of Spain, France and the United States,* 1785—1807, by James Alex. Robertson. Vol. II, pp. 265—266.

22. So does Governor Claiborne spell, according to Englicized pronounciation. This is neither worse nor better than the spelling 'Barrières' adopted by Archbishop Spalding, Webb and Shea.

23. The French Commissioner sent to make the double transfer of Louisiana.

24. Claiborne again follows the pronounciation in his spelling. The true name of this priest was Viel. Etienne Bernard Alexandre Viel was born in New Orleans in 1736, and became a Jesuit. After the suppression of the Society of Jesus he remained in Louisiana and lived for many years in Attakapas, ministering to the Indians of those parts and teaching a small school for the children of the inhabitants of that region, which made him much beloved of the people. Many considered him the greatest living Latinist. Indeed he had even the reputation of being a fanatic in his love for Latin, and holding nothing fit to be published unless it was in Latin. He translated Fénelon's Télémaque into beautiful Latin verse, and the work was splendidly brought out by some distinguished men who had been his pupils. He died in France in 1836. See *The Church of the Attakapas,* cited above.

25. How Viel had attracted the attention of Laussat, is not known. The Registers of St. Martin's bear, in their own way, witness to the change here mentioned by Claiborne. After December 1, 1803, we cease to find any entries signed by Barrière. That is apparently the time of his removal by Laussat. However, Viel's ministry commenced only on February 12, 1804.

26. On the Very Rev. Patrick Walsh—not Welsh—, see J. G. Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States,* Vol. II, pp. 584—591. It must be said that Father Walsh had only a colored, therefore very precarious, title to the headship of the Catholic Church in Louisiana.

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Claiborne's letter to Hopkins gave "entire approbation" to the latter's conduct and directed him to retain in his possession the keys of the church until new orders. It took quite a while to settle the affair; but at the end Barrière won the day; and we see him again, in June 1804, in possession of his church and Registers and inaugurating his now undisputed tenure of office by a visit to his parishioners on the Vermillion.

It cannot be doubted that his successor, Father Gabriel Isabey, O.P., (November 1, 1804—June 21, 1823) continued the custom of making once in a while the rounds of the distant parts of the parish. True, he does not specify in his entries the places where baptism was administered; but as he is careful to mark the place of origin of the recipients, f. i., "of the Bayou Vermillion," and baptisms of infants of the same neighborhood are often bunched together, the natural inference is that they occurred at the occasion of the pastor's missionary excursions.

In 1812, Father Barrière, who had remained most of the time at St. Martinsville and who, at that time, having no parish of his own, liked to qualify himself "prêtre approuvé pour tout le Diocèse," reappears on the scene: on March 31, he officiated "au quartier du Carencros," at the marriage of Jean Baptiste Benoit, of Opelousas, with Hélène Roger, of Carencro. He was still—or again—there a week later, "sent by Father Isabey," as the Register is careful to note, when Joseph Hébert married Justine Guilbeau; and some few months later we find him "au Vermillion," presiding at the nuptials of Joseph Guédry with Marie Comeaux.

It is interesting to note, in connection with the last entry, that the Register says no longer "au Bayou Vermillion," as fifteen years before, but simply "au Vermillion." Trivial as it seems, the change, which we notice for the first time in 1800, seems to point out the inception of a new order of things, namely, the existence of an embryonic village, called after the Bayou. Most happy certainly was the selection of the spot, on high ground, in the open Grande Prairie, some two and a half miles north of the old site of Petit Manchac. Today a stranger, coming into town, would be at a loss to know whether the town or the forest, or both together, were moved from the Bayou; for such is the magnificent growth of stately live oaks and sweet-smelling magnolias, that it might be well imagined that originally the woods must have extended to the plateau upon which the city is situated.

Like other old towns of Louisiana, Lafayette, too, leaves the impression as though its founders were ignorant of the rules of symmetry. Its streets are extremely crooked. The newcomer, thinking himself on the principal thoroughfare of the town, lined as it is with substantial business houses and fronted by the imposing Gordon Hotel, will inevitably come to grief, should he attempt to follow that street. Of a sudden the pretty buildings cease. Well may he be puzzled: for he missed the right corner at the right moment. The street, which offered such alluring inducements of up-to-date buildings, suddenly

ceases to be the main street and ends abruptly at the maze of intricate sidings in the yard of the Southern Pacific.

The reason for this lack of regularity is not far to seek. The original inhabitants of Vermillionville followed the accepted rule of laying out the streets according to the compass. The Morgan Line, however, does not exactly follow these lines, but runs from the southeast slightly to the northwest. The Louisiana Western and Texas R. R. connects with the Morgan Line at almost right angles, thus forming a very sharp curve. The Railroad station, when first built, was almost one mile from the center of the town. In the course of time additions came to existence around old Vermillionville, each one following its own lines of survey influenced by the railroad. When gradually these additions were absorbed into the town, it fell out that, by following the crooked lines of the two branches of the Southern Pacific, the streets had perforce assumed the shape of the curved tracts.

But this is modern history. We must presently revert to the time, some sixscore years ago, when, around a little plantation store—since this is admittedly the origin of every American town—rose the little hamlet of Vermillion. In due time its increase called for a corresponding increase of the name: thus Vermillion became Vermillionville. But its ecclesiastical status remained unchanged: Vermillionville was a churchless mission of St. Martinsville.

On March 10, 1821, Bishop Louis William Du Bourg, being then engaged in making the Episcopal Visitation of the parish of Grand Coteau, erected some two years before, determined officially the limits of this new parish. They were

> the course of the Vermillion up to a branch of the same Bayou which goes to the Louis Bridge, and following that branch as far as said bridge. From the same, straight to the line dividing the two counties of Opelousas and Attakapas. Thence that line as far as the Atchafalaya; then that river up to the confluence of Bayou Courtableau. From that point a line *almost* parallel to the county line, so as to include Prairie Laurent, until that line crosses the Tèche. From there a straight line reaching the habitation of Dr. Raphael Smith, so as to include it in the parish. Thence another line to Bayou Mallet, enclosing the Prairie of the same name; and finally down to the sea.[27].

This decree dismembered all the territory west of the Vermillion from St. Martin's parish, to attribute it to Grand Coteau, and put Vermillionville under the jurisdiction of Father Hercule Brassac, the young rector of the new parish. [28]

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27. That is, down the Bayou Mallet and the Mermentau river to the Gulf. Register of Baptisms of Grand Coteau.

28. Baunard is evidently mistaken when he states (*Life of Madame Duchesne*, Eng. transl., p. 224): "Mr. Brassac, the Curé, also served the parish of Alexandria, eighty miles further north, those of St. Martinsville and Vermillionville to the south, and of Bayou Chicot to the west." In August 1821, when the Ladies of the Sacred Heart came to Grand Coteau, there was no parish of Alexandria in existence; St. Martinsville had its own pastor, Father G. Isabey, who lived until 1823; Vermillionville had not yet a church; as to Bayou Chicot, if it had a church, it was outside the limits of the parish of Grand Coteau and lay not west, but far to the north, within the territory of the parish of Opelousas.

Father Brassac was a Frenchman, born at Marvejols, in the Diocese of Mende, Lozère. Being one of the recruits enlisted by Bishop Du Bourg for the Louisiana Mission during the latter's long sojourn in France (1816-1817) after his consecration, he came to America with that prelate and some thirty others on the *Caravane* in 1817. That he was then sufficiently advanced in his ecclesiastical studies, is evidenced by the fact that he received Minor Orders and Subdeaconship from his Bishop in the chapel of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, soon after landing at Annapolis. For nearly a year he continued his theology at St. Thomas Seminary, Bardstown, Ky., under Father Rosati; and arriving at the Barrens, Mo., the 1st of October, 1818, with all the Louisiana clerical colony of Bishop Du Bourg, he was, shortly after, ordained Deacon, and on All Saints' Day invested with the Holy Priesthood at Ste. Genevieve, Mo. After spending some time at Harrisonville, Ill., where he inaugurated his sacerdotal ministry, he was sent to Grand Coteau, his letter of appointment bearing the date of April 29, 1819.[29]

How much of his time and solicitude the energetic young pastor devoted to his mission of Vermillionville, we cannot state exactly, for the Parish Books of Grand Coteau, orderly as they were kept, do not reveal the places where the ministrations which they record were performed, or even the exact location of the homes of the parties; they were in the parish: that was enough. But in the absence of such indications as we should like to find, we have a most important fact, attested by the ever accurate Father Barrière in a note written by him on the fly-leaf of one of the Registers of Lafayette. Which Register it was, is impossible to say now, because the leaf, or at least such a portion thereof as still remains, was found some fourteen years ago hidden in a bundle of deeds of the Church property. At any rate, the note in question reads:

Bénédiction de l'église St. Jean du Vermillion
30 Décembre 1821.

Churches, as a rule, are not the product of spontaneous generation. Indeed it takes sometimes quite long to see them erected; and for this reason it is not at all unlikely that the first steps towards the construction of the church of Vermillionville were taken by Father Isabey. However, as, since March 10, 1821, Vermillionville was a mission of Father Brassac, it is but natural to associate his name with the first church of Lafayette.

Inseparable from the church, according to the jurisprudence of those times, was a Board of Trustees to administer it; and the name of one at least of these original trustees has come down to us: François Carmouche, an old inhabitant, at whose house we have seen Father Barrière—who spelled the name Caramouche—stop occasionally in his trips about Carencro. Only a few months later, St. John's Church received from another of Barrière's old acquaintances donation of a

29. Register of Baptisms of Grand Coteau.

handsome piece of property, on part of which the church stood. The deed, interesting for more than one reason, must be cited here, at least in an English translation:[30]

> Before me, Paul Briant, Judge of the Parish of St. Martin, and *ex-officio* Notary Public in and for the said Parish,[31] and in presence of the witnesses hereinafter named, who also signed; presented himself Mr. Jean Mouton, Sr., a farmer inhabiting this parish who, intending to give proof of his zeal for the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman religion, has, by the presents, made a donation, pure, simple and irrevocable, under all the guarantees *de facto* and *de jure,* to the Trustees administrators of St. John's Church, for the perpetual use and benefit of said church, which has been accepted in the name of said church by Mr. François Carmouche, one of the aforesaid Trustees administrators, in his name as well as in the name of the other Trustees, of a certain piece of land, situated in this parish at the Grande Prairie and in the same location where the said church is built,[32] measuring five arpents and fifty-four hundredths of an arpent surface measure: in fact the same amount of land which is comprised within the bourns actually existing in that place, and which is designated by the plan herewith annexed, as drawn by William Johnston under date of the twelfth day of this present month of March.
>
> The aforesaid Trustees administrators, in behalf and in the name of the said church, may enjoy, do with and dispose of the said tract of land with all the property rights thereto, and enjoyment thereof, from this day forward, and may continue in the possession which they enjoyed since said church is built.
>
> This present donation is made through the motive, as expressed above, and because such is the will of the donor.
>
> The Act whereof was made and passed in the parish of St. Martin, in the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one, the twenty-first day of the month of March in the presence of Sieurs Valery Martin and Anaclet Richard, witnesses who have signed with the Sieur Carmouche and myself, Judge; insofar as the donor is concerned, he declared he could not write: wherefore he made his mark after having heard the reading of this document.
>
> JEAN MOUTON — his + mark
> VALERY MARTIN
> ANACLET RICHARD
> FRANÇOIS CARMOUCHE
> PAUL BRIANT, *Judge.*

A church, with its Board of Trustees, a piece of property belonging to it: these were great strides in the outward progress of Catholicity. Just one more step, and Vermillionville was to become a regular, independent parish, with its well defined limits and a pastor of its own. This step was finally taken by Bishop Du Bourg, on May 15, 1822:

> On the 15th of May, 1822, having come to the Attakapas and Opelousas, for the purpose of erecting the new church, or parish, of St. John of Vermillion, I have altered the limits assigned to that of St. Charles by my decree of March 10, 1821. The limits I have fixed between the two parishes are: a straight line from the confluence of the Bayou Pont-Brulé with the Bayou Vermillion, stretching as far as the end of the Island of Corencro; thence to the headwaters of the

30. The original is, of course, in French.
31. Vermillionville was then in the civil parish of St. Martin.
32. The same piece of ground which constitutes to this day the church property.

Bayou Queue-de-Tortue; and following this Bayou and the Mermentau river down to the sea.

In witness whereof I have signed in presence of the Rev. Hercule Brassac, formerly pastor of St. Charles, and of the Rev. S. Valezano, the present pastor.

✠ L. Wm., *Bishop of Louisiana.*[33]

As pastor of the infant parish the prelate appointed our old acquaintance Father Michael Bernard Barrière.

Since the now far distant day when he had turned over the parish of St. Martin to Father Isabey, Father Barrière had, despite his high-sounding title of "Priest approved for the whole Diocese," lived in relative retirement for a number of years at St. Martin, where he occasionally lent a helping hand to his successor.[34] He had even continued the practice of his occasional *salidas* to distant points. One of these missionary excursions came near crowning his labors with the crown of martyrdom. As he was travelling in the vicinity of Lake Chitimacha, now Grand Lake, he was surprised by a party of Indians who forthwith set about to put him to death in true Indian fashion. Already they had wrenched out the nails of the fingers and toes of their prisoner, when the head of the tribe appeared on the scene, stopped the tortures, extended his protection over the missionary, took care of him and saw to his safe return to his home on the Tèche. It is to the honor of Barrière's modesty that, among the many notes, some of which referring to personal facts, wherewith he adorned the pages of his church registers, not a word is to be found in allusion to an event so honorable to him. The fact, though, was asserted, some fourteen years ago, to the Rev. F. L. Gassler, by an old Chitimacha woman of Charenton, La., who was the daughter of Fr. Barrière's deliverer.

In 1813 we find him "in charge of the parish of Opelousas".[35] If he had not learned much English during his years of retirement, he could still on occasions evince his uncompromising love for the laws of the Church. On the frame of a man well beyond middle age we expect that ten years weigh heavily: yet Father Barrière could still saddle his horse for distant missions through the length and breadth of his parish. His moments of leisure he spent quietly in his modest study with a few books, and above all, musing over the past—a sure sign of coming old age,—in company with the parish records, whose various entries at times stirred up in his soul such recollections and feelings, that he could not refrain from ventilating them in annotations which are now the delight of the curious reader. On the coming of Father F. H. Rossi to Opelousas,

33. Register of Baptisms of Grand Coteau.

34. In the Act of visitation of St. Martin, made on October 17, 1814, the Very Rev. W. L. Du Bourg, then Administrator Apostolic of the Diocese, approving the careful manner the parish Registers were kept, adds: "We have ordered to be annexed thereto by way of supplement a quire containing 294 baptisms administered from August 12, 1805 to October 18, 1809, by Father Barrière, Priest approved residing in this parish; but forbid anyone but the pastor to keep henceforth a separate Register for the functions he may exercise with the pastor's consent."

35. See B. Colliard: *Hisorical Sketch of the Parish of Opelousas*, in *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. III, No. 1—2, January-April 1921, pp. 22-27.

Bayou Queue-de-Torue; and following this Bayou and the Mermentau river down to the sea.

In witness whereof I have signed in presence of the Rev. Hercule Brasseaux, formerly pastor of St. Charles, and of the Rev. S. Vatteaux, the present pastor.

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In 1813 we find him "in charge of the parish of Opelousas" as it he had not learned much English during his years of retirement, he could still on occasions evince his uncompromising love for the laws of the Church. On the frame of a man well beyond middle age we expect that ten years weigh heavily; yet Father Barrière could still saddle his horse for distant missions through the length and breadth of his parish. His moments of leisure he spent quietly in his modest study with a few books, and above all, musing over the past—a sure sign of coming old age,—in company with the parish records, whose various entries at times stirred up in his soul such recollections and feelings, that he could not refrain from ventilating them in annotations which are now the delight of the curious reader. On the coming of Father P. H. Rossi to Opelousas,

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24. Register of Baptisms of Grand Coteau.

25. In the Act of visitation of St. Martin, made on October 17, 1813, the Very Rev. W. L. Du Bourg, then Administrator Apostolic of the Diocese, approving the careful manner the parish Registers were kept adds: "We have ordered to be annexed thereto by way of supplement a quire containing 24½ beginnings administered from August 15, 1803 to October 15, 1809, by Father Barrière, Priest approved residing in this parish, but should anyone but the pastor to keep henceforth a separate Register for the functions he may exercise with the pastor's consent."

See R. Collinet, Aperçu historique sur la Paroisse de Opelousas, in St. Louis Catholic Historical Review, Vol. III, No. 1—2, January-April 1921, pp. 32-37.

Father Barrière once more retired, not completely, however, so that his name yet recurs for some months in the parish Registers; he must have resided at least for some time at Opelousas, as he had done at St. Martin after Father Isabey's appointment. It is apparently from this retreat that he was once more called to active duty, to take charge as pastor of his old mission of Vermillionville. He recalls the fact, and sums up in his characteristically laconic style the antecedent history of the parish in the title page of the Register of Baptisms and Funerals of the Colored Catholics of the parish, which he began in 1823:

> The priestly functions have been exercized regularly in this parish during, or about the month of June of this last year 1822. They were discharged by Father Brassac, rector of Grand Coteau, since about the time of the foundation of this church. Either the pastor of the Attakapas, or myself, or the pastor of Grand Coteau took care of this place before. Finally I was appointed resident pastor of it about May of last year; and since then, have baptized in particular the following . . .

Father Barrière himself furnishes us in the parish Registers the means of reaching greater precision than is yielded by the above statement regarding the date of his coming to Vermillionville. The first entry in the Register of Baptisms of the Whites is now so water-stained and decayed by dampness as to be illegible. The second, which perhaps belonged to the same day, is dated May 26, 1822. The Register of Baptisms of the Colored people does not permit us to go farther back. Hence Father Barrière must have come in the latter part of May, shortly after his appointment.

The Register for the Colored people, it was remarked above, was begun only in 1823. Of course, it was compiled from notes taken at the time of the actual administration of the sacrament; this late registering of the entries manifests none the less a sad falling off from the orderly habit of yore, especially on the part of a man who, in the first months of his pastorate at St. Martin, had toiled and moiled to preserve from destruction the scattered records of his predecessors. *Quantum mutatus ab illo!* Poor Father Barrière! He was now no longer the robust, active missionary who could spend days and weeks in the saddle, travelling from plantation to plantation in the exercise of his priestly functions. The keen critic of the Registers of the parishes no longer existed. His own records at Vermillionville show the hand of an old man reduced to feebleness by age and the ravages of consuming fevers. He himself gives an account of this state of collapse touchingly eloquent in its brevity. After copying over the fiftieth entry, that of the Baptism of "Françoise négrite à Rose négresse," performed December 5, 1822, he writes:

> I believe that these are all the Baptisms of slaves which I have performed, and also the burials at which I presided, during or since the month of June to December, all in 1822; but as at that time I fell very sick, it may well be that I forgot some of them, especially burials. For this reason I leave here these two leaves blank,[36] to write them thereon, in case I should discover any.

36. 'Pages' would have been more exact, for he left exactly two pages blank.

He did forget some, sure enough, for there is not one single entry of burials performed by him; yet there were many deaths, even of slaves, during the fall of 1822, owing to the epidemic of yellow fever which caused so much havoc throughout Louisiana.

After the above melancholy note, we find the title:

> Baptisms of Negroes for 1823.
> Here also are to be found the burials
> of negroes for 1823.

This new section opens with this interesting entry of the burial of Father Barrière's own slave:

> Casimir, negro belonging to Mr. Barrière, pastor of this parish of St. John, died and was buried in the cemetery of this parish, the 2nd or 3rd[37] of the year 1823, during my great illness. He was the natural son of Marie Louise and Michel, my negroes. In witness whereof
> Barrière, *pastor of St. John.*

For another year after he recovered from his "great illness" did Father Barrière work quietly and unobtrusively at Vermillionville, attending to his pastoral duties and, at his leisure hours, putting in book-form the records first jotted down on "hojas volantes," as he perhaps said to himself: for, strange to say, the good man, who had never taken to English, seems to have retained, even long after the Louisiana Purchase, a distinct liking for Spanish, and persisted even in his French records to sign his name "Mig.l Bernd.o Barriere". He always remembered with gratitude the hospitality given to himself and other ecclesiastical *émigrés* by the Spaniards, then the lords of our fair Southland; yet when the Stars and Stripes began to wave over Louisiana, America had no more loyal son, and it was with undisguised *gusto* that he noted how "Mr. Clement Laussat and his clique . . . finally decamped incognito".[38] But now, broken in health and wasted to a shadow of his former self, unable to fulfill any longer the exacting and fatiguing duties of active missionary life, and—what is an exquisite pain to men who gave once their whole soul to the neighbor's service and whose zeal has outlived their strength—realizing keenly he had become useless to the cause of religion, he yearned to see once more his native land, to rest his eyes, weary of the sight of the endless Louisiana prairie, upon the vine-clad hills bordering the placid Gironde, and to seek there a quiet retreat wherein he could prepare the account of his stewardship.

His last funeral at Vermillionville he performed on March 1st, 1824; and for the last time he administered the sacrament of Baptism on the 5th of the same month. Before leaving, however, remembering an omission of the year before, true to his life-long habit of order and accuracy, he wrote the following words in the Register of Baptisms:[39]

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37. The month is omitted, but it is obviously January.

38. Register of Baptisms of St. Landry's Church, Opelousas, December 18, 1803; annotations by Barrière on Father Louis Buhot's remarks on the end of the Spanish regime and the retrocession of Louisiana to France.

39. P. 18.

NOTA. Having gone to the Attakapas to assist Mr. Gabriel Isabey, rector of said parish, who was very sick, and who indeed succumbed to this illness, [40] I baptized[41] (*the names follow*), and forgot to enter the names in the Register of the Attakapas.

Shortly after, he sailed for Bordeaux, where he died eight days after his arrival. For thirty long years he had lived and faithfully labored in Louisiana; for over twelve years he had spent himself for the Catholics on the banks of the Vermillion. Yet who is there now who ever heard his name? In very truth we may apply to himself his own words in relation to Bishop Peñalver:

Sic transit memoria Boni!

* * *

For practically nine months no priest was appointed to take his place. As long as Father Francis Cellini, C.M., remained at Grand Coteau, he came to Vermillionville about every month, sometimes staying a few days. He was there on April 19, Easter Monday: eleven Baptisms are recorded on this occasion, and the burial of Artémise Baseux, an infant; two days later he buried likewise Charles Noldens, a native of Brussels, Belgium, and Marie Jeanne Luquette. Other visits followed on May 3, June 7, June 28 and 29, July 12, August 2 and 3 (on the latter day he buried Marin Martin), August 18 and August 24, when he performed the last rites of the Church over the body of Theophile Broussard. Once also we meet, during these months of interregnum, the name of Father Marcel Borella, Isabey's successor at St. Martinsville, who presided at the funeral of Louis St. Julien,[42] a native of Bordeaux, and Simon Girouard. But the priest could not always be at hand when some of the parishioners passed away. Then the burial was made, and entered in the Book usually by two laymen, probably Trustees. Eleven such funerals are thus recorded, most of them by J. Neveu and Rivière, one by André Martin and Rivière, another by J. Neveu and J. Castenau, and yet another by Rivière alone. After Father Cellini's departure from Grand Coteau, in the first days of September 1824, his successor *pro tem,* Father Léon De Neckere, the future Bishop of New Orleans, who had come South in quest of health, was unable to continue these missions; and no priest visited Vermillionville, save Father Charles De la Croix, pastor of St. Michael's, La., who was there on October 9 and performed two Baptisms.

This visit of Father De la Croix gives us a hint as to the reason of this long vacancy of the parish. He came, sent by Bishop Du Bourg

40. Father Isabey died of heart disease, July 21, 1823.

41. Evidently at St. Martinsville.

42. Saint-Julien had, like Father Barrière, the distinction of being the object of several of Governor Claiborne's reports to Secretary Madison; his name even went as far as Paris, in a letter of Laussat to Decrès. The matter referred to in this correspondence concerns his ardent French sympathies at the time of the Lousiana transfer, and the death of his wife, of which he was, justly or unjustly, accused. The whole affair is treated in great detail in C. C. Robin's *Voyages dans l'Intérieur de la Louisiane, etc., pendant les années* 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805 *et* 1806; Paris 1807; Vol. III, pp. 71-116.

who was sick at the time, to confer with the Trustees about the maintenance of the priest. Whether complaints had been made on this subject, and if so, by whom, we have no means to know. At any rate several meetings were held to discuss the matter and, on his return, the Bishop's representative was able to report a favorable adjustment, which was forthwith sanctioned by the prelate. We learn these details from a letter of the Bishop to the Trustees, copied by Father Peyretti on the reverse of the title-page of the Register of Baptisms for the Whites, commenced on December 12, 1824, by the new pastor. The copy bears no date, and the Bishop's signature is omitted.

> To the President and Trustees
> of the parish of St. John the Evangelist of
> Vermillion.
>
> Gentlemen:
>
> I received a week ago the deliberation which you addressed to me concerning the maintenance of the Pastor whom you asked me to send you. Father De la Croix, on his return from your place, has brought me a new decision to which I am all the more pleased to assent, because it is precisely the one I myself had proposed, namely: a fixed sum of six hundred dollars per year payable quarterly in advance, plus the portion of the *casuel* according to the rate presented to you by Father De la Croix, which I approve in its every part.
>
> Accordingly I hasten now to advise you that I have just appointed the Rev. Mr. Peyretti pastor of your parish. I trust that you will find in him all the qualities capable to insure your confidence, and I do not doubt but that he will find in your influence with the parishioners all the moral support which he may need in the beginning of his ministry.
>
> I trust likewise in your zeal to furnish him the means of securing a suitable and decent establishment.

The Rev. Laurence Peyretti, thus introduced to the Trustees as the new pastor of Vermillionville, in contrast to his predecessor, was a very young man, born at Carignan, in the Diocese of Turin, Piedmont, the 22nd of September 1799. He had almost completed his course of theology in his native country, and received Tonsure and Minor Orders [43] when he met at Turin Father A. Inglesi, a priest of the Diocese of New Orleans then in Europe for the interest of the Louisiana Mission. He volunteered his services. A few months later, on the 8th of May, 1822, he was sailing from Havre for America with Messrs. Eugène Michaud, then in Deacon's orders,[44] John Mary Odin[45]

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43. At Turin, April 21, 1821.

44. Michaud was ordained to the priesthood at St. Louis, September 22, 1822, and, after remaining some time at that place as a teacher in the College established by Bishop Du Bourg, was, after the suppression of that institution, called to lower Louisiana, where we find him visiting Grand Coteau on the 7th of October 1824. He was for a long time pastor of St. Gabriel's, Iberville, La.

45. Joined the Congregation of the Mission the 8th of November 1822, was ordained priest on May 4, 1823 and exercised the holy ministry in Missouri until 1840, when he was sent to Texas as Prefect Apostolic, a title which was shortly after changed into that of Vicar Apostolic, and later on (1847) of Bishop of Galveston. In 1860 he was transferred to the Archbishopric of New Orleans. He died in the last days of May 1870 in his native town, Ambierle, France, where he had gone when sickness obliged him to leave the Council of the Vatican.

and Jonh Audizio,[46] subdeacons, J. B. Blanc[47] and John Carretta,[48] clerics. Landing in New Orleans, July 11, 1822, he, soon after, went up to the Barrens, Mo., with his companions, was made Subdeacon at Ste. Genevieve, Mo., on October 12, and finishing his theological course under Father Rosati at St. Mary's Seminary, Perryville, Mo., was, the next year, called South by Bishop Du Bourg who ordained him, January 8, 1824.

He had scarcely ben installed in the parish of which he was to be the pastor for well-nigh sixteen years, when the authorities at Vermillion decided to relinquish the old name and adopt for the town as well as for the parish the new designation of Lafayette. The whole country was then running wild with enthusiasm for the general who, in his youthful days, had fought side by side with George Washington for American Independence and had, late in the summer 1824, landed on our shores. The Marquis was never to see Vermillionville; still Vermillionville did not wish to lag behind in paying him its tribute of admiration and gratitude: the means adopted was to name the parish and to re-name the town after him.[49]. The new name appears for the first time, timidly enough, it would seem, on the church Registers in an entry of January 9, 1825: "Parish of Lafayette at Vermillionville".[50]

But "What's in a name?" might well Father Peyretti say: for to him Lafayette must have looked as unpromising as Vermillionville. The first impressions of the new pastor, indeed, were anything but encouraging. "Out of four thousand and more souls, whose care was kindly entrusted to me, unworthy though I am, by Bishop Du Bourg," he wrote sometime later to Bishop Rosati,[51] "the first year (1825) I had only *forty-two* paschal confessions." Things, however, gradually improved: for the next year (1826) he could report 129 paschal confessions; and at the time of his writing, March 25, 1827, the paschal season being yet far from its close, he counted already 164 confessions,

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46. Born at Orbazzano, in the Diocese of Turin, Piedmont, October 18, 1798. Had received at Turin Tonsure and Minor Orders (April 7, 1821) and Subdeaconship (December 22, 1821) when Father Inglesi enlisted him for the American Mission. He was ordained at the Barrens, with Father Odin, on May 4, 1823. He was then called to St. Louis, where for some time he attended Vide-Poche (Carondelet); then he was appointed to Grand Coteau (June 30, 1826) where he could not remain.

47. Brother of Father Anthony Blanc, then in charge of the parish of Pointe-Coupée and later Bishop (1835—1850) and first Archbishop (1850—1860) of New Orleans. J. B. Blanc was born at Sury, Loire, France, February 7, 1880. He was pursuing his ecclesiastical studies in the Seminary of Lyons and had received Tonsure and Minor Orders (June 17, 1821) when he decided to follow his brother to America. After some time spent in the Seminary at the Barrens to complete his course and learn English, he was called south by Bishop Du Bourg, who ordained him to priesthood on October 24, 1823, in the church of Donaldsonville. First he was assistant to his brother at Pointe-Coupée, attending also Baton-Rouge; later on he was for a number of years pastor of Natchitoches, where he died in 1836.

48. Was, like Audizio, a native of Orbazzano in Piedmont (b. November 5, 1797). After completing his studies at the Barrens, he was called by Bishop Du Bourg to Louisiana, where he labored for a number of years in various positions. Later on he returned to Europe.

49. At least, in the absence of positive information, the coincidence of dates suggests naturally enough this explanation.

50. It took a long time, however, for the new name to become of general use: letters written by Father Mégret to Bishop Blanc, late in the forties, are still dated—we suppose he followed the common parlance—from 'Vermillionville.'

51. March 25, 1827. Original in Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery.

exclusive of those of the first communicants. Well could he add more cheerfully: "Although I do everything in my power to bring them back to the right path, still there are always some who go astray; but a great change has already been wrought. . . . There is, therefore, reason to hope that God will touch their hearts." One of the banes which he had most strenuously to contend with was that of churchless marriages. "In my parish," he remarks in the same letter, "over against twenty-five to thirty marriages which I perform in a year, there are at least twelve made before the Judge. It is true that the persons who do so have neither faith nor religion."

A glimpse of the condition of the church, three years after Father Peyretti's arrival, is afforded us by the Act of Episcopal Visitation made by Bishop Rosati, Bishop of St. Louis and Administrator of the Diocese of New Orleans:[52]

> Joseph Rosati, of the Congrégation of the Mission, by the grace of God and the Holy Apostolic See, Bishop of St. Louis and Administrator of New Orleans.
>
> We, in fulfillment of the duties of our office, repairing to the parish of St. John of Vermillion-ville, have, on the 16th of the month of February, 1823, visited the church and the sacristy, as also the Registers of said parish. Having carefully examined everything, we deem it necessary to make the following recommendations:
>
> 1. There should be constructed a Baptismal Fount, wherein are to be kept decently and under lock and key, the water blessed at the days appointed by the ordinances and canons of the Church for the Administration of the Sacrament of Baptism, the Holy Oils, together with whatever is necessary for the ceremonies demanded at this occasion by the Ritual. This Baptismal Fount must be enclosed by a railing, to the inside of which a little sink shall be made, wherein the water used in the conferring of Baptism ought to be poured out.
>
> 2. It is in the interest of the inhabitants of the parish to have books solidly leather-bound to serve as Registers for Baptisms, Marriages and Funerals,—as the books actually in use are liable to fall into pieces, and thus expose the precious records which they contain to the danger of being lost. A fourth Book must be procured to keep record of Confirmations.
>
> 3. The respect due to the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and to the Sacrament of Holy Eucharist demands that the altar should not be left exposed to the view and disrespect of the persons walking along the street which leads directly to the church door. A curtain hanging between the two posts at the entrance of the church would hide the altar from view without preventing the circulation of air.
>
> 4. The linen destined to receive the Body of our Lord during the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass ought to be always perfectly clean; there should be enough of them to allow them to be frequently washed and changed. At least six more corporals should be on hand.
>
> 5. There should be a little credence in the sanctuary to hold whatever is necessary for the service of the altar.

52. Bishop Du Bourg departed from New Orleans in 1826, after Easter, and sailed from New York on June 1, leaving the administration of the Diocese to Bishop Rosati, his Coadjutor. The very day the prelate landed at Havre. June 2, Pope Leo XII approved the decisions of the meeting of Propaganda held on June 26, accepting Bishop Du Bourg's resignation, and dividing the so-called Diocese of Louisiana into the two Bishoprics of New Orleans and St. Louis. Bishop Rosati, urged to choose for himself the See of New Orleans, demurred; by Pontifical Brief of May 20, 1827, he was appointed to St. Louis, and made Administrator of New Orleans, pending the nomination of a Bishop for the latter Diocese. Bishop De Neckere's appointment was not made until August 4, 1829, and his consecration took place only on June 24 of the following year.

exclusive of those of the first communicants. Well could he add more discreetly: "Although I do everything in my power to bring them back to the right path, still there are always some who go astray; but a great change has already been wrought. . . . There is, therefore, reason to hope that God will touch their hearts." One of the banes which he had most strenuously to contend with was that of churchless marriages. "In my parish," he remarks in the same letter, "over against twenty-five to thirty marriages which I perform in a year, there are at least twelve made before the Judge. It is true that the persons who do so have neither faith nor religion."

A glimpse of the condition of the church, three years after Father Peyretti's arrival, is afforded us by the Act of Episcopal Visitation made by Bishop Rosati, Bishop of St. Louis and Administrator of the Diocese of New Orleans:[48]

> Joseph Rosati, of the Congregation of the Mission, by the grace of God and the Holy Apostolic See, Bishop of St. Louis and Administrator of New Orleans.
>
> We, in fulfillment of the duties of our office, repairing to the parish of St. John of Vermillion-ville, have, on the 19th of the month of February, 1823, visited the church and the sacristy, as also the registers of said parish. Having carefully examined everything, we deem it necessary to make the following recommendations:
>
> 1. There should be constructed a Baptismal Font, wherein are to be kept decently and under lock and key, the water blessed at the days appointed by the ordinances and canons of the Church for the Administration of the Sacrament of Baptism, the Holy Oils, together with whatever is necessary for the ceremonies demanded at this occasion by the Ritual. This Baptismal Font must be enclosed by a railing, to the inside of which a little sink shall be made, wherein the water used in the conferring of Baptism ought to be poured out.
>
> 2. It is in the interest of the inhabitants of the parish to have books soldily leather-bound to serve as Registers for Baptisms, Marriages and Funerals,—as the books actually in use are liable to fall into pieces, and thus expose the precious records which they contain to the danger of being lost. A fourth book must be procured to keep record of Confirmations.
>
> 3. The respect due to the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and to the Sacrament of Holy Eucharist demands that the altar should not be left exposed to the view and disrespect of the persons walking along the street which leads directly to the church door. A curtain hanging between the two posts at the entrance of the church would hide the altar from view without preventing the circulation of air.
>
> 4. The linen destined to receive the Body of our Lord during the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass ought to be always perfectly clean; there should be enough of them to allow them to be frequently washed and changed. At least six more corporals should be on hand.
>
> 5. There should be a little credence in the sacristy to hold whatever is necessary for the service of the altar.

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[48] Bishop Du Bourg departed from New Orleans in 1815, after Easter, and sailed from New York on June 1, leaving the administration of the Diocese to Bishop Rosati, his Coadjutor. The very day the prelate landed at Havre, June 2, Pope Pius XII approved the decisions of the meeting of Propaganda held on June 20, according Bishop Du Bourg's resignation, and dividing the so-called Diocese of Louisiana into the two Bishoprics of New Orleans and St. Louis. Bishop Rosati, urged to choose for himself the See of New Orleans, demurred; by Pontifical Brief of May 20, 1817, he was appointed to St. Louis, and made Administrator of New Orleans, pending the nomination of a Bishop for the latter Diocese. Bishop De Mandeville's appointment was not made until August 6, 1820, and his consecration took place only on June 24 of the following year.

6. As one of the primary objects of the Catholic worship is the Holy Sacrament of the Altar, it would be most desirable that the Marguillers buy an *Ostensorium* for the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament during the year and especially at the feast of *Corpus Christi.*

Being perfectly aware of the difficulties wherewith the *Fabrique* is at present confronted, we abstain from pointing out any other objects which, most useful though they be for the decency and stateliness of worship, yet are not indispensably required as those which are mentioned above. We trust in the piety and religion of the Trustees and of the inhabitants, and hope they shall not fail to make even extraordinary efforts in order to provide for the stateliness and decency of the divine service.

Given at the Rectory of the parish of St. John of Vermillion-ville, the 16th of the month of February, 1828.

✠ Joseph
Bishop of St. Louis and Adm. of N. Orl.[53]

The next day, Quinquagesima Sunday, had been appointed for Confirmation of the candidates belonging to the parish—the first Confirmation ever held in Lafayette. As may well be believed, the good people of the neighborhood—and others, too, since we have been told there were some—were most anxious to see—quite a novel sight to most of them—a Bishop. No wonder, then, they turned out in great numbers for the High Mass: the affluence of people must have been, that Sunday, particularly large, for the Bishop makes it the object of a special remark in his *Diary.* Twenty-seven persons were confirmed on that day; and two more, a young man and a girl, the next morning after Mass.

The reader has not failed to remark, in the document cited above, the demands made on the Marguillers for the decency of the church and of the services. Had they been remiss in their duty? It were rash to assert it. Rather were they unawares of the requisite appointments of a parish church, and unwilling to spend money on things, the necessity of which they did not perceive. However this may be, certain it is that, a few months later, Father Peyretti had to complain of their neglect in fulfilling the promises made a little over three years before to Bishop Du Bourg. Indeed it is but too true that the history of St. John's parish, could the minutes of the proceedings of the Trustees be found in their entirety, and had we the complete series of the pastors' official letters, would seem to be centered in a continuous friction between the rectors and the chosen representatives of the parishioners. Be this as it may, if the prologue of this little drama may be detected in the letter of Bishop Du Bourg cited above, the opening scene is recited in a communication of Father Peyretti to Bishop Rosati, four months after the latter's visit. This document speaks for itself.[54]

Parish of Lafayette, Vermillionville, June 14, 1828.

Right Reverend Bishop:

I find myself in some very disagreeable embarrassment. I have been, and am daily sacrificing myself for my ungrateful parishioners:

53. Register of Baptisms.

54. Original in Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery.

I had made the sacrifice of drawing $250.00 from the bank to meet debts contracted for the church (of which some still remain outstanding), in order to give satisfaction to my parishioners, as I saw the church in debt. When elections of Trustees were made recently, these, instead of manifesting any gratitude to me for the money I had spent for the church and the rectory, which, according to the conventions made by Bishop Du Bourg, they should have decently furnished when I came to this parish, not only have not done anything of the kind, but, moreover, want to take away from me the $200.00 regularly coming to me, according to the regulation made two years ago by the preceding Board of Trustees, stating that they should take all the *casuel* for $400.00 that I left them. To this I have refused to assent: 1° because, if this be done, I have not enough to live on, because the inhabitants do not pay; and 2° there are already on this head $100.00 coming to me for the half year just elapsed.

I beg you earnestly, Dear Bishop, to write to them sternly on this subject, and to me also, if you please, in order that I may know what to do.

I deem it most unjust, Dear Bishop, that I should be expected to pay alone all the debts of the church, these debts having been contracted by the inhabitants before I came here; whereas, since I have been in the parish, I have not made any debts on the account of the church: quite the contrary, I have always advanced the money, both for the church and the rectory, although they were obliged to do so.

I beseech you, My Lord, to answer as soon as possible.

I am respectfully, Dear Bishop,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

L. PEYRETTI, *Pastor.*

Bishop Rosati's *Diary* informs us that this letter reached him at the Barrens on July 30, and was answered two days later, August 1; but no hint whatever is given of the contents of his answer. However, since the *Diary,* which always mentions scrupulously all letters received and written, records no letter addressed, as Father Peyretti suggested, to the Marguillers of St. John's church, we may regard it well-nigh certain that the prelate deemed his communication to the pastor quite sufficient. No further complaint, moreover, having reached the Administrator until the time of the accession of Bishop De Neckere, we will take it for granted that the difference was amicably settled.

If Bishop De Neckere (1830-1833) made the canonical visitation of the parish—he made that of Opelousas on August 25, 1831, and we know that he was again in the neighborhood, at Grand Coteau, September 29, 1832,—he wrote no ordinances in the customary place, the Baptism Register. Neither did Bishop Anthony Blanc (1835-1860) at his first visit, of the exact date of which even there is no record. We know of it only through an allusion in the regulations drawn up at his second visit. As he was at Grand Coteau on July 31, 1837, for the laying of the corner-stone of St. Charles College, and again, November 2, of the same year, for the canonical visitation of the church, it may be surmised that he came to Lafayette just before or after either date, preferably the latter. The Jesuits had just taken charge (April 17) of the parish of St. Charles, and, in order to avoid all possibility of conflicts of jurisdiction with his neighbors either of Opelousas, or St. Martinsville or Lafayette, the Pastor, Father Peter De

Vos had the limits of the parish, as fixed by Bishop Du Bourg in 1821 and 1822, sanctioned by the present Ordinary. Accordingly, under a copy of Bishop Du Bourg's two decrees we find there few lines:[55]

> On the 2nd of November 1837, at the close of our first pastoral visitation, the Rev. P. De Vos, pastor approved by Us, with the consent of his Superiors, for the ecclesiastical parish of St. Charles, Grand Coteau, having communicated to Us the two excerpts above written, in order that we may approve them, we hereby declare them conform with the originals which are before our eyes, and maintain the lines of demarcation assigned to said ecclesiastical parish, until we deem it proper to make alterations therein.
>
> Given at the Rectory of St. Charles, on the above day and year,
>
> ✠ ANT., *Bp. of N. Orleans.*

Bishop Blanc made his second Episcopal visitation at Lafayette on October 14, 1838,[56] He seems to have been delighted by much of what he saw there. He compliments the parishioners on their piety and comments very flatteringly on the numerous concourse of people assembled for the occasion. The parish, he remarks, is too extensive, and the number of faithful too large for one priest: he proposes therefore to send an assistant. Passing then from great subjects to smaller ones, he finds no praise is merited for the way altar linen are taken care of; and still less for the cleanliness (or lack of it) of the sacristy which, he complains, is made a dumping place for all kinds of things in no way related to the church. The pastor, we may well think, could take his share of these strictures; to him alone went those of the next paragraph, where the Bishop regretted that the church Registers were not kept with all desirable care.

From this document we may judge that some little progress had been made since Bishop Rosati's visitation. True, this progress did not extend to the altar clothes; his lament over the sad fate awaiting the existing parish Books was still unheeded, and his ordinance in regard to the Register of Confirmations yet remained, and was to remain a long while, dead letter. He, too, like Bishop Blanc, had commented with great satisfaction on the large concourse of people; but that, in 1838, much larger crowds flocked to the church is borne out by the prelate's reflection on the advisability of giving an assistant to the pastor. Had the Bishop miscalculated the numbers of his clergy, and did he find himself unable to fulfill his quasi-promise; or was there any difficulty about the maintenance of an assistant? At any rate, no trace whatever is to be found of the execution of this project.

Father Peyretti remained in Lafayette only eighteen months after Bishop Blanc's second visit. Early in the spring of 1840, he asked for his change and obtained it. What causes prompted this step on his part, we are not told either by him or by the Bishop. In a verbose letter written to the latter by Father Billon, we hear that a "bully"

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55. Catholic Archives of America, University of Notre Dame, Indiana. Case: Archbishops and Bishops of New Orleans.

56. The Act is found p. 100 of the Baptism Register.

of Lafayette bragged insolently of having ruled the parish, and evidently the pastor, in Father Peyretti's time. But even if this *fanfaronnade* were true, that would be no reason for the pastor to ask for a change, if he was satisfied to be led by the nose. Nor should we see in certain expressions of the document appointing Father Peyretti's successor a censure of the former's administration: these expressions belong to the protocol of such administrative Acts. Indeed, had Father Peyretti's change meant a disfavor, how could be have been allowed to stay over a month in Lafayette after his departure was decreed? Yet so he did, still signing himself, until the arrival of Father Billon (May 6, 1840), "Peyretti, Curé"; after that date, at the Baptism of Clebert (?!—of course that was meant for Kléber, in honor of the famous French general) Thibodeaux, on May 12, he calls himself simply "prêtre missionaire".

> Anthony Blanc, by the grace of God and the authority of the Apostolic See Bishop of New Orleans: to all those who shall peruse the presents, health and our blessing in the Lord Jesus.
>
> Whereas the Rev. Laurence Peyretti has obtained from us leave to resign the pastorship of the Church of St. John the Evangelist, it is the duty of our pastoral vigilance to see that shepherds who are true lovers of the flock, and no wolves, should be appointed to tend it; accordingly, we, by the presents, institute the Rev. Peter Francis Beauprez rector of the aforesaid church of St. John the Evangelist in the civil parish of Lafayette, recommending earnestly to the faithful of that parish to give him the obedience due to a pious chief, in all things particularly which appertain to the spiritual order.
>
> Given at New Orleans, in our Episcopal residence, under our hand and seal, the 6th day of April of the year 1840.
>
> ✠ ANT., *Bp. of New Orleans.*[57]

The above letter introduces to us the third resident pastor of Lafayette. Unlike his predecessor who, it will be remembered, had come to Vermillionville only a few months after his ordination, Father Beauprez had already nine years of experience in the missions. A Belgian by birth, he had come to America in 1829, and after two years in the Seminary at the Barrens, with the oil of ordination still fresh on his hands (he was ordained at the Barrens on November 28, 1831), had been sent with Father Edmond Saulnier to the difficult mission of Arkansas Post.[58] After a little less than a year, however, incompatibility of humor between the Gascon and the Belgian—judging from the complaints of each against the other in their letters to Rosati,[59] their squabbles were true tempests in a teapot,—exasperated by the hardships they had to endure and, in the case of Beauprez, by illness, drove them both out of Arkansas. On October 25, 1832, Father Beauprez took the boat for Donaldsonville, whence, a few weeks later, he repaired, according to the Bishop's orders, to the Seminary at

57. Archives of New Orleans Archdioc. Chancery.

58. See F. G. Holweck: *Beginnings of the church in Little Rock,* in *The Catholic Historical Review,* Vol. VI, No. 2, July 1920, pp. 156—171; *The Arkansas Mission under Rosati,* in *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review,* Vol. I, No. 4—5, July-October 1919, pp. 243—267.

59. In the Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery.

the Barrens. It had been Rosati's intention to send him to Apple Creek, in Perry County, Mo., where the knowledge of German was needed; instead, he returned South, with the understanding that he was only loaned to the Diocese of New Orleans: "As soon as Msgr. De Neckere sends Mr. Brassac[60] to Donaldson," the Bishop wrote on August 6, 1833, "please come back to St. Louis." He did come back, and the prelate found him there when he reached home from the Council of Baltimore, December 11; and we find him assisting the Bishop as Deacon at the two Pontifical Masses sung in the cathedral on Christmas Day. The last day of the year, Rosati writes in his *Diary* that he had in mind to appoint Father Beauprez assistant to Father Bouiller at Old Mines, Mo.; however, the same *Diary* marks his presence at the cathedral rectory for a number of weeks. The next time we hear of him, he was at Baton Rouge (1834-1838), and had been transferred for good to the Diocese of New Orleans. In 1838 he went to Europe, where his former neighbor of Donaldsonville, Father Brassac, who himself had returned there, met him, some time in July 1839, "two days after leaving Paris, with carpet-bag in his arms, alighting from the stage-coach; he had made up his mind to return to Louisiana and would probably sail on the *Great Western.*" [61]

Father Beauprez' stay at Lafayette was only of some eighteen months; and all that we hear of as worth mentioning during that period is of another visit of Bishop Blanc,[62] the exact date of which cannot be ascertained, although this visit appears to be connected with the somewhat hurried (it seems) departure of the pastor. A letter written a few months later, March 11, 1842, by Father Mégret alludes in terms which at this distance are not altogether clear, but must have been transparent for the prelate, to Father Beauprez having contracted debts which stirred up something like a scandal in the parish. Father Jamey[63] likewise, refers to some imprudences and to financial difficulties which the pastor of Vermillionville had entangled himself in. Be this as it may, from another letter of Father Billon[64] we may gather another reason for the Bishop's visit. Says Father Billon:

> I need not tell you in what condition I found my poor church and the Rectory yard. Father Jamey gave you on this subject all the desirable information. But you are perhaps expecting that something has been done, and that the repairs are under way. Nothing of the kind has come to pass, and there does not seem to be any likelihood of an early start. When you talk to the Trustees, they at the time promise you all that you wish; but as soon as you leave them, they at once forget their promises and execute nothing.

The Rev. Joseph Billon arrived at Lafayette December 3, 1841;[65]

60. Who was returning from Europe.

61. Brassac to Bishop Purcell. Archives of the Sisters of Charity of Mount St. Joseph on the Ohio. See *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. II, No. 4, January 1918, pp. 455—456.

62. Register of Baptisms, p. 217.

63. Rector of St. Martinsville; was Vicar General.

64. Archives of New Orleans Archdioc. Chancery.

65. Billon to Bishop Blanc, December 15, 1841. Archives of New Orleans Archdioc. Chancery.

apparently he had come but recently from France, and his first letters to Bishop Blanc betray an amusing dose of youthful *naïveté* which might easily be mistaken for childish vanity. Let us listen to his first contact with his parishioners:

> The short time I have been in this parish offers nothing worthy of mention. I heard the confession of a stranger to the parish and of six children preparing for first communion. I have preached so far only one instruction, on the love of God, and it drew tears from my congregation. Everybody was well pleased with it and says I am a good preacher. One thing which contributed not a little to extol my merit in the eyes of the people, is that they imagine I talked *extempore*, because I had announced that Father Jamey (who was to come about that time for a new meeting of the Marguillers) was to preach, and they had flocked in great numbers to listen to a Vicar General, a man who enjoys an enviable reputation. When it was known that it was the pastor who had preached, some ladies went to the house where I am boarding, to inquire whether I was to stay long in the parish (for certain rumors were circulating that I was to remain only until after Christmas). As my landlady answered that I would remain long if I was not spoken ill of, "Who in the world," they replied, could speak ill of a man that preaches so well?"

He met other glorious experiences at the outset, of which we must hear from himself the artless recital, albeit it is somewhat wordy:

> There is a man in the parish, whose name is Bonlacoste, acting as private tutor in the house of Mr. Edmond Mouton,[66] the sheriff. This man had made up his mind to vex me in every way. He is a most dangerous man, who has caused a great deal of harm to religion. He claims he was at one time Archbishop of Constantinople; but having recognized religion to be of no use, he unfrocked himself; he pretends nevertheless to receive a pension of fifty cents a day. He whispers in the ears of the people that all the ecclesiastics who come to this country are bad priests, who are under an inderdict, and suspended; that he knows more than they all. To myself he boasted to have run the parish at the time of Father Peyretti who, he said, was his cousin. He wished likewise to give me some advice for the government of the parish, and this the very first day that he came to see me, which was the morrow after my arrival. I merely listened to him, without replying anything. I was in the most perplexing position, because I knew not whether it were wiser to keep silence or to reply. Two days later he came again to town, and entered into the house where I am boarding, in order to have, he said, the pleasure to take dinner with the pastor. I must tell you that he used publicly to hurl the vilest insults at Frs. Beauprez and Peyretti; and undoubtedly this pleasure it was which he sought to have with the new pastor who appeared to him so meek two days before. Unfortunately the said pastor was away: he had gone to Grand Coteau. Was the pleasure so much anticipated to be lost? No. Chance, or rather Providence led me unaware to the house where he lives. As I was coming back at night from Grand Coteau, I lost my way and was compelled to go and ask the hospitality of that house. What a joy for the fellow to see the pastor in a house where there happened to be, that day, quite a numerous company! So he did not tarry long before engaging the conversation. But Almighty God put His speech in my mouth: for at every word I confounded him publicly, and for the space of nearly

66. Son of Jean Baptiste Mouton (fils) and Marie Angèle Martin; was therefore the grandson of Jean Mouton, Sr., mentioned in n. 18.

> an hour that we yet remained in the room before retiring, he did not utter a single word. So last Sunday, when he came to town, he did not say he wanted to have the pleasure to take dinner with the pastor; and though he had his horse in the yard of Chavrier, with whom I am boarding, he took his horse quietly, and even had his handkerchief, which he had left in the house, brought to him outside and did not want to come in, because the pastor was in taking his dinner.

Evidently young Father Billon, although he claimed to write this "without pride or humility," did not entertain a bad opinion of himself as a controversialist. His successes, however, were short-lived. After only a few weeks, he fell sick (he acquaints the Bishop with all the details of his illness with the same childish *naïveté* with which he had narrated his exploits). Whether ill-health soured his temper, or he was naturally unsympathetic to his parishioners, at all events, in March 1842, Father Mégret, who was perhaps not altogether a disinterested judge, declared that "good Father Billon is as unsuited for the government of a parish as he is for the running of a house. He has estranged from himself all the persons with whom he had dealings. Unaffable, uncondescending, unpolished, his stern virtue resembles too much the rough, thick and tight bark of certain trees, which prevents the sap from going up the trunk, and from the trunk to the branches, blights them and dries them up." [67]

Bishop Blanc must have heard reports that all was not well at Vermillionville. He sent Father Mégret, recently from France, to make inquiries and persuade Father Billon to resign. The conclusion of Mégret's report was that he "considered the removal of Father Billon necessary for the good of the parish of Lafayette." We may perhaps regard the colors of Billon's picture too dark, as, all his protests to the contrary notwithstanding, Father Mégret's judgment appears to be warped by his expectation of remaining in the parish: for it seems that the Bishop, in sending him to Lafayette, hinted at the possibility of his becoming Billon's successor. "For many years," he added rather severely, "there has been exercized in this parish a ministry of death. There should be here a priest disinterested, exact in fulfilling his duties, of sterling virtue and with an amiable disposition capable to win esteem and confidence." With the proper dose of diplomatic humility he disclaimed to possess all these qualifications; meanwhile he nevertheless "considered himself pastor *ad interim*".

Father Billon was not aware of the commission given to Mégret by the Bishop and was apparently under the impression that the newcomer had been sent merely to assist him. He therefore resented very keenly his interference and accused him of stirring up in the parish a coterie to work up his appointment.[68] After much dilly-dallying, however, on the advice of Father Jamey, he agreed to depart for New Orleans, leaving Father Mégret in indisputed possession of the field.

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67. Mégret to Bishop Blanc, March 11, 1842. Archives of New Orleans Archdioc. Chancery.

68. Billon to Bishop Blanc. Vermillionville, March 22, 1842. *Ibid.*

Of all the early pastors in charge of Lafayette, Father A. D. Mégret is certainly the one who left the deepest impression on the parish: his name is still remembered, even though nearly seventy winters have passed over his tomb. This is due, in part, to the impetus he gave to the life of the parish; in part also, be it said unhesitatingly, to his strong personality. He was a born fighter: he had fought in his younger days, the battles of the *Avenir* under the leadership of Lamennais; in Louisiana his ministry was almost a continuous battle; sometimes a more courteous, though always in good earnest, pass-of-arms, as with the Jesuits of Grand Coteau; but most of the time a fight to a finish, as with his Trustees.

Hardly had he taken possession of the parish, when he became involved in a controversy with his Marguillers. It is a great pity that the minutes of the meetings of that body have almost disappeared; but their deficiency is supplied in part[69] by the Parish Registers, where Father Mégret ventilated at ease his feelings, and by what is extant of his correspondence with Bishop Blanc.

Let it be remembered here that the Trustees, or Marguillers, as they were called in French, were chosen by the pew-holders. Unfortunately their elections, as many elections are, were often the result of influence or intrigue, the work of a ring rather than a truly free choice for the best interests of the church. Hence piety and practical Catholicity were not always the distinguishing traits of the Trustees elected: thus we see, for instance, at the New Orleans cathedral in 1843, as president of the Board of Trustees, the Grand Master of a Lodge of Freemasons.

If we believe Father Mégret, things were almost as bad at Lafayette. That between such men and the pastor controversies, nay even struggles should arise, was unavoidable. The story of the battle royal which took place may be told, we trust, now that the smoke and dust it aroused have long since vanished into the blue skies. We shall do it, using mostly Father Mégret's own accounts,—which does not mean that his appreciation of his opponents should be endorsed always unreservedly, and still less that the errors and wrongs committed by the fathers should be, by anyone living under the Law of grace, "visited upon their children unto the third and fourth generation."

The sad comments of Father Billon on the sorry condition of the church and rectory when he came to Lafayette have not been forgotten. Nor must his reflection on the Trustees quick to promise and never executing, be lost sight of. A few days before leaving the parish he reported: "A new fence was begun a month or so ago. But after fencing in about one-third of my yard and one-half of the cemetery the contractors stopped the work; and now they have been idle for a fortnight. How long will they continue in their slumbers, I know not." [70]

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69. We say: in part, because the deficiency we are speaking of deprives us of the direct testimony of one of the contestants.

70. Billon to Bishop Blanc. Vermillionville, March 10, 1842. *Ibid.*

In that unsatisfactory condition, evidently resulting from ill-will, things remained for a short while. Other and more important matters soon overshadowed this, however, in particular the ever-recurring question of the remuneration of the Pastor. In a visit made to Vermillionville some time in the spring, the Vicar General, Father Jamey, succeeded in making an arrangement with the Trustees. Bishop Blanc himself came shortly after, threatening to recall the pastor if the agreement was not lived up to. Now here is the sequel as told by Father Mégret in a letter of August 17, 1842:[71]

> If I am correctly informed by my good Marguillers, the Mouton family is determined on leaving no efforts untried in order to do away with all that was settled and decreed by common consent with Mr. Jamey. I have advised the latter of this, and he has answered[72] as I desired. But now an hypothesis which, I am afraid, some near day might become a reality, must be considered. I have with me only two of the Trustees; two others are doubtful; the other three belong to the "family of contradiction," and as its influence is great, it may happen that they outvote the good, and impose upon higher authority a hard and humiliating law;—at least I have reason to fear it. In this hypothesis, will this authority, which has laid down the existing conditions, yield before their pretensions? I do not believe it. Then, will it recall the pastor, as was threatened? Here, Right Reverend Sir, is the whole difficulty. It will be very hard on the parish to be deprived of pastor, all the more so, because the bulk of it is good; and I must say here that religion at Lafayette has already reported such a success, that I expect to see before the end of the year half of the inhabitants receive the sacraments. What should be done, therefore, in view of maintaining the pastor and making our Trustees submit to authority? Only one thing occurs to me. As long as the temporal affairs of the church of Vermillionville are in the hands of the congregation, the Moutons shall be the lords and masters thereof. They will never tolerate a priest, unless he bows down before them, and even then they will load him with contumely. Would it not be wise, therefore, to attempt new combinations?
>
> One would consist in proposing the total surrender of the rights and pretensions of the congregation into the hands of the Bishop; in case of refusal, put the church under an interdict and let the pastor exercise his functions wherever he may deem more convenient in the parish; then build another church on a piece of ground belonging to the Bishop or his representative, and make it free forever from the vexations of a congregation whose most members are without religion and good faith. This solution alone seems capable of insuring a solid foundation to religion.—I have not mentioned this to Father Jamey, both because things have not yet come to this extremity, and because it is important for me, My Lord, to know your opinion on this point, and what your intentions would be, should the eventuality arise.

As may be seen, so far there were only outpost skirmishes. We may notice in passing the glowing hopes which buoyed up the heart of the pastor in regard to the practice of religion in Lafayette. Possibly, even probably, he was too optimistic in his expectations. Be it so: still practical Catholicity must have made great strides in Lafayette since the day not so far distant when Father Peyretti reported forty-two paschal confessions.

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71. *Ibid.*

72. Father Jamey's answer was written on August 11, 1842.

In order to remedy both the yet too great neglect of religion and the antagonistic spirit of the leaders, it was necessary in Father Mégret's eyes, to create a thorough Catholic atmosphere in the country. Catholic education he regarded as the only means to bring about this renovation. "It is religious education," he wrote, "which, as you know, My Lord, establishes religion in the hearts and develops the soul's inclination to virtue. The Jesuitesses[73] have set too high their rates for board and tuition: the middle class cannot profit by the advantage which accrues from their presence in this district. Would you approve of a religious Community devoted to secondary education, which might be established at the Côte Gelée, on the outskirts of the three parishes of St. Martin, New Iberia and Lafayette by the common agreement and instrumentality of the three pastors? My sister, in France, is at the head of a number of establishments of this kind, animated with the best spirit and doing an untold amount of good. To her Society, of which I am a member, I would be thinking of making an appeal, should you approve of it.—With regard to the boys, only four or five of the parish are at Grand Coteau, on account of the rates. The others are put in the care of teachers of little or no religion. Would you be pleased to see the sexton I am going to have, a man quite capable to teach, undertake the education of boys under my supervision?"

These were, no doubt, excellent views and praiseworthy projects. We shall see, only a few years hence, the first of these projects realized by the establishment of the Academy of Mount Carmel; as to the second, it was to be thwarted for many years, and when attempted in good earnest, long after Father Mégret's death, it turned out a failure. It was reserved to our times to see it revived in a new form, that of a parochial school for boys which, though less ambitious than the former attempt and the original project, opens nevertheless a bright avenue of hope for the future.

Father Mégret's next letter to the Bishop, dated from St. Martinsville, October 14, 1842, reports that skirmishing is continuing with a portion of the Board of Trustees. But during the next intervening weeks, the pastor, who had long since learned at the aggressive school of the *Avenir* the power of the press, unsheathed his long-slumbering pen to parry attacks which he regarded not so much as personal as against the Catholic priesthood at large. "Although I am most pleased with my parish," he wrote, "where, I think, all are unanimously in my favor, I am constantly at war with the Mouton family. They do not dare attack me openly, because they are afraid of me, as they are aware that everybody is for me; but they pursue me in an underhand way, especially by means of their gang. The newspapers have already had three articles from me. I am now engaged in writing the fourth; and I think I can see that my enemies, or rather enemies of the Catholic priesthood, for that is what they are attacking, are quite dismayed."

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73. He calls thus the Ladies of the S. Heart of Grand Coteau, apparently because they were under the direction of the Jesuits.

Once he had quickened again to flame in his heart the ashes of the journalist, which might seem cold during the last ten years, but were smouldering, Father Mégret could not stop half-way. Hence this letter of March 3, 1843:[74]

> There are a thousand and one things which I must submit to your consideration.
>
> The most important is the foundation of a newspaper. You know the diabolical spirit of the paper of Vermillionville, and how in the last six months or so it has never ceased to blaspheme religion, the priesthood, the Jesuits and yourself. It is a breath of pestilence which spreads in my parish corruption and godlessness.
>
> Two young Frenchmen, the one twenty-five and the other twenty-eight years of age, both men of remarkable talent, were called, about two months ago, to the office of that paper, with a view to secure over me and over the whole country an unquestionable triumph. These two gentlemen came to see me almost at once, and quite frequently thereafter: hence resulted sympathy for the same principles, *pourparlers*, an agreement, and finally a newspaper, religious, political, scientific and literary, whose every question shall be treated under the inspiration of Catholic principles. You shall receive shortly its prospectus.
>
> This paper we have named *L'Union*, and the epigraph will be: *God and Liberty*.[75] I will enter for one-third in the ownership and one-fourth in the benefits. I wished it to be so, because my fellow-workers, besides contributing as myself to the writing, will have, moreover, to do the printing.
>
> This undertaking requires no outlay of money for the printing and bids fair to be successful. Above all it holds out before me the perspective of ridding the parish of an irreligious editor.
>
> Nothing shall be printed unless it has been examined by me, a thing which gives me all desirable security from the point of view of faith and morals. Permit me now, Right Reverend Sir, to expect from Your Lordship the approbation without which nothing shall be done, as far as I am concerned: for it is clearly understood between us three that your wish is the *sine qua non* condition of the whole business.
>
> I was forgetting to call your attention upon the fact that, for reasons which you will undoubtedly appreciate, my name will not appear before the public.
>
> I am sending *Le Créole* to Father Rousselon. You have, no doubt, already read some of my articles, and understand the motives which prompt me to bring together religion and some of the principles of freedom which are underlying the institutions of this country. I announced, as you may have seen, that I should treat fully in the near future the momentous question, whether the Legislature cannot pass a decision on *the rights of the Marguillers*. I am reserving for *L'Union* the treatment of this question and of many others of the same kind which will appear in succession.
>
> Hell seems to be let loose: already our local journalist has published the decision of the Supreme Court *in re* Martin, and has seasoned it with such spicy reflections as you may imagine. If there is not around a paper to overcome the evil and silence ungodliness, these will lead religion a merry dance.
>
> Be not afraid, Right Reverend Bishop, that this undertaking might cause me to neglect the needs of my parish. It will not. This extra work is very little for me and it will do me good. That I may please you and our Divine Master is all my ambition.

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74. *Ibid.*

75. This, it will be remembered, was the epigraph of Lamennais' famous paper, *L'Avenir*.

Did the Bishop hesitate to give his approval? It would seem so from a subsequent letter. At any rate we hear nowhere of *L'Union* having ever seen the light of day, and our search for a copy has proved fruitless. *Le Créole,* too, which had printed the articles of Father Mégret, has so far escaped our investigations. We are unable, therefore, to appreciate Father Mégret's talent as a journalist and a controversialist.

Whilst his restless brains were revolving these plans, he did not by any means loose sight of the welfare of the parish. At the last visit of the Bishop in Lafayette, the prelate had again broached, at least in a private conversation, the subject of sending an assistant. Nothing could please more the pastor. Not indeed that he anticipated lightening his burden by shifting part of it upon the assistant's shoulders; but two can do more work than one, and he saw enough work in the parish to keep the two busy. At once his plans were made: "Without changing anything in the rectory, I am fixing up the old abandoned kitchen, so that it may serve again its original purpose; and my intention is to fit up, in the little annex used now as kitchen, two rooms for an assistant, in order that I may receive him, whenever you deem it fit to send me one."

Meanwhile he had inaugurated, in February of that year 1843, "a catechism class for colored people, both slave and free." Good as the work was in itself, and upright as his intentions certainly were, still this catechism class was the occasion of a further straining of his relations with the chairman of the Board of Trustees. "Although," he tells the Bishop,[76] "in announcing beforehand this exercise, I had given explanations capable of removing any suspicions, I could not escape the reproaches of the president of the *Fabrique,* Emile Mouton. My answer was ready, for I had been expecting his observations. All the other parishioners with whom I talked on the subject, some Marguillers included, are well pleased with these exercises and send me their slaves."

The ink was scarcely dry on Father Mégret's letter when he found himself in open warfare with the majority of his Marguillers. Here is how he details the events to the Bishop:[77]

Vermillionville, March 14, 1845.

Right Reverend Bishop:

I am compelled to lay before you certain painful incidents which would overwhelm me, did I not find my support in the confidence that you are so kind as to manifest towards me, and the consciousness that I have simply done my duty.

You are long since conversant with the hostile pretentions of the high family of the Attakapas, whose yearnings for domination is not satisfied with political supremacy,[78] but pretends likewise to control religion at Vermillionville.

The president of the Board of Trustees had asked me several questions calculated to ascertain my opinion on the consent of the Mar-

76. March 4, 1943. *Ibid.*

77. *Ibid.*

78. An allusion to Governor Alexander Mouton, who, however, was on good terms with Father Mégret.

guillers in the appointment of a pastor; the necessity of the pastor being an American citizen in order that he may discharge his functions; the difficulties of the times and the necessity to reduce the *casuel*, and others of this kind. On the last mentioned question I had written in August of last year to your Vicar General, Father Jamey, who answered me on the 11th of the same month authorizing me to protest in his name against any decision contrary to what had been stipulated by him.

For six months there had been no meeting of the Board of Trustees, owing to the absence of one or another of the members. At last it was the good pleasure of the chairman to choose his own time and to call the semi-annual meeting for Monday, March 13. All the members were present. Heretofore our sittings had been quiet and courteous; this one was stormy. Never was any question propounded with more audacity by the chairman, and retorted with greater contempt, I may even say, arrogance, on my part. The debate was on two different points. There was question first of an account which, as pastor, I had thought should not be submitted to the Board, because, as treasurer, I could not pay the difference; and, second, of reducing the *casuel*. Without entering into any details, which the limits of a letter necessarily preclude, the chairman, unable to answer my arguments and even to keep up any longer his groundless wrangling, concluded with these words: "If you are not satisfied, you may pack your trunk!" I found nothing more to say. I took argument from the opposition of his own family; I declared myself independent of the authority of the Trustees, and subject only to my Bishop; and in conclusion I told him that if they did not stop their persecution of ecclesiastical authority in my person, I would indeed quit their tumble-down church and build another over which they would have no right, and into which they could never set foot as Marguillers.

Only the family is antagonistic to me in the Board. All the other Trustees kept silence, and I was approved. The Board adjourned without any deliberation. We are to have another meeting on April 3, and I believe it will be less stormy, for the chairman gave offense to all the Board.

Those of the Trustees who, following the chairman, pretended to undo as they pleased the stipulations agreed to with the Vicar General, were evidently in the wrong: for if it takes two to make an agreement, it must take two likewise to unmake it. In order fully to enlighten the Bishop as to what kind of Catholics were the men whom he was now in pitched battle with, Mégret, returning on certain statements of his preceding letter, added:

> I know from unimpeachable sources that the impious assertions aired in our miserable newspaper were instigated and paid for by the family of which I am speaking; lately again it was that family, in collusion with a protestant in high position, that had the judgment of the Supreme Court inserted under the caption, *An Important Decision*. I cannot close this letter without informing Your Lordship that, as the members of that family gave all the possible publicity to this Decision of the Supreme Court the very week before our meeting, I deemed it my duty to deny last Sunday from the pulpit the broadsides hurled at the authority of the Church, by reading the paragraph of *Le Propagateur*.

Of the meeting called on April 3 we have no account; but it is certain that, even though a new storm did not break out, the skies remained overcast with ominous clouds. What incensed most the opposing Marguillers against Father Mégret was the stand taken by him

in regard to their encroachments upon Church discipline. Matters came to a climax with lightning-like rapidity. What precipitated the crisis cannot be made out clearly at this distance; neither do all agree as to what exactly happened. But a crisis there certainly was.

On dit—this is the version of some old inhabitants—that a man of the parish died having emphatically refused to quit Freemasonry. Being, therefore, under a sentence of excommunication, he could not, according to Church law, be given ecclesiastical burial. But the majority of the Trustees had decided otherwise. The pastor was inflexible in his refusal. Being threatened with bodily violence, should he persist in his opposition, he placed himself at the church door and dared the Marguillers to do their worst, telling them in unmistakable terms that they would have to pass over his body, ere they could accomplish their design. A scuffle ensued. In fact, *on dit* that he was stabbed in the left shoulder and clubbed with the butt of a pistol. Some old folks even aver that he had armed himself with a horse-pistol—a most unlikely thing.

That the tale has been improved by much telling, would not be astonishing. We happen to have Father Mégret's own fairly complete version of, beside several allusions to the incident: this version is quite at variance with that which we saw above. Had Father Mégret been stabbed, however so slightly, he could not speak of the affair as an "almost bloody drama"; no pistol in anybody's hand; even no obdurate Freemason's funeral.[79] The affair apparently was more simple, although not less exciting. As he was in the street, with many people in sight, without the least provocation an infuriated ruffian came to him vomiting foul and slanderous insults, and gave him what appears to be a sound drubbing. The fellow, adds Father Mégret, was related by marriage to the president of the Board of Trustees; the slander had been prompted by one of the Marguillers; and the chairman himself, who witnessed the scene with much glee, was the instigator of the deed, for which $50,000 were paid.

This little drama created a very serious situation. Unfortunately Bishop Blanc was away at the time—he had gone to the Council of Baltimore—and could not be consulted. The Vicar General, Father Rousselon, was notified of the facts and of the course of action forthwith determined upon by the pastor. No sooner, however, did the

79. Some old inhabitants hold that the animosity of certain members of the Mouton family against Fr. Megret originated in Emile Mouton's insistence that all the members of the family should be buried gratis.—The real story of the pistol of Father Mégret, if we believe the report of a well informed survivor of these times, is quite different from the common *On dit*. One day,Césaire Mouton, brother of Emile and Edmond, aflame with indignation at the scandalous attitude of his brothers and their clique towards Fr. Mégret (and perhaps fearing some foul deed against him), brought to the priest two loaded pistols, telling him he should make use of them, should the occasion arise. "But, my dear friend," said the priest, "your brother is the very man I should have to use them on." "No matter," replied Césaire. Some few years later, Césaire died. As one day, William, his son, on coming of age, was at the courthouse to receive his inheritance, Fr. Mégret, too, went there, and handed him the two loaded pistols, as he had received them from Césaire. "Here, my boy, is something that belongs to you: Your father had given me these to defend myself; thank God! I never needed them." "What do you want me to do with them, Father?" asked the young man. "What you wish" was the reply. "Well, then, let us go and bury them at father's feet" said William. And so it was done before a few witnesses.

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Bishop return to New Orleans, than Father Mégret, in a letter as long as the circumstances demanded, acquainted him with all the happenings at Vermillionville:

Vermillionville, July 5, 1843.

Right Reverend Dear Bishop:

Father Rousselon must have told you what happened to me personally and the resolutions which I had the honor of submitting to him. Now that Your Lordship is back home, I come to unfold before your eyes the role played by certain persons in this almost bloody drama.

The Marguillers had always looked upon my being their treasurer with the greatest displeasure. They did everything to cause the failure of, and put obstacles to my every endeavor for the good of religion and of their church, to the extent of opposing themselves to the collections I had started, and casting ridicule upon all my actions.

You remember, Right Reverend Bishop, my discussion with the chairman. I replied to him arrogantly; and although I am far from congratulating myself for doing so, because this is opposed to the principles of evangelical meekness, yet as I know what they are, I would do it again, I think, in the same circumstances; for that kind of men cannot be persuaded by reason—they have none; nor by meekness—I made a sad experiment of it; still less by religion—they are Freemasons who hate religion. Firmness alone inspires them respect.

Well, they bore me a grudge, as was quite natural, since I had told them some unpalatable truths. In the midst of this quasi-struggle came the elections for the Board: the double-dealing of certain Marguillers has assured their success, and the disreputable means employed by them have maintained the authority in their hands.

Now revenge should be taken from the pastor: he should be publicly humbled and thus forced to beg pardon. Hence his fustigation by the furious relative of the Moutons, who in this affair was but the instrument of the faction from which he received, it is rumored, a reward of $50.00, and to which he gave much pleasure, for during the affray I saw with my own eyes the present chairman of the Board of Trustees, in the midst of a group at a distance, laughing to his heart's content over the scene.

In the impossibility in which I was to have prompt recourse to the ecclesiastical Superiors, what was to be done? I thought it necessary to go down to the very root of the evil and make them feel the consequences of their godless principles. Contempt of the priesthood had been their prime mover: I resolved to show them that the priesthood which they despised was in the country the sole element of social and commercial life. Accordingly I stopped saying Mass on Sundays at Lafayette, and went to my Missions. What I foresaw has happened: the Marguillers have lost their popularity; the merchants are against them because, as nobody comes to town, there is no business; the good people are opposed to them because they are deprived of religious services.

I received a few days ago about 9 p. m., a number of my good Catholics, who proposed to me to build a church wherever I wanted, which would belong to me. They are engaged now in recruiting some thirty inhabitants who altogether would put up a sum of three to four thousand dollars. I encouraged them very much in their project, although I told them I deemed it proper not to take a hand in it openly. Should it be realized, then the new church, as you see, shall be the work of the inhabitants of the parish and not that of the pastor.

Now you ought to be informed, Dear Bishop, that the Trustees held a meeting on Thursday, June 29. I was present at their deliberations, but took no part in them. They undid all that their predecessors

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had done by common agreement with Father Jamey. They contemptuously set at naught in my presence your authority, answering *they preferred to have no priest rather than to submit their authority as Marguillers to your own.* I engaged them to write to you themselves, and lay before you the motives obliging them to follow a course different from their predecessors', and manifest to you their peaceful intentions. Their reply was a sneer directed to you; whereupon I gave them the set down which they deserved.

They asked me whether I would say Mass the following Sunday in their church. "No," said I; "and before I let you know my final determination, I shall wait until the Bishop is back from his trip."

To sum up, here is what I have in mind to do, if you approve of it. I had at first told Father Rousselon that I would propose to them to abandon the temporal administration of the parish. But their second meeting has taught me clearly that this step were useless, to say the least: for these men are Christians only in name, as they are human only in shape. It will be wiser to let the affair be settled by the parishioners themselves, and leave the Board of Trustees with all its pretensions to die in its isolation. If you permit, I shall render my accounts, have them approved, keep with me in sound notes what is due to me in order that I may have no longer any financial dealings with these men. Then I will stay at home, and wait for them there. As they will no longer get anything from my ministry, they will have to acknowledge their mistake if they do not want their treasury to remain empty.

Father Jamey told me that your intention was, on your return, to establish the basis of a regulation between the Marguillers of the various parishes and the pastors. It is to be desired, My Lord, that your piety and wisdom may find out a means of reconciliation, whereby the two authorities may work hand in hand, and you and your pastors may be rid of the Trustees' tyranny, so that religion may be free in her temples. However, if all your parishes resemble Vermillionville, even in case this regulation be accepted by the Marguillers, the pastor shall not be a whit more free in his church or able to do more good than in the past, unless he is constantly at daggers drawn with certain individuals whose good faith decreases according as their numbers increase. Your administration would not encounter so many difficulties, the priesthood would be more honored and religion less dependent, if all the churches were belonging to you. I understand perfectly that the pastor cannot be the sole administrator: changes which are indispensable, vacancies which occur, even absences make it impossible. But what could prevent you from appointing some good parishioners as Trustees, with the pastor as chairman? What prevents you from exacting a yearly account of their administration, from being regularly notified of the needs of your churches, and approving their expenditures on presentation of proper vouchers and budgets, as is done in France? Thus you have the high control over the temporal administration of all your churches; all the transactions are in your name and by your authority. Such a change cannot be worked in one day, but you will obtain it gradually.

As to me, before the end of the year I hope to have a church at Pont-Perry and one here, and to be able to turn them over to you, without your spending a cent. In my opinion this is the only means to insure the peace of the pastor of Vermillionville.

Be not afraid, Right Reverend Bishop, that I should engage myself beyond my means. For the present I have no debts, except to Father Jamey: and if I make him wait for his money, it is because he sold me much too dear. As for my servants, buying them is cheaper than paying wages to others; it is a real benefit to me. I have the largest and most beautiful house at Vermillionville, four years to pay it without

interest. Everything included, with its four lots, it will cost me $380.00. It is on these lots that I intend to build the new church. I enter into these details because Father Jamey may have mentioned all this to you.

As to my newspaper, I am not at all anxious to have it, except that for the time being I deem it necessary for the good I may do in this place. When its usefulness is no longer evident to me, I will not say the same. In this regard Father Jamey does not share in my opinion, nor I in his—all men will always have their own peculiar ways. But you, Bishop, who unite with the Episcopal character the virtue of the first Apostles, are above all human petty preconceptions: this is why it is right that we should have recourse to your light and why I am awaiting your verdict regarding the course I should follow. Do tell me unhesitatingly what you think, for

I have the honor to be, with the most profound respect
Your Lordship's
Most humble, obedient and devoted servant,
A. D. MÉGRET.

Evidently the situation at Lafayette was extremely tense. Three weeks later, as no answer was coming from New Orleans, Father Mégret resolved to go himself to the Episcopal city, and started for St. Martinsville, where he expected to find a boat. There the advice of two of his brother-priests made him renounce his project; but to the plan of action which he had determined to follow they gave their unqualified approval. The only difficulty which might be in the way concerned the intentions of the original donors and the eventual giving up, in case the Trustees should refuse to let it go, of the cemetery so full of tender memories for the parishioners. This difficulty Mégret declared to be non-existant, as the change was proposed and desired by all the inhabitants "except the Moutons and Co." All this he rehearsed in a letter written to the Bishop before returning home.[80] Then, speaking of his relations with the Marguillers, he added:

My being constantly on Missions abroad is an argument which confounds them still more. They are at their wit's end. The Governor[81] paid me one of his first visits. I returned it two weeks ago. The Marguillers come to see me and never stop asking me with all the amiability possible when I shall say Mass in their church. But I am not the man to let myself be ensnared by their honeyed words: I have known them too long. Did I go into that church today, tomorrow they would threaten me through their satellites to lead me, cudgel in hand, a merry chase down the pulpit—a threat publicly made under the church gallery by Edmond Mouton two months ago. I told them I would enter the church only when it belongs to me, as the representative of my Bishop. —The whole parish shall decide the issue. Already I have some lumber ready, and some which is getting ready every day for the new church. Its plan is made. If the parish renounces the privilege granted by the Legislature and makes a surrender pure and simple of whatever constitutes the church property into the hands of Your Lordship for the use of the Catholics, it is on this property that I shall build the church.[82] otherwise I shall build it on my own property. Do not fear, Dear Bishop, I may go too fast. On the contrary I find myself guilty of being too slow. But slowness is desirable to leave the goodwill of the

80. St. Martinsville, August 2, 1843. *Ibid.*

81. Governor Alexander Mouton, son of John Mouton, Sr., the donor of the church property.

82. A new church was indeed badly needed.

parishioners, especially the Creoles, to cool down. This church will not cost me anything.

The Marguillers may possibly write to you to have another priest: that is what I was told, if I continue in my Missions abroad. Your Lordship is infinitely wiser than I, and know consequently what is to be done. But if I may be allowed to address a request to you, it is that you should show unshaken firmness in this circumstance, which shall decide the fate of religion in this parish.

. . . I shall speak another time of Pont-Perry and a few other things which are doing well. . . .

Father Mégret's anticipations had hit the mark. No sooner was he back in Lafayette, than he had fresh news to communicate. This he did in a letter dated August 4: [83]

On the 20th of July, by a secret deliberation of the Marguillers it was resolved that Edmond Mouton, chairman, *is authorized to write to the Bishop and ask him for another priest, and explain the reasons why the actual pastor, A. D. Mégret, does not suit us.*

In the same meeting, resolved: that said *A. D. Mégret shall render his accounts; should he refuse or neglect to comply with the request of said Committee, means appointed by law shall be resorted to to compel him.* [84]

The petition here referred to was drawn up in a very insolent, peremptory tone. It even tried to intimidate the Bishop. Father Mégret, of course, was not slow in putting before his Superior whatever might contribute to enlighten him on the character of the Trustees.

In order to enable you, Right Reverend Sir, to choose your arguments in my favor, permit me to tell you once more that the said chairman is the very man who was paying Guégnon[85] to write against religion, the priesthood, me and yourself; the very man who, with three others, contributed the $50.00 to pay for the clubbing which I received; the very man who lately boasted he had offered $50.00 to another fellow to lynch me. As you see, he is my best friend.

I did not tell you, I think, that the drubbing took place in the sight of many people, though they were at a distance; that he, Edmond Mouton, was laughing with great glee at the spectacle; that two weeks after my Missions were begun, Guégnon received some more money to put in his paper the article against me, where I was styled a tyrant, and the town described as congratulating itself for recovering peace and happiness since I was gone.

In this connection, I must add that, as the Marguillers demanded that I say Mass on Sundays, I told them that they were inconsistent: if they wished to have a priest, they should take his defence; if they realized that his presence is necessary in the town, they should reply in their own name to the unjust and unchristian outbursts of Guégnon against me.

It is, moreover, one of them, who is responsible for the inflammatory mouthings with which the scoundrel with the bludgeon opened upon me. These were pure calumny: the Marguiller in question apologized to me.

Regarding the accounts which, as treasurer, I must render tomorrow, I told them that they could not undo that which had been done by the common agreement of both authorities; that they should submit

83. *Ibid.*

84. Italics are Mégret's, who underlines.

85. The newspaper man of whom Mégret complained before.

to you the reasons why they did it; that I would render them accounts only when I had obtained your consent. This had been my first reply; and I should have clung to it, owing to their notorious bad faith and impiety. Finally, My Lord, if *you like* to know it, out of seven Marguillers four are Freemasons and the other three no better.

Before God, I am not conscious that I have anything to reproach myself with in regard to *the administration of my parish.* Nay even my work has gone beyond my strength. I do not think either that I failed any against the rules of mere courtesy with anyone; and the charge they lay against me is about certain retorts of mine. I have kept a copy of them word for word and sent it to some of them: there is nothing in these retorts which is capable of offending a man of good faith. At any rate, whatever charges they may bring against me in their letter are fictitious, no matter what kind of proofs they may allege.

The project of snatching the pastor of Lafayette—and in his person, religion—out of the clutches of the Trustees has long been the object of mature consideration on my part before God; I believe it to be, with your good pleasure, the expression of his will. All my parishioners are generally good; hence they desire the success of this undertaking. Only a few miscreants may protest: but are we not sent to procure the salvation of the true children of God? and shall a handful of bad Catholics and of Protestants be powerful enough to stop me? I think not. My confidence in the power of God is unalloyed. The time is coming when that class of people shall be brought low.

I wish I could speak also to you about Pont-Perry. I have presently under way there a large house and a church; the latter shall be ready in a few weeks. The missions procure an advantage far superior to that of staying at home in your parish center; however, that kind of ministry cannot always last, owing to fatigues which it entails.

Adjoining my church of Pont-Perry, I have three to four hundred arpents of land in the best location, on the banks of the bayou, ten leagues from Vermillionville and fifteen from the limits of Lafayette, not far from the sea, in the midst of a population much larger than that which lives around Vermillionville. When the church is sufficiently finished and I have said Mass in it, and have set apart plenty of ground for the rectory and cemetery, etc., etc., I shall divide the rest into lots which I shall sell with the proviso that the buyers will have to pay annually an interest of [86] to the church, according to the rules followed at St. Martinsville, which I have read and find excellently worded. Several people have already applied for lots.

Several times has this subject of the church at Pont-Perry been mentioned in the letters of Father Mégret to the Bishop: it was indeed a matter near to his heart. Shortly after his coming to Lafayette he had realized the extent of his charge and the numbers of Catholics who lived miles away from the center of the parish; and "he had compassion on them, because they were as sheep not having a shepherd." From that feeling to devising ways and means to relieve this spiritual distress, in a man of quick decision as he was, there was but one step; and soon a survey of the local conditions resulted in the choice of Pont-Perry as a desirable center. His voluntary exile from the church of Lafayette naturally whetted his interest in the new establishment; and through his letters we may follow the rapid birth and progress of that creation of his. In the course of time, the new settlement shifted to a more convenient location; but its name, Abbeville, or rather Abbé-

86. A blank; the sum is not indicated in the original.

ville, will forever, it may be hoped, remind the generations to come of the *Abbé* Mégret, its founder, who, with jealous solicitude watched over its cradle.

Things, however, did not go as fast at Pont-Perry as he had anticipated. On December 3,[87] he reported: "The church at Pont-Perry progresses slowly. I do not think it can be finished before the end of this month. The work was more considerable than I had figured out. . . . I have not failed to go to Pont-Perry once a month. The Catholics come there in great numbers; some Methodists also come to listen to me. At the time of this writing, *seven* American Methodist families are under instruction and are preparing to enter the Catholic Church and to receive Baptism. I was told that, when the church is finished, there will remain few Methodists."

The same letter which gives us these details contains on the parish of Lafayette some statistical information in answer to a questionnaire sent to all the pastors of the Diocese on November 22. From these we are able to judge the progress accomplished by Catholicity within twenty years, it being understood that the limits so far had remained unaltered since the erection of the parish.

1° The total population of my parish is about 15 to 16000 inhabitants; I reckon that Catholics predominate by more than half.
2° There are annually 260 to 280 baptisms of infants, and, besides, a few baptisms of adults.
3° I estimate the number of pashal communions to be 5 to 600.
4° There are two churches in the territory of the parish, one of which is in construction.

But we must revert presently to the Marguillers of Lafayette and their efforts to oust their unbending pastor. Their petition to the Bishop had no results. His answer, however, must have been conciliatory, for a truce ensued. Still as this truce was, so far as can be made out, on the terms dictated by Father Mégret, it is clear there was on the part of the representative of the Church no surrendering of principles. The pastor recovered the church, and was to receive the money coming to him. As a peace-offering, he abandoned the idea, which he had entertained for some time and submitted to the Bishop, of prosecuting the rascal who had assaulted him. Circumstances were perhaps instrumental in bringing about this temporary *rapprochement*. A malignant disease prevailed during the fall. Whole days, and even nights, the pastor for more than three months multiplied himself at the bedside of his parishioners; for many were stricken, and mortality ran high in the parish, especially among the children. It may be that the fear of the Lord was the beginning of wisdom.

It was, alas! but a truce. Three months of the new year had not elapsed before the Marguillers once more were on the warpath and—aggravating circumstance—against the Bishop himself. On March 21, 1844, they addressed—under what provocation we are unable to say—to the wardens of St. Louis cathedral in New Orleans a formal and

87. Mégret to Bishop Blanc. *Ibid.*

ville, will forever, it may be hoped, remind the generations to come of the zealous Mégret, its founder, who, with jealous solicitude watched over its cradle.

Things, however, did not go as fast at Pont-Perry as he had anticipated. On December 3,[1] he reported: "The church at Pont-Perry progresses slowly. I do not think it can be finished before the end of this month. The work was more considerable than I had figured out. . . . I have not failed to go to Pont-Perry once a month. The Catholics come there in great numbers; some Methodists also come to listen to me. At the time of this writing, seven American Methodist families are under instruction and are preparing to enter the Catholic Church and to receive Baptism. I was told that, when the church is finished, there will remain few Methodists."

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1° The total population of my parish is about 15 to 16,000 inhabitants; I reckon that Catholics predominate by more than half.

2° There are annually 200 to 250 baptisms of infants, and, besides, a few baptisms of adults.

3° I estimate the number of paschal communions to be 3 to 600.

4° There are two churches in the territory of the parish, one of which is in construction.

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[1] Mégret to Bishop Blanc, 1864.

decided approval of the stand taken by them "to put a stop to the arrogance of the Louisiana clergy." In order that the unjust and insulting nature of this odious letter of the Trustees of Vermillionville may be fully appreciated, a few words of explanation may not be amiss.

The fight of the Trustees of the St. Louis cathedral against the Bishop was of long standing. It had been the great thorn of the Episcopate of Bishop Du Bourg; and Bishop Rosati himself during the time of his administratorship had suffered from it.[88] If there was a respite during Bishop De Neckere's short administration, it was due perhaps more to the epidemics which then prevailed than to a change of heart in the wardens. Indeed no sooner did Bishop Blanc take the reins of the Episcopal government than he was attacked with renewed vigor and unrelenting fury.[89] The Marguillers brought the matter before the State Legislature and, on the 11th of March 1837, obtained permission from that servile body to mortgage the cathedral for $200,000.00. Next they claimed the right of patronage[90] formerly enjoyed by the King of Spain, and brought an action against the Bishop before the Parish court of the city. Judge Maurian decided against them. The Supreme court, appealed to, confirmed the decision of the Parish court; and furthermore a rehearing, claimed by the Trustees, was refused. Every means that diabolical hatred could suggest to annoy and wear out the Bishop was resorted to: recognition was refused in insulting terms to three pastors in succession and to the chaplain of the hospital; an attempt was made to exclude the clergy from part of the parochial residence; finally a discriminatory ordinance was obtained from the municipality, punishing by a fine any Catholic priest who performed the burial service anywhere else but in a mortuary chapel over which the Marguillers claimed control. Judge Préval, before whom came the case of Father Permoli, who had contravened this ordinance, declared it illegal; the City court, and finally the Supreme Court of the United States were of the same opinion. In 1843, the president of the Board of Trustees, who was also Grand Master of the Foyer Lodge of Freemasons, authorized the Lodge to erect a monument in the Catholic cemetery, himself laying the cornerstone. "So confident in their strength were the Trustees that they applied to the Legislature for an Act confirming all their pretended powers. The Act actually passed the Senate, but was rejected in the Lower House. Their appeal to the higher court was also rejected, but while depriving the cathedral of clergy, they were thus squandering the money of the Church in what the judiciary declared to be unfounded litigation." [91]

It was in reference to this appeal of the cathedral Trustees to the

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88. See St. Louis Catholic Historical Review, Vol. I, No. 4—5, July-October 1919, pp. 222 and 229.

89. See J. G. Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, Vol. III, pp. 676 foll., and Vol. IV, pp. 267 foll.

90. The right to appoint a parish priest, sometimes granted by the church to some temporal rulers, in recognition of services rendered.

91. J. G. Shea: *Op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 266.

Legislature that the Marguillers of Vermillionville sent their letter of hearty approval. This document is worth citing here in its original text: the matter reveals the impudent and sycophantic spirit which dictated it; and the form, the high degree of education of its authors.

> Aujourdhui le 21 du mois de Mars de l'année de Notre-Seigneur 1844, à une assemblée des Marguillers de l'église St. Jean de Lafayette, membres présents à la susdite assemblée, Edmond Mouton, Président, François Braux, Don Louis Bernard, Rosemond Dugas=ils ont résolu que nous approuvons le Mémoire de Mrs. les Marguillers de l'église St. Louis de la .Nlle Orléans. à l'Assemblée générale de l'Etat de la Louisiane. Que ce faisant, nous ne doutons nullement que ce ne soit le désir des catholiques de cette paroisse de voir mettre un frein au clergé de la Louisiane, qui depuis quelques mois a cherché à mettre le désordre parmi eux. Et ce serait avec joie que nous verrions la tranquillité rétablie par une loi qui forcerait le clergé à se prêter à nos institutions.
>
> Il est de plus résolu qu'une copie de cette résolution soit transmise aux Marguillers de l'église St. Louis de la N.lle Orléans par le président Edmond Mouton, afin qu'ils en fassent usage, s'ils le croient nécessaire.
>
> Fait et passé le même jour et année dessus.
>
> E. MOUTON, *Pres.*
>
> DÉSIRÉ JUDICE, *Secrétaire.*[92]

At the close of the year 1844, the Trustees of the St. Louis cathedral, defeated in the courts of law and condemned by Catholic opinion throughout the country, yielded completely. The Marguillers of Vermillionville cut a sorry figure after that defeat. At the next elections the parishioners of St. John's church chose an entirely new set of Trustees. Not one of them was re-elected. But they were the kind of people that "don't know when they are licked," and still hoped to force Father Mégret to accept them for another year. They, accordingly, called an election. Nobody appeared. Whereupon, impervious to the realization of the fact that they were consigned to the limbo of Trusteedom, they decided to try the polls another time. Here Father Mégret stole a march on them. He sent around to all the true Catholics to assemble the following day at the church. They all responded; the election took place and the old Board of Trustees was utterly routed. Thus did the Catholics of Lafayette repudiate and avenge the action of their purblind and overweening Marguillers.

Even during the stormy period thus finishing, the records show from time to time a rift in the clouds. So it is a pleasant surprise for him who scans the parish registers to meet, on November 21, 1844, an

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92. This day, the twenty-first of the month of March of the year of our Lord 1844, at a meeting of the Trustees of the church of St. John, Lafayette, being present at said meeting: Edmond Mouton, chairman, François Braux, Don Louis Bernard, Rosemond Dugas; they resolved that we approve the Memorandum of the Trustees of the church of St. Louis in New Orleans addressed to the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana. That, by so doing, we have not the least doubt but that it is the desire of the Catholics of this parish to see the clergy of Louisiana restrained, as for some months back it endeavored to put disorder among them. Joyfully shall we see tranquillity re-established by means of a law compelling the clergy to comply with our institutions. Resolved, moreover, that a copy of this resolution shall be transmitted to the Trustees of the church of St. Louis at New Orleeans by the chairman, Edmond Mouton, in order that they may make use of it, if they deem it necessary.

Done and passed the day and year above. (Signatures).

entry, the baptism of a colored child, written and signed by the Rev. Stephen Theodore Badin. We know already something of this true pioneer of the faith, the first priest ever ordained in America, and the companion of our old friend Father Barrière on his journey from Baltimore and in the missions of Kentucky. At the time of his visit to Lafayette, Father Badin was an old man, seventy-six years of age.[93] We have from the pen of Ben. J. Webb, who knew him well, a description of the venerable *proto-sacerdos*—as he styled himself in the Register—antedating this visit only by three years, and probably true in the main at the time of his journey to Louisiana:[94]

> To those who had known him in his prime, he looked but the shadow of his former self. His once lithe and upright form was now bent with age, and his body appeared to have outgrown his extremities. His gait was shambling and uncertain. The muscles of his face had lost their natural rigidity, and the flesh around his jaws hung in flaccid masses. His nose was sharp and pinched, and beyond a moderately thick and snow-white fringe around the base of the skull, his hair had all disappeared. He was suffering, too, from a partial paralysis of the right forearm and hand, and he generally appeared with his left arm and hand caressingly thrown around the diseased member. But a single one of his features was unchanged. His eyes had lost none of their brilliancy. Ordinarily cast downward, and shut in by the inclosing lids till scarcely seen by the observer, it needed but a signal from the brain power to cause them to expand and to speak, as was their wont, of what was passing in his mind. At times, and especially when conversing with persons of known intellectual capacity, and upon favorite topics, be betrayed little weakening of the intellect. He had always been given to jesting with his friends, and there was now no indication that he had conquered the propensity.

What brought this aged and somewhat impotent man to these quarters? it may be asked. On the 25th of May, 1843, he had celebrated the golden jubilee of his ordination at Lexington, where, it will be remembered, in November 1793, he offered up the Holy Sacrifice for the first time in Kentucky. The rest he had so well earned he then spent in visits through Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois and Louisiana, his most lengthened sojourns being at places where the vernacular of the inhabitants was French. In this respect at least, he had become a child again, that the liquids of his mother tongue formed to him a lullaby. Coming to Louisiana, could he, whose mind was so full of a long past, forbear seeing the scenes for which Barrière had abandoned him? He stayed several days with Father Mégret; and we may be sure that these were red-letter days for the pastor of Vermillionville.

On July 27 of the following year, 1845, another guest, but by no means a stranger to Lafayette, was at the home of Father Mégret—Bishop Blanc, who had come to make once more the canonical visitation of the parish. The record of this pastoral visit, however, was made only four weeks later, August 22, because, as the prelate remarks, "the Register of Baptisms could not be presented to me on

93. Born at Orleans, France, July 17, 1768; died April 19, 1863, in Archbishop Purcell's house, Cincinnati, where he had retired. He is buried at Notre Dame, Indiana.
94. Ben. J. Webb. *The Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky*, p. 462.

the former date." The Bishop naturally deplored the fact that the manifold occupations of the pastor did not leave him sufficient time to keep his Registers in order; he specially regrets the neglect of which the record of Burials was the object. He recommends better order in the sacristy; insists upon the installation of sideboards or chests of drawers wherein to keep the sacred vestments; also wants a lock placed on the outside door of the sacristy, and a padlock on the inside door leading into the sanctuary. The Marguillers are requested to repair the altar, or, what would be still better, to have a new one made. Finally the Bishop expresses the hope that the Marguillers, who lately have done so much for the rectory, will now deem it fit to take the necessary steps to erect a new church which is badly needed.

We heard Father Mégret lament, soon after his coming to Lafayette, the lack of educational facilities for the middle class, who could not afford to send their boys and girls to Grand Coteau. His laments were never sterile: for every defect he had at once a remedy. The word "impossible" had no place in his vocabulary; difficulties there might be, but none could withstand his energy and perseverance. In this instance as in every other, he never gave himself rest until he had what he wanted. The desired teaching community he found in the Sisters of Mount Carmel. He was not long to realize the unwisdom of his original plan of an Academy at the Côte Gelée; accordingly he bought for the "old man" McBride's house, where the Brothers' school now is. There, on September 8, the Academy of Mount Carmel of Lafayette opened its halls to eight young ladies; a week later fourteen were present. "Before the end of the month," wrote Father Mégret on September 17, "they will be twenty. As a matter of fact, the applications received will fill all the accommodations. But the pupils are slow in coming, because most of the families, whilst expecting the Nuns, were still afraid they might not come, and had provided for their children some other way. The house will be filled before many months, and I believe they will have about an even number of boarders and day-scholars." "Old man" McBride's house was intended as only a temporary—and it was a most uncomfortable—shelter for the academy. Some time later Father Mégret bought the old Masonic lodge, and the adjacent lots, and thither was the convent moved on the spot which it still occupies.

September 8 of this year 1921, marked the seventy-fifth anniversary—the Diamond Jubilee—of this institution. Such a span of life, as well as the part which the Academy has played in the progress of Lafayette, would deserve a separate sketch. For the present suffice it to notice that the memory of Father Mégret is still alive in this foundation of his, and his picture, as is but meet and just, occupies a place of honor in one of the halls of the Convent.

The letter announcing the opening of the Academy contained another welcome intelligence: the parish had decided to turn over to the Bishop the ownership of the church property. We must let the pastor tell in his own way the news to the prelate. This was the happy cul-

mination of his relentless efforts: hence there is no mistaking the undertone of genuine pleasure which pervades the whole letter.

I am sending you herewith copy of the Deed which conveys to you the title to the property of our congregation.

"The Catholic inhabitants who form the congregation of the church of St. John the Evangelist, in the parish of Lafayette, feeling the need of a new church and realizing after an experience of twenty years that the revenues of the church are unequal to provide for the upkeep of the property, do renounce, by the present Deed, all civil and political privileges granted them by the Legislature of this state in the Act incorporating the aforesaid church.

"The undersigned inhabitants, by this same Deed, transfer the rights and privileges of ownership which they have over the church of St. John the Evangelist and its dependencies, to the Bishop of the Diocese canonically instituted, at present the Right Rev. Anthony Blanc, and his successors, to the end that he may have the full use of said property, administer it by himself, or have it administered, and dispose of it freely for the greater advantage of the Catholic congregation, the title to the same property being vested in him by these presents.

"May not the Right Rev. Gentleman either sell or alienate any part of said property; he pledges himself to defray the expenses necessary for its upkeep and to have, within the space of the first five years from the date hereinafter affixed, a new church, beautiful and spacious, built, without demanding any contribution from the Catholics of this parish. He likewise pledges himself to have the church of Lafayette regularly attended by a priest, who shall celebrate Mass there every Sunday and feast day, and shall be always at the service of the parish, unless extraordinary circumstances interfere; it being understood that this ecclesiastic shall be treated by the inhabitants with the respect and deference due to the character wherewith he is invested.

"The pastor, having no other revenue than his *casuel,* shall continue to receive it as determined by the regulations herein indicated, which have been agreed to by the Marguillers and approved by the Bishop:

Casuel of the Pastor:

Funerals of free people over 12 years of age:

1st class	$50.00.
2nd class	$30.00.
3rd class	$20.00.
4th class	$10.00.

Under twelve years of age:

1st class	$25.00.
2nd class	$15.00.
3rd class	$10.00.
4th class	$ 5.00.

Nota bene. Procession (only for 1st class) $10.00.

Funerals of slaves over 12 years of age: ..... $6.00.
Funerals of slaves under 12 years of age: ..... $3.00.
Services for the dead[95] with High Mass: same rates.

Casuel of the Cemetery.

Cemetery right for all free persons not having recourse to the ministry of the Catholic priest:

over 12 years of age.....$ 6.00.
under 12 years of age.....$ 3.00.

95. Month-mind; Anniversary

Tombs:
Large (ordinary) size.....$30.00.
Medium size .....$20.00.
Small size .....$10.00.
Every extra concession: .50 cts. per cubic foot.

"We wish that the minute of the present Act, which we have attentively read or heard read, and do declare to be the expression of our will, to be registered and filed among the minutes in the office of . . . .

"Done at Vermillionville, on this 16th of September 1846."

(Follow the signatures of the Marguillers, beginning with the chairman, those of the principal inhabitants; and now those of all the inhabitants are being gotten).

Behold, My Lord, how Almighty God arranged matters. I hope that this contract will be satisfactory to you. I consider it as the triumph of right and the *solid foundation* of religion in Lafayette. Do not worry about the condition inserted in regard to the new church: Divine Providence shall not fail us.

There is every reason to believe that the Bishop was satisfied indeed. This happy solution created a precedent which, in the course of time, other parishes sooner or later would imitate. The adaptation to the new order of things at Lafayette, however, did not go without some jolt; and before long, perhaps even before the Bishop's approval was received, the pastor and the Marguillers had a last bout. For some reason or other these gentlemen had closed the church. Father Mégret emigrated to the new Convent and improvised there a chapel in which he rented twelve pews to the families that remained faithful to him. The diagram of the pews and list of pewholders is still extant in one of the registers. The Marguillers retaliated by refunding four months' pew-rent, thus trying to deprive the pastor of revenues. This fight ended, as all such misunderstandings, in the final surrender of the Marguillers to the will of the pastor; and after a few months the church-doors were opened once more. The happy parishioners took again possession of their church with solemn ceremonies of thanksgiving.

But it seems that the dove of peace could never roost very long under the roof of Father Mégret. Close upon the heels of the civil war just happily ended, followed foreign hostilities. The *casus belli* arose from the vexed question of the parish limits, the Jesuits of Grand Coteau being this time Father Mégret's opponents. This was a long contest. It started in 1848 in a tilt between the pastor of Lafayette and Father Sebastian Santois, S.J., and though apparently the first round ended in Father Mégret's favor, it was by no means final; but the pastor of Lafayette was not to see the end of it, which came only in 1857 by an authoritative decision of Archbishop Blanc. Much ink was spilled on both sides during these nine years. Father Mégret, as we already know, wrote at length; so did Father Abbadie, S.J. Mégret's effusions adorn the pages 18 to 60 of Register XVI. On the other side the *History or the Parish of Grand Coteau* kept by the Jesuits gives in precise terms and beautiful diction a complete account of the misunderstanding. After Father Mégret's death, the contro-

versy was kept up by his successor, who went like a lion into the fray and became the target of some very spicy compliments in the Parish *History* of Grand Coteau. Amusing as all this literature is at this time and distance from the conflict, we must forbear going into a detailed account of this canonical joust. Suffice it to mention here the results.

Until the "Jesuit war" broke out, the northern limit of the parish of Lafayette was understood to be, according to the decree of Bishop Du Bourg confirmed on November 2, 1837, by Bishop Blanc, "a straight line drawn from the confluence of the Bayou Pont-Brulé with the Bayou Vermillion, stretching as far as the end of the island of Carencro; thence to the headwaters of the Bayou Queue-de-Tortue, and this Bayou down to the Mermentau." In 1850, after the "first round" of the fight, Father Mégret obtained from Father Rousselon, the Vicar General, that the parish limit should follow the course of the Bayou Carencro. Finally, in 1857, Archbishop Blanc, to put an end to the difference between Father Abbadie and Father Foltier, adopted new limits, about half-way between those decreed by Bishop Du Bourg and those determined by Father Rousselon. The new boundary line was marked to the west by a *coulée* (gully) originating in a marsh near the farm of Lesin (Jean) Préjean and running westward; to the east by another *coulée* running about the same latitude, but in the opposite direction; and between the two, a straight line joining the head of the western *coulée* with the point where the old road of Grand Coteau to Lafayette (manche Jean L. Broussard) crosses the eastern *coulée*.[96] This settlement held good until the erection, in 1868, of the parish of Carencro, formed out of portions of Grand Coteau and Lafayette.

Two more pastoral visits occurred during the past years of Father Mégret's administration. The first of these took place on the 25th of September 1848: no comments on parish affairs were made on that occasion. Five years later, on August 22, 1853, Archbishop Blanc was once more in Lafayette. After the confirmation ceremonies, Father Mégret begged the Archbishop to relieve him of his charge. For several years indeed it had been his intention to relinquish the parish. The prelate acceded to his request, and, on August 29, just one week after this request was made, the bonds which had united for more than eleven years Father Mégret to the parish of St. John the Evangelist were severed. No successor, however, having been appointed, he remained for a time, until Father de Chaignon, S.J., of Grand Coteau, took charge of the abandoned parish. Father Mégret then went to Abbeville, his recent foundation so dear to his heart.

Shortly after the Archbishop's visit a fearful epidemic broke out throughout the country: some thought it was the dreaded pest, although all the symptoms were those of yellow fever. The disease raged with such a fury that out of one hundred inhabitants, seventy-

96. Note of Father Abbadie, S. J., May 15, 1869. Archives of the Diocese of Lafayette.

three were carried off. Father Mégret was the last victim. He died on the 5th of December 1853.

He was still at Lafayette when the scourge made its appearance; and later on some acrimonious people who could not bear to have him rest quietly in his grave, maligned his memory by the accusation that he had run away from the scene of desolation. At first blush a charge of this nature laid at the door of a man of well-known intrepidity and devotedness like Father Mégret, is ludicrous. It is, moreover, absolutely unfounded, and, therefore, slanderous. Father Chaignon writes in the Register of Funerals that he copied there twenty-three entries left by Father Mégret on loose slips of paper. These burials occurred between September 1 and 24—an average of one a day; he must not have run away very far to be able to officiate so frequently. In fact, after the breaking out of the epidemic, he divided his attention between Vermillionville and Abbeville, and the Register of the latter place might perhaps complete the testimony of that of Lafayette as to his activity during this time. There can be no doubt but that he was deeply affected by the frightful spectacle which in both places met his eyes. He actually did leave the two villages and resided at the plantation of Saint-Julien, on the banks of the Bayou; but every appeal to his ministry was always faithfully and promptly answered. Says Alexander Barde, the historian of the *Comités de Vigilance*,[97] who knew him well:

> . . . Whosoever can get away, flees to the adjoining country . . . Death hovers over the village . . . Nobody remains except those who cannot quit their homes or business . . . A few white people and some colored folks remain . . ., the Abbé Mégret, their pastor, at their head. For Father Mégret, the soldier of God . . ., is in the post assigned in the battle . . . The epidemic carries off everybody, without any distinction of age, race or nationality. It kills the whites, the mulattoes, the negroes, all born in this country . . . We said that the dead were counted first by one or two; . . . soon they were counted by six, eight, twelve. . . . During the first period of this epidemic, which many call the yellow fever, whilst others term it the pest, the Abbé Mégret had remained at his post. The Abbé Mégret was formerly editor of the *Avenir*. He had submitted to the decree of the Pope condemning our Lamennais. He possessed a noble heart and was endowed with great intelligence . . . Eh bien! at the end of this epidemic, fear seized him. He took refuge with Mr. Paul de Saint-Julien, where he said Mass under the magnificent umbrella trees . . . The Abbé Mégret went to stay with Dr. V. Gauthier. There his mulatto dies: he buries him in the yard of the plantation, where he had found an asylum. Then he departs, his heart broken, to the village which he had abandoned in the body, but to which he had hurried every time he was requested to bring the sacraments to the dying . . . The pastor dies, the last one, during that epidemic at Vermillionville . . . We were just taking dinner with Father Mégret, when he was notified that, a few yards away, there was a Christian in the agony of death: it was Girard. The Abbé hastened to the side of the dying man to bring him the last consolations. A few days afterwards he had gone to join those of his flock whom the plague has carried off . . .

97. Histoire des Comités de Vigilance aux Attakapas. 12mo. 428 p. Saint-Jean-Baptiste, La., 1861.

This surely does not sound as though Father Mégret had deserted the post of duty, although he had taken refuge in the country where most of his parishioners, or rather, his former parishioners, then dwelt. Many a hero has gone into battle, his heart beating a lively tattoo; still he stuck to the assigned post, although death dealt his blows on every side. So did Father Mégret. It was natural that, with the great number of enemies made during his stay at Lafayette, a slur should be cast upon his memory. His heroic death, however, due to his unhesitating response to the summons of the dying Girard, ought to be sufficient to clear his name from the most despicable of all reproaches, the stain of cowardice.

No funeral oration, in those times of utter desolation, was pronounced over his remains. None, so near the troublous times through which he had lived, and when the passions aroused by them had not yet subsided, could have done him impartial justice: distance is necessary to judge the true proportions of things, and the results of man's endeavors as well. We have followed Father Mégret in the different epochs of his administration of St. John's church. Those who knew him personally—alas! the fingers of one hand are more than sufficient to count their numbers now—speak very highly of his character. His intentions were always upright; and if his strong personality came often to the fore, it was because of the vigor of his convictions, as in his wordy encounters with the Jesuits of Grand Coteau; it was also and particularly because his mind could not harbor the idea of a compromise upon questions where the independence of the Church or the dignity of his calling was at stake. He would never bend before any kind of injustice; and for underhand work he professed a supreme loathing. That a few laymen far beneath him in intellectual attainments should lord it over him, he could not brook the idea. Was that pride? If it was pride, that pride was not unlike that which prompted to our Lord his scathing denunciation of the Pharisees, self-appointed blind guides of the blind. If a man's friends, because of their intimate knowledge of him, are his best judges, well may we trust in the appreciation of Alexander Barde; no more fitting conclusion can be given to this sketch of Father Mégret's career:

> In 1842, a vessel from Bordeaux, the *Talma,* carried to America the author of these lines and a priest who was to leave imperishable memories in the parish of Lafayette. This priest's name was Mégret. A pupil and admirer of Lamennais, whom he had served as private in the redaction of the *Avenir* . . ., the Abbé Mégret had brought along with him to the United States, an activity that dovoured everything. The nineteenth century is a century of action; the spirit of the nineteenth century was incarnate in him. He was sent to the parish of Lafayette, an immense parish, the extensiveness of which would have frightened another priest accustomed to the *dolce far niente* and the happy moments of mental recreation, found within the quiet walls of the presbytery. He found himself too narrowed down. There are souls that demand the whole world for the theatre of their activity; there are others that find a hamlet too large.
>
> Baptizing the new-born, or bringing the sacraments which make death easier, this priest followed the Bayou Vermillion in all its sinuosi-

ties. One day he planted his staff near some miserable huts and said: "Here I am going to build a village." This same day Abbeville was born. To tell you of all the combats this priest had to sustain, would be impossible . . . An American hamlet disputed the title of parish-seat, twice or three times, to the village created by him. The Abbé fought in the courts and bofore the Legislature—this institution of the people, always willing to commit an injustice . . .; he did battle so valiantly that in the end he triumphed, and thus prevented the lawgivers from committing an enormous abuse of power by granting the courthouse to the neighboring hamlet. Decidedly the Abbé Mégret had wrought a miracle, a true miracle . . . And Abbeville developed . . .

* * *

After Father Mégret's death the parish remained without a resident pastor for nearly three years. The priests of Grand Coteau and St. Martinsville attended alternately to the ministry of the widowed parish. Finally on May 14, 1854, the Rev. Anthony de Chaignon, S.J., took charge of the place as resident pastor *ad interim*. He remained until September 1856. During his administration he tried everything to bring order into the chaotic state of the Registers. He collected all the scraps of paper upon which his predecessor had scribbled the entries. But in spite of his good will he did not succeed, and many pagees had to be left blank.

The Rev. S. J. Foltier took in 1856 the place vacated by Father De Chaignon, and remained in Lafayette until March 30, 1864. Reference has been made above to his unsuccessful attempt to renew the controversy about the parish limits. If he had inherited some of Mégret's combativeness, he was far from measuring up to his intellectual stature: hence they had over at Grand Coteau now and then a bit of fun at his expense. Like Father De Chaignon and with about the same success he, too, tried his hand at straightening the parish books. It was, it seems, a herculean task. To satisfy his conscience, when he had done all he could, he deemed it proper to set forth in a lengthy and verbose declaration in five paragraphs which may be read in Register XIV, the reasons why the Parish Records are in such a wretched state. Apparently he was—and rightly—far from satisfied with the results of his labors; hence he winds up with the remark that "the deficiencies (in the Registers) might eventually be supplied by consulting some *brouillons*," i. e., notes hastily jotted down on pieces of paper, "which he found scattered all over the premises." A doubtful comfort, especially to us now, as these *brouillons* have long since gone the way of many old papers: to the waste-basket and the kitchen stove.

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recollection of a number of inhabitants, Father Rouxel occupies a place apart: his charming personality, not less than his sterling priestly qualities soon endeared him to his flock and made his recall, in January 1872, to be looked upon as a public calamity for Lafayette. His occasional visits thereafter were always a feast, and his promotion to the Episcopal dignity in 1899 was held as the natural and well-deserved recognition of his unfailing pastoral devotedness.

He had been three years at Lafayette when the country was visited again by the yellow scourge, and he himself was attacked by the disease. Father Abbadie hastened to his rescue. Seventy burials are entered in the Records for the months of September and October of that year 1867. How many were hastily laid away without the rites of the Church will never be known. Father Rouxel recovered; but the young pastor of Royville took sick and was brought to the rectory of St. John's. Shortly afterwards he succumbed. The following entry was made in the Register of Funerals:

> In the year 1867, and on the 20th day of October, Feast of the Purity of the Most Blessed Virgin Mary, I gave ecclesiastical burial to JOSEPH VIAU, priest, pastor of Royville. He was born in France, in the Department of Maine-et-Loire, Anjou, and died today at noon at the residence of Father Rouxel, rector of Lafayette. He was about twenty-seven years of age.
>
> J. F. ABBADIE, S.J.

In January 1872, Father Rouxel was succeeded by the Rev. H. Gonnellaz, also a former assistant of Father Raymond at Opelousas.[99] After nine years, in April 1881, he was replaced by the Rev. E. Forge, who stayed in Lafayette to the time of his death, October 30, 1905.

When Father Forge took charge of the parish, he gave his special attention to the education of the boys who were too old to be taught by the Sisters. To this end he built St. John's College, at the north-east corner of the church grounds. This institution was to be the continuation of the Sisters' Boys' School. Somehow or other it did not succeed: a sufficient number of boys could not be found to attend; even the expedient of closing the Boys' school at Mount Carmel, in order to save the College, created great difficulties and, after a trial, had to be abandoned; and in the end St. John's College went to increase the ever growing number of small Colleges which have failed. After its close, the building was removed to west of the presbytery and became the dining-room for state occasions.

Meanwhile the church was receiving its share of the pastor's attention. A new roof, of galvanized iron; the addition of a sacristy; the installation of the beautiful high altar which to this day looms up in the sanctuary of the cathedral, and was so conspicuous a feature of the old frame church; the introduction of two stained-glass windows, and the replacing of the old fashioned kerosene lamps by electric light, were as many steps marking the progress towards a new order of things. The size itself of the building, sufficient thirty years be-

99. He had been there from January 9, 1861 to February 21, 1862.

fore, when it was erected, was now no longer commensurate with the increase of the congregation. First the church was lengthened; then a wing was added to the south; then, again, shortly before Father Forge's death, another to the north, giving the whole structure the cruciform plan so fitting in a church. The presbytery, too, underwent a much needed transformation, and indeed was so remodelled that it might almost be regarded as a new building.

Father Forge was a great lover of flowers. The plot of ground between the church and the rectory was converted into a regular bower of roses: thirteen hundred different varieties of roses are said to have been cultivated by him, and he knew the name of every one. People came from afar to behold that beautiful sight. For blocks around the church the sweet fragrance of the roses pervaded the air and perfumed the whole neighborhood. No stranger visiting Lafayette could say to have seen the place, who had neglected to have a view of the fair gardens of St. John's rectory. Although the flower-loving priest spent sums of money on his fragrant pets, still he found means to receive his brother-priests and entertain them with most open-handed hospitality. It was rare to see the well-provided board without some clerical guests around: they all knew how much he enjoyed their company. During the fall of 1905, when the yellow fever regulations prevended travelling, Father Forge's last letter to one of his brother-priests deplores the useless quarantine restrictions which "have emptied my board. I feel it very much. No priest has visited me for months. The house looks empty, and I need the company of my clerical brethren just now. Shall I ever see them again?" To his great consolation the quarantine was lifted just in time to permit his numerous friends to bid him Godspeed on that journey whence no mortal ever returns.

When his health began to decline, he was very fortunate in the appointment of an Assistant in the person of the Rev. J. R. Bollard, now pastor of Abbeville. This young, energetic priest proved to be to his now weakened rector a friend indeed. For a number of years he was practically alone in a parish which demanded the services of three hard working priests.[100]

Thirteen months elapsed after Father Forge's demise before a new pastor was appointed. This time there was no need of having to look for a pastor *pro tem* at Grand Coteau: the Rev. A. Chasles, the last assistant of the deceased—now rector of Leonville—took charge of things until the Diocesan authority should fill the vacancy.[101] Finally the burden fell on the shoulders of the Very Rev. William J. Teurlings, the present incumbent. He was—and is still—young in years, but a conscientious, hard working man, whose natural maturity had still been hastened by his experiences in the hard mission of Cameron and during his sojourn at Washington, La.

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100. Scott had not yet been dismembered from Lafayette.
101. It will be remembered that Archbishop P. L. Chapelle died the same fall as Father Forge, and that Archbishop J. Blenk was appointed only in April 1906. This was one of the causes which delayed the filling of the post left vacant by the demise of its pastor.

On entering upon this last page of the story of the parish of Lafayette, the writer is well aware of the special difficulty and delicate nature of his task. Let simply the unadorned facts, without admixture of any comments, tell their own tale: thus shall history be satisfied, and heeded the warning of Holy Writ: "Praise not any man before death."

Many things claimed the attention of the new pastor. The church, despite Father Forge's improvements, was now inadequate and becoming rickety and unsafe: but a new one, worthy of the parish could be erected only after much consideration and study, and anyway was for the time being out of the question. At the outset, therefore, the pastor confined his efforts to the rectory and the church grounds. The cemetery received his special attention. Ere he had been many months in the parish, more than $1,000.00 were spent for putting down cement walks, clearing the graves and grounds from obnoxious weeds and removing the unsightly bushes which grew luxuriantly over the graveyard. The tumble-down tombs were replaced by new ones; the alleys laid out anew; the grass kept short: in a word, the whole place, now clean and nice, assumed quite a new aspect. The deeds to the different lots were overhauled and the titles legalized or returned to the church, as the case might be. The parishioners were not slow to appreciate their pastor's thorough work; and now pious promenaders may be seen all day long in the city of the dead visiting the last resting place of their dear departed ones. In the spring the cemetery affords a beautiful sight: thousands of snowy lilies are blooming in the different lots and around well-kept mausoleums, and perfuming the air with their balmy fragrance.

Father Teurlings' endeavors to settle the rights of individuals and the parish gave rise to an interesting controversy. Some of the parishioners claimed that the original donation of the church property was made to the parishioners individually, and not to the church or parish; that, consequently, the graveyard was beyond the control of the pastor, no legal titles being required to hold property therein, etc. To set their minds at rest, the original Deed, cited above in the early pages of this sketch, was brought out of the Archives and given publicity. In the light of this document and of the subsequent conveyance of the title to the Ordinary, there can be no doubt but that the pastor of St. John's parish, as the Bishop's representative, is in unimpeachable control of the property, the cemetery included.

Although the beginning of a number of improvements was made in the *Campo Santo* of the parish, the living, too, have come in for their share. The catechism classes were reorganized and placed upon a systematic footing. The different confraternities already in existence were given a new impetus and new societies established. During the month of May 1908, the children of Mary celebrated their golden jubilee, it being then fifty years since the society was founded by Father Foltier in 1858; under Father Rouxel's administration the confraternity had been very flourishing and played quite an important

part in the affairs of the parish. Other societies were either reorganized or introduced by Father Teurlings; the society of the Happy Death in two divisions, the one for the whites and the other for the colored; a society of Children of Mary for colored girls founded in 1904 by Father Forge; the St. Joseph society for colored Catholics, established in 1883; it had collapsed in 1898 and was resuscitated in 1907; the Altar Society, 1907; the Ushers of St. John's, 1907; the Apostleship of Prayer, 1907; St. Cecilia, 1908; the society of the Guardian Angel, colored, 1905; the society of St. Agnes for white children, 1908; the Propagation of the Faith, 1908; the Altar Boys' society, reorganized in 1908. At the head of the fraternal societies are the Knights of Columbus, established in 1907. This branch is in a very flourishing condition; and there is no rashness in asserting it has contributed immensely to the wonderful change witnessed in the open practice of their faith—a thing rather rare in former times—by the men of Lafayette.

Other undertakings were perhaps of farther-reaching importance. Up to a few years after Father Teurlings' arrival, there had been but one church—and this too small—for the whole Catholic population, black and white. The inevitable result was a tremendous leakage of the colored people, so apt to fall a prey to noise-making preachers. To remedy this dismal state of things, as well as to increase the space of worship for both portions of the parish, was the purpose of the pastor when he launched the project of a separate church for the colored Catholics. This church, St. Paul's, commenced in 1911, was completed and blessed the next year; and the outcome has amply justified the expectations of its founder. The attendance at the old church has far from diminished; whilst a flourishing parish, with two priests in charge of it has grown out of the chapel of ease started by the rector of St. John's. The Catholic school annexed to that church and placed under the direction of the Sisters of the Holy Family (colored) had last year an enrollment of 200 boys and 175 girls.

Whilst Father Teurlings was engaged in this foundation, he was maturing plans for a much needed new church. The old one had been for some time showing unmistakable signs of decay, and the collapse of its belfry one day convinced the most incredulous that the pastor had not been a whit too hasty in making his preparations. He wanted the new church to be for the citizens of Lafayette a monument to be proud of, and commensurate with the future needs of the growing population. Had he any premonitions of the honor awaiting that church? At all events, after a long and careful study the plans of E. A. Cousins were adopted, the materials assembled, and in 1913 work was begun on the new edifice, the corner-stone being laid November 30. On June 27, 1916, the majestic pile, a happy adaptation of German romanesque, was solemnly blessed with appropriate solemnity, and now stands aloft, half-way as it were between earth and heaven, and from this point of vantage watching over the busy town at its feet; a thing of beauty, an evidence that the faith of the fathers

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does live and thrive in Lafayette, and an eloquent reminder to this generation and the generations to come of the piety, zeal, indominable energy, perseverance, exquisite taste and keen-sighted resourcefulness of him who, in the silence of the modest rectory nearby, conceived it and found the means to carry it to perfection.

Eighteen months had scarcely gone by since the blessing of the new St. John's church when, on January 11, 1918, the Holy See dismembered Southwestern Louisiana [100] from the Archdiocese of New Orleans and formed out of that territory an independent Diocese, with Lafayette as its episcopal city. By virtue of this pontifical enactment St. John's church became St. John's cathedral, a title of which it is worthy in every respect.

The pastor of Lafayette could not contemplate the material temple he has raised to the glory of God without remembering that other edifice built up, as Liturgy's beautiful language reminds us, "of living stones", the souls of the Catholic people. Full well did he know, moreover, that the quarry where these living stones are dressed is the Catholic school. His longing for such a school in behalf of the boys of the parish—the girls were long since provided for in the Convent of Mount Carmel—was at last satisfied when he was able to secure a staff of Brothers of the Christian Schools. That their coming filled a want, has been at once made evident by their rapid success. They came but yesterday, so to say; yet the number of their pupils has already climbed up well over the two hundred mark; the school must "enlarge the place of its tent, stretch out the skins of its tabernacles, sparing not, and lengthen their cords." Quite naturally come to the mind in this connection the words of Scripture about them whose storehouses are full, flowing out on all sides: "They have called the people happy, that hath these things."

The dignity of cathedral conferred upon his church is not, in Canon Teurlings' estimation, a reason why he should now rest with folded arms and unconcerned, as long as there is in the parish a need to be supplied. It is now an open secret that he has been for a long time fostering new designs in behalf of his parishioners on the north side, and that important steps have already been taken for the fulfilment of these designs. No wonder that his unselfish zeal and wholesouled devotedness struck a responsive chord in the hearts of some generous members of his flock; long since did St. Gregory voice the experience of ages when he remarked: *Qualis pastor, talis populus.*

That such a new foundation has become a necessity speaks well for the growth of Catholicity in Lafayette. This growth appears all the more remarkable because the territory under the jurisdiction of the rector of St. John's is now but a small remnant of that which was assigned to him one hundred years or so ago; the Catholic population seems indeed to have increased in inverse ratio of the area of the parish. Seven flourishing parishes, besides Lafayette with its two, and soon three, churches have been sucessively formed within the limits assigned to Vermillionville on May 15, 1822: Abbeville, Carencro,

Guedan, Kaplan, Mauriceville, Scott and Youngsville. What is now the number of Catholics, where Father Peyretti counted four thousand?... In view of this magnificent development, it behooves the beholder to return heartfelt thanks to God, and to accompany them with the earnest scriptural wish:

> With thy comeliness and thy beauty
> Set out, proceed prosperously...
> Thy right hand shall conduct thee wonderfully.

F. L. R. SANTIS

CHARLES L. SOUVAY, C.M.

NOTES

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Historical

This year 1921 has been most prolific in centennials all over the world. To speak only of Catholic events, 1921 brought back the memory of the death of St. Dominic (1221), the foundation of the Third Order of St. Francis (1221), the death of Dante Alighieri (1321), the birth of St. Peter Canisius, S.J. (1521), the happy death of St. John Berchmans (1621), and the foundation at Lyons of the French Association for the Propagation of the Faith, (1821). The custom of celebrating centennials is not, however, distinctly eccelsiastical: hence we commemorated this year in Missouri the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of the State into the Union; a number of counties down the State could have celebrated the completion of a century since their organization, just as well as centenary churches, parishes and religious establishments did mark by special solemn functions, as was done at Florissant, Mo., Lafayette, La., and Grand Cotau, La., the rounding up of a hundred years of existence.

The custom of commemorating the centennials of great men or notable events of the past, is not one of long standing, even though the passing of a century has long since been the object of some solemnity. That unit of time comes, we are told, from old Etruscan mystics. If it is true they invented it, it must be acknowledged that mankind is indebted to them for one of the notions which have made the deepest and most fruitful impression upon its imagination. From it originated in Rome the *annus saecularis,* and later on in the Church the Holy or Jubilee Year. It is, no doubt, a wholesome practice to pause, as it were, at the most conspicuous milestones which measure the flight of time.

But these one hundredth, fiftieth, or twenty-fifth anniversaries, which we are so fond of celebrating, are altogether different. The custom to commemorate them originated only during the last century. It may be a surprise to many to learn that the earliest centennial celebration on record was the scoffing jubilee held by Voltaire and his friends, on August 24, 1774, to mark—two years after the date—the second hundredth anniversary of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. But no matter if the custom may be traced back to such an unholy beginning: in itself it is good, as it affords the opportunity of a thoughtful retrospect upon the years elapsed. That kind of examination of conscience brings back to the mind much to be satisfied with, and to be thankful to God for, while at the same time it rehearses once more the lesson contained in the mistakes and failures inseparable from all human achievements.

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Most fitting was it, therefore, that we, of Missouri, should celebrate the rounding up of one hundred years of Statehood. And we did celebrate it with all the zeal and enthusiasm of which Missourians are capable. There were on this occasion public festivities at Sedalia, at St. Charles and at St. Louis. St. Louis had been for a number of months previous to President Monroe's Proclamation of August 10, 1821, the center of a great deal of political activity: there was the seat of the government of the Territory; there, in 1817, had been drawn up the Memorial to Congress begging admission into the Union; there, in the "Mansion House," corner of Third and Vine streets, assembled in June 1820 the constitutional convention; there, on September 19, 1820, at the "Missouri Hotel," Main and Morgan streets, convened the first General Assembly, and was adopted the "Great Seal of the State of Missouri." The first General Assembly established at St. Charles the Seat of the State government; there it was that in November 1821, Governor Alexander McNair proclaimed the admission of Missouri to the Union. That the first capital of the Missouri State was entitled to recall its temporary (1821—1826) grandeur, was quite natural. But Sedalia?...Why the round of commemorating festivities should have commenced at a place devoid of all connections with the birth and early life of the State, in a town which was not even in existence at the time, is a puzzle which we shall not attempt to solve: *Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas.*

It were superfluous to describe in these brief Notes the various functions held at St. Charles, on August 14, and St. Louis, during the week beginning on the 9th of October. The files of the newspapers will preserve for the generations to come the accounts of these red letter days.

A few words of retrospective comment, however, will not be out of order.

In giving the Church a prominent place in the program of their celebration, the organizers of the St. Charles commemoration displayed a sense of historical propriety, which was not exhibited in the same degree by the organizers of the much more elaborate St. Louis festivities. True, the memory was of a purely secular, political event: the Catholic Church as such took no part in it. Her representative men, however, did not fail to realize the importance of the event. So for instance Bishop Du Bourg, who, on February 29, 1820, wrote to Father Rosati: "There is scarcely any doubt but that this Territory shall be admitted this year among the States of the Union. This is an affair of the utmost importance." True again, most of the men who played a part in this little drama, were non-Catholics; most of them had been active in the politics of their native states, and no sooner did they transfer their household goods to Missouri Territory, than, with characteristic American "push" and scorn for things and persons not bearing the Anglo-Saxon stamp, brushing aside the "slow" native men of distinction, elbowed their own way to the forefront and monopolized the direction of public affairs. But the thoughtful ob-

server must not be satisfied with the superficial glance which manifests only outward appearances; he knows that fluent and loud talkers, officious and bustling busybodies are not the true cause of momentous political events; the true cause usually lies hidden far beneath the surface. Now if we ask: What is it which so ripened the then far western territory of Missouri for statehood, that it could achieve it as early at 1821, whereas other Territories settled long before, easier of access, had yet to wait before reaching the maturity of Statehood? Obviously the answer is in the rapid increase of the population in Missouri. And if we inquire further: What was the cause of this rapid increase? We are sent for a reply to the policy of the Spanish government using all possible inducements to attract west of the Mississippi Catholic settlers. We purposely say "Catholic," since a religious test, by no means draconian and impossible to evade, however, was imposed on the new comers. How numbers of Catholics, and a few others, too, flocked from the territory east of the great river when that territory had fallen into British hands and after, has become a common place; and how, thanks to these Catholic emigrants, Missouri won back in the Eastern States the reputation of being a land good to live in, so that, after the Louisiana Purchase, hosts of "Americans" came to seek a home in its towns or amidst its rich fields, the records of the increase of population are there to testify. If, therefore you look for the *ratio sufficiens* which accounts for the early development of Missouri rendering it fit for Statehood as early at 1821, you will find it in the endurance and pluck of its early Catholic colonists, in the Catholic colonizing policy of Spain, in the Catholic population which this policy attracted to our shores.

What if, moreover, we scan the loose leaves of Missouri's early history, the records of discovery and early exploration? All are the works of Catholic bravery. When, in Territorial times or the first following years we look for establishments of education, charitable institutions, works of social uplift, always we see looming over the façade the Catholic cross. And the century just completed reveals no falling off of the old Catholic spirit of pioneer times: in every line of public life and activity the Catholics of Missouri yield to no one in true progressiveness, intelligent concern for the public weal and unselfish devotedness. As the Most Reverend Archbishop of St. Louis reminded his hearers at St. Charles, "the Church furnished the discoverers, the first colonists, the schools, the atmosphere of civilization, the first Government and the leading citizens," in a word the creators of the soul of Missouri. Her gentle influence it is which has given to our State to stand in the forefront of religious toleration putting it on a parity with political toleration. That soul is the spiritual power behind the State today. It has lived for a hundred years and will continue to live, blocking the way to the radical tendencies of those who while proclaiming liberty with their lips are tyrants in their hearts, and protecting the State from the enemies of justice and the enemies of freedom. Well, therefore could Archbishop Glennon,

in a later occasion, sternly condemn "the utter fallacy of the position of those who now would say, in the face of this history, that our Catholic religion is a thing alien to, a thing foreign in our State."

Whatever the reasons alleged, the program of the October celebration in St. Louis, as arranged by the St. Louis Missouri Centennial Association, made no provision for a religious celebration. On the initiative of an active group of ladies of the city, a solemn and impressive function at the Old Cathedral was organized to repair this regrettable omission. It took place on Sunday morning, October 9, thus ushering in fittingly the round of festivities by thanksgiving and prayer to the "Bestower of all good." If evidence were needed that the people of St. Louis do not think "that our Catholic religion is a thing alien to, a thing foreign in our State," the crowds which, that morning, filled to overflowing the old edifice, and the composition of that worshipful assembly afford that evidence. His Grace the Most Reverend Archbishop of St. Louis presided and spoke. Most glad and proud are we to be permitted to present his discourse to the readers of the REVIEW.

The second scene of the religious program of the day was enacted near that spot of Calvary Cemetery where side by side are laid the mortal remains of the first Governor of Missouri, Alexander McNair and his wife, Marguerite Susanne Reilhe. Governor McNair, who came from a family of Scotch Presbyterians and had been born and reared in a Protestant community, had been for some years visibly attracted to the Catholic faith: "The whole family of our Governor," wrote Bishop Du Bourg to Father Bruté on July 6, 1822, "are practical Catholics; and the Governor himself does not miss any of our church celebrations." Owing no doubt to the example of his wife and children, he wished to die in their Faith, and received on his deathbed the last rites of the Church. Fitting it was that his tomb in Calvary, to which his remains were transferred from the old Military Graveyard at the time of the opening of the Cemetery, should no longer remain unknown; and with a most commendable sense of propriety the Calvary Cemetery Board chose the day of the opening of the Centenial celebration for the unveiling of the shaft telling to the generations to come that nearly a hundred years after his untimely death, the memory of their Governor still lived in the hearts of the Catholics of Missouri. On the monument, of Missouri red granite, is the inscription:

IN MEMORY OF
ALEXANDER McNAIR,
First Governor of the State of Missouri;
born in Mifflin County, Pa., May 5, 1775;
died at St. Louis, March 18, 1826;
AND HIS WIFE,
MARGUERITE SUSANNE REILHE.
Erected by the Calvary Cemetery Association
on the 100th Anniversary
of the Admission of Missouri to the Union.

From Governor McNair to the centennial Drama, *Missouri—One Hundred Years Ago,* the transition is natural, as Alexander McNair is one of the *Dramatis Personae.* The production in the Coliseum of that Drama was the outstanding feature of the second week of the Centennial festivities. Leaving aside any appreciation of the execution, which, in all its parts, costumes, scenery, acting, music, proved an unqualified success, we would fain turn our attention to the text. Whether, as we are bidden to observe, this text "represents a distinct step in the technical progress of the Community Drama movement in America" (p. xi), is a question of aesthetics lying beyond our scope. Not so, however, the query whether the drama is, as heralded, "severely historical in its translation of the spirit of political events, and in the rigid economy of its characterization" (p. x); and lest our judgment should go astray a warning is given: "The author has not attempted to 'white-wash the period,' but to present it. The characters are not heroes in the rose light of worshipful descendants, but types of a past day, just inside the frontier, with all their political and personal aspirations and animosities within them. They speak as their contemporaries reveal them; as the wrote themselves down in their letters, as the journalism of their day reflected them" (pp. x-xi). In other words, the author by means of "this comparatively realistic method" wished to restore before our eyes the original scenes and characters of one hundred years ago. Has he succeeded? One hundred years ago, even at times of hottest political excitement, St. Louis was not, judging from the accounts of the many who saw it then, the kind of unruly, disreputable frontier settlement presented to us. One hundred years ago St. Louis counted some four thousand souls: of these we see not a score—the others—where are they? That the score of persons who figure in the drama are representative of St. Louis one hundred years ago might well be gainsaid; at any rate the "unretouched" pictures of the most of that score of citizens of St. Louis are not true to life.

In a short while, the skill displayed in the devising of costumes and scenery, the art and earnestness with which the participants entered into their several parts, will be forgotten. The text will remain: *scripta manent,* says the old adage. Will that text contribute to the fame of Mr. Thomas Wood Stevens? We doubt it very much.

It's a long way from St. Louis to Grand Coteau, La.; yet dates suggest our bringing them presently together: the same month of August 1821, which saw President Monroe sign the Proclamation of Missouri's admission into the Union, witnessed likewise the arrival of two religious of the Sacred Heart at Grand Coteau for the purpose of opening there a Convent and school for young girls on a estate offered by Mrs. Charles Smith. The two religious were Madame Eugénie Audé, who had come from France three years before with Mother Duchesne, and Sister Mary Layton, a young girl from the Barrens, the first American postulant ever received in the Order. They

were coming from Florissant, then the American home of the Community, of which Grand Coteau was to be the first offshoot. Three weeks after reaching the hospitable home of Mrs. Smith, the Religious of the Sacred Heart took possession of the house prepared for them, though it was not yet finished,—a two story frame building, fifty-five feet square, surrounded by a veranda, adjoining which where two small—separate buildings of one story each to serve as kitchen and dining room respectively. In the beginning of October five pupils were received; and thus humbly commences the now one century long history of the second oldest institution of learning in Louisiana. This history is told briefly in a charming, exquisitely tasteful and beautifully illustrated pamphlet issued in memory of those one hundred years of achievements. It were wrong to insinuate the School of Grand Coteau is old; it is one hundred years *young,* and has before it all the promises of vigorous youth: *Ad multos annos!*

Perry County, Mo., was organized May 21st, 1821. The realization that a century had rolled by since that far away date, and that its close should not be let pass without a fitting commemoration, has brought back to life the moribund Perry County Historical Society, and stirred them up to gather materials for the history of the country; they hope, no doubt, that—if we may be allowed to reverse the well-known phrase—"the function will create the organ," that is, will rouse up some day the historian capable of assimilating these materials, and elaborating them into a complete History of the County. Meanwhile they have determined to bring out for the centennial celebration, held August 10, "some of the salient facts of that history." *The Centennial History of Perry County, Missouri,* booklet of one hundred pages or so, looking quite attractive in its gold-colored paper covers, is the result of their first endeavors.

Let us say it at once, though: the printing contrasts painfully with the pleasing outward appearance of the book. The printers' devil has disported himself with unbridled license through its pages: still the innumerable misprints defacing the text may perhaps find somehow an excuse in the unavoidable haste with which the work was brought out: three weks from the first conception to the issuance of such a book, must have left no time indeed for proof-reading. But the indulgence of the most lenient reader can go no farther. That pages should not be numbered is to him intolerable; moreover, think what he will of the value and propriety of advertisements in a book that wishes to "provoke thought," that style of printing which squeezes the text within whatever space was not pre-empted by a bank, a hardware store or a shoemaker, he must find supremely undignified.

A glance over the title of the chapters: Geology of Perry Co.; Geography, Topography; Minerals; Caves and Springs; Pre-historic People; Colonization; Education; Religions; the Merchants of Old Perry; Business interests in Perryville in 1921; the Medical Profession; Dentists of the County; the Perry County Bar; Officials of the

County; Perry County Press; Courts; Transportation; Political History; During the World War, will evince at once the range of subjects more or less completely treated. No topic worth talking about was omitted—except the people. Where the people of Perry County originate from, we learn in detail; but about their economic life past and present, their social life, their local customs, their distinctive traits, etc., we are told nothing. It is to be regretted that in the History Committee, or among the colaborators, there was not found anyone with a mind sociologically inclined, to study this important subject of the people. Merchants, doctors, lawyers, clergymen, politicians, we find everywhere: their kind is very much the same all the State or the country over, and if individuals differ from place to place, the differences are slight and accidental; whereas the people in Perry County have characteristics all their own, not to be found in Cape Girardeau County, or in Bollinger County, or in St. Genevieve County. The delineation of these well-defined characteristics, the description of these picturesque local customs, the moral photograph of the native "Perryvillian," we are sorry to miss in the *History* in our hands.

To follow in detail the work of the various contributors would take us too far afield. A few remarks, however, are in order. The name of *Cinque Homme* Creek, found repeatedly in the chapter on Geography, must come first for a bit of comment. It is a French name, tradition avers, and it means Five Men. The current explanation of the name in Perry County, is that once upon a time, five men were drowned in the Creek. Who these five men were, when, at what place exactly, and in what circumstances the alleged accident occurred, no one has ever been able to tell. At a time when, on all sides, there is manifested a legitimate curiosity regarding the origin of our place names, here is a problem which might tempt the Perry County Historical Society. We advise them, however, not to burn the midnight oil over it; for, on investigation, they must come to the conclusion that the little current story is a mere legend originated in the strange name which no one could explain. Anyway, be the story true or fanciful, the spelling *Cinque Homme,* evidently the sorry achievement of some local "French scholar", is simply barbarous. And, what is worse, it is relatively modern, and bespeaks in its originators inexcusable ignorance of a name, whose association with Perry County in the last years of the XVIIth century, ought to be regarded as a glorious tradition, and jealously preserved as a precious heritage. That this horrible spelling is relatively modern (Collot cannot be invoked in its favor, for he wrote correctly *Cinq Hommes*) our voucher is the Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, annexed to the Proceedings of the 24th Congress—1835 (see p. 187, claim of Leo Fenwick; pp. 189 and 191, claim of Ezechiel Fenwick; p. 395, claim of Joseph Fenwick; pp. 399 and 401, claim of Martin Fenwick), where the famous Cape and Creek (*Rivière à la Viande*) are constantly and consistently spelled *St. Cosme,* after the name of the famous missionary, Jean Francois Buis-

son de Saint-Cosme, concerning whom more anon. It is much to be desired that, for the sake of orthography and the preservation of Perry County's historical traditions, the old correct *official* spelling should be restored, and *Cinque Homme* consigned to utter oblivion. But this is the affair of the County's officials: *Videant consules.*

If we read aright, through the web woven by the printer's devil, the first sentence of the section devoted to the Indians, we must take exception to the statement it contains: for how long the Shawnees "roamed over the rolling hills and fertile valleys of what is now Perry County", is pretty well known, since the date of their advent can be determined with fair accuracy and that of their departure is matter of public record. Nor should the stone implements picked up in great numbers in the fields be attributed to these late-comers. Before them, and until the middle of the eighteenth century, the territory between the Mississippi river, Apple Creek and the Saline was, since the occupation of the valleys of the Osage river and its tributaries by the tribe after which that river was named, the undisputed possession and hunting ground of that powerful nation. The migration of the Shawnees and Delawares to what is now Perry County was one of the consequences of the situation created for the French settlers east of the Mississippi by the Treaty of Paris (1763) and the War of Independence. For many years the Shawnees and Delawares, gradually moving westward from their original habitat, had lived in the neighborhood of the French settlers and in unbroken friendly relations with them. When the bulk of the latter went over to Missouri, their Indian neighbors were easily persuaded, or determined themselves to follow them. Nothing could be more pleasing to the Spanish authorities, as the settlements of these friendly Indians would serve as a bulwark against the predatory raids of the Osage marauders and the encroachments of the Americans. The first migration of Shawnees and Delawares to Spanish territory took place about 1782, apparently with the tacit consent of Cruzat. Most of them settled on Apple Creek. Some Delawares were, at least in 1788, farther south, in the bottom of what is now Mississippi county. In 1793, Don Louis Lorimier (whose first wife was a Shawnee, and second wife Marie Berthiaume had Shawnee blood in her veins), with the authorization of Baron Carondelet, gave the Shawnees and Delawares a grant of land, situated between the St. Cosme and Flora Creek and extending westwards to the White Water. Other members of these two tribes came later to Upper Louisiana, either at the suggestion of their Missouri kinsmen or on the direct invitation of Lorimier, who went, in 1794, and again 1796, to visit these tribes on the Glaize for that purpose.

That "le grand village Sauvage" numbered at any time about five hundred lodges would be hard to prove. Perrin du Lac, who visited it in 1802, says: "Le grand village contains about four hundred and fifty *inhabitants* (italics inserted) of every age and sex." While the Shawnees and Delawares were always friendly to their

white neighbours, and the only foul deed recorded against them is the murder by a Shawnee, in Cape Girardeau County, of Mrs. Jane Burns, this was not by any means "the only outrage perpetrated by the Indians of this locality." The presence in the territory of these weak Indians inspired very little awe to the other tribes roaming in the district. So for instance, not to speak of the murder of seven persons by the Osages at Mine La Motte, on April 7, 1774, or of these same Indians attacking, in the prairie near Terre Blue Creek, Henry Fry and his bride-to-be, then on their way to Ste. Genevieve, we have on record the case of Ephraim Carpenter, who had settled on the Saline, in 1797 and was driven away by the Osage Indians; and the case of James Moore, Sr., who had taken up a farm on the St. Cosme creek, in 1802, and was fired on by Indians who pursued him several miles; as late as 1809 a solemn council of the Shawnees was held near Cape Girardeau, to try three Indians and a squaw accused of murder.

The chapter on the Catholic Church had naturally the lion's share in the reviewer's attention. The author opens this chapter with the statement that "the history of the Catholic Church in Perry County antedates its (?) organization by at least twenty years." He is by far too modest: for if the sunrise of historical times may be dated in 1813-1814, when Father Dunand built the log-chapel of the Barrens, the truth is that a long dawn, of well-nigh a century and a half preceded this sunrise. As, through the dim and uncertain light of this dawn, a few facts emerge now and then, we submit these few disconnected, but precious fragments of early history of Perry County.

The earliest mention in historical records of any spot later included in Perry County, is apparently that which is found in the Relation of Marquette's first voyage down the Mississippi river (1673). There is scarcely any doubt but Fr. Marquette, in a well known passage of his Relation, is describing Grand Tower. But that he cast even more than a passing glance upon this picturesque bit of Perry County scenery, would scarcely deserve to enter in the Catholic Annals of the County; more important is the fact that he and Joliet probably camped upon the site where was laid out early in the last century the now forgotten town of Birmingham, in the southeast corner of Perry County. Foundation for this opinion is afforded by the narrative of the Missionary, recording that, a short distance above the mouth of the Ouaboukigou (Wabash, that is, the Ohio) the explorers saw "cliffs, on which our Frenchmen noticed an iron mine, which they consider very rich. There are several veins of ore, and a bed a foot thick, and one sees large masses of it united with pebbles." So precise a description could scarcely be the result of observations made from canoes floating down stream along the shore; we must suppose, therefore, that the "Frenchmen" of the party examined the spot leisurely during one of the many stops made on the river bank. That this camping place was not far south of Grand Tower, we are invited to conclude from Marquette's remark: "Here

we began to see canes, or large reeds, which grow on the bank of the river." For Charlevoix, a very careful observer, notes in his *Journal Historique* (Letter 29) that, on the 12th of November, 1721, he passed *le Cap de Saint Antoine* on the left; "there canes begin to be seen." Now St. Cosme describes very minutely Cape St. Anthony as a rocky bluff on the left bank, just "some arpents" above "another rock on the right, which projects into the river and towards an island, or rather a rock about one hundred feet high,"—which is certainly no other than our Grand Tower.

Proud as the Perry County people may justly be that Marquette rested for a few hours on their soil, they have yet another ground for legitimate pride, for to the Grand Tower rock was reserved the honor of serving as a pedestal for the second—perhaps even the first—cross erected in Missouri. On December 10, 1698, Fathers François Joliet de Montigny, Antoine Davion and Jean François Buisson de Saint-Cosme, of the Quebec Seminary of Foreign Missions, gliding down the Mississippi, saw, two days after leaving the Tamaroa village, "a hill at a distance of about three arpents from the river on the right going down." The party was, Saint-Cosme informs us, detained by rain part of the next day (December 11). This means undoubtedly they were camping somewhere near-by. For this reason most probably has the name of St. Cosme remained attached to this spot. The hill spoken of by him is, to this day, known as *Cape St. Cosme;* at the foot of this hill runs the *St. Cosme Creek.* The next morning (December 12) the company reached Cape St. Anthony, "where" Saint Cosme notes, "we remained that day and the next to get pitch we needed . . . . Some arpents below there is another rock on the right which projects into the river and towards an island, or rather a rock, about one hundred feet high. . . . We went up this island or rock by a path with considerable difficulty; and we planted a fine cross on it, singing the hymn *Vexilla Regis,* while our people fired three volleys from their guns." That this conspicuous rock, or island upon which Saint-Cosme erected a cross, is our Grand Tower, the description leaves no room for doubt. We submit Saint-Cosme's prayer to the consideration of the Perry County people: it is the prayer of a holy man who was, a few years later, to shed his blood for the faith among the Chitimachas of Louisiana: "God grant that the Cross, which has never yet been known in that region, may triumph here and that our Lord may pour forth abundantly the merits of His holy passion, that all these savages may know and serve him."

Were we not right when we said it was a pity that the name of this heroic priest, the first to pray for this section of Missouri, has been crowded out of the memory of the people by the *Cinq Hommes* who never existed?

The chasm of a century yawns between Saint-Cosme and the advent into Perry County of the first colonists from Kentucky. Some fifteen or so more years rolled by ere these good Catholic settlers saw

a priest and had a church in their midst,—all that the author of the chapter we are now reviewing may assert to the contrary notwithstanding. For where did he find out that the log church in the old graveyard on Sycamore Lane was due to the initiative of the inhabitants? On what authority does he claim that the priest of Ste. Genevieve regularly visited that church? that Frs. de St. Pierre and Maxwell went there occasionally? that Fr. Alier—who is is anyway? never heard of him before—attended the Barrens once a month? or even that Fr. Henry Pratte frequently visited this then remote mission? On the other hand, Fr. Dunand, the very man who had most to do with the Barrens settlement, is spoken of as an occasional visitor. All this has to be re-written. And for this page of the Catholic history of Perry County, we have a first-class source of information in a letter of Fr. Dunand, which apparently has escaped the notice of the author (Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, Vol. XXVII, No. 1, March, 1916, p. 45 and foll.).

"On one of my journeys," writes the zealous Trappist, "I arrived at the house of Mr. Tucker, a good Catholic who had eight sons and one daughter, all except the youngest married and settled about him in good homes." This is, needless to say, Joseph Tucker, Sr., who had settled on the Saline. *"For seventeen years they had not seen a priest,"* (italics inserted) continues our missionary. As his visit to the settlement may be dated in 1813, it follows that Joseph Tucker migrated to the Barrens a few years sooner than is generally believed, about 1796—1797. The above statement, moreover, explodes our historian's assertions concerning visits of De St. Pierre, and Maxwell, let alone the shadowy Alier. But we must go on. "I inquired how they had passed their Sundays and holy days, without Mass. They answered that on these days all the families of the district assembled three times; the first time they recited the prayers of the Mass; the second time they recited the beads or other prayers and followed this by singing hymns and canticles; and the third time some of the better instructed taught catechism not only to the children but to the married folks as well. I could not help admiring this beautiful arrangement, which the Holy Spirit, who is the spirit of righteousness and simplicity, has established among these pious planters, so simple and so free from malice...I did not wish to leave these virtuous souls without giving them hope of again seeing me. Finally to preserve or increase, if such were possible, the concord reigning amongst them, *I advised them to build a church"* (italics inserted).

This was, remember, in 1813...."In less than two months the edifice was under cover...When it was in readiness Mr. Tucker, knowing where I lived, came to remind me of my promise. I had been taxing my strength too much...; difficulties and dangers of travel caused a kind of repugnance. However..., I did not wish to show less courage than the good old man whom these obstacles had not hindered from coming to seek me .The journey was laborious, but

their joy at seeing me in their midst rewarded me abundantly and induced me to return there several times.

"Msgr. Flaget, Bishop of Kentucky, came to give Confirmation in my French parish (Florissant), and I begged him when he had finished to visit this new mission. The good report I gave of it made him comply most willingly with my request." Indeed the prelate must have all the more readily acquiesced, because the people of the Barrens were from Kentucky. "Many of the congregation came as far as Ste. Genevieve, which is seven leagues farther up to meet us...On the next day after our arrival everybody gathered in the church and Monseigneur preached so fervently that tears flowed from the eyes of all present. We remained nearly nineteen days with them. Much of this time was spent in baptizing, in preaching and in the confessional." The *Diary* of Bishop Flaget confirms Fr. Dunand's statements. On September 21st, 1814, the Bishop was at Ste. Genevieve, where he remained until October 5, administering Confirmation, at three different times, to three hundred and sixty-one persons. From th 5th to the 19th of October, he visited "an American Catholic settlement at some distance, where forty-five were confirmed." What "American Catholic settlement" was then in existence "at some distance" from Ste. Genevieve, to which he returned afterwards, cannot be the subject of any doubt. October 1814, therefore, is the date of the first visit of a Bishop, and the first Confirmation at the Barrens.

Once more we return to our Trappist's letter. "When we were leaving I promised to see them again in a little while and stay an entire month. They were overjoyed. I kept my promise, and when I arrived I found that the seed which Monseigneur had planted in these well prepared hearts had produced fruit a hundredfold." The Parish Registers of Florissant testify to an absence of Fr. Dunand from his parish extending from the middle of November to December 27. This must be the time of the visit he speaks of in the foregoing lines. "I was so well pleased with these good people that I have since returned there four times a year, although they are forty leagues from my parish. The good Mr. Tucker received me in his home. One day on arriving there I found him ill. I administered the last Sacraments to him and soon after he ended his days full of merit before God. He left some valuable donations to the church in his will. Every time I visited this congregation I had the good fortune of making some converts of one or the other sex."

Besides these regular visits of Fr. Dunand, the inhabitants of Tucker's settlement, as the place was then commonly called, had, at the end of December 1817, the pleasant surprise of welcoming for a few days in their midst their former pastor in Kentucky, Fr. Stephen T. Badin, the proto-priest of America. He was then on his way to St. Louis, in company with Bishops Flaget and Du Bourg; but on the day after Christmas he left his episcopal fellow-travellers at the farm of Mrs. Fenwick, near the mouth of Apple Creek, "in order," Bishop Flaget's *Diary* informs us, "to visit on the way many of his old

friends, Catholic emigrants from Kentucky." He was to find again his travelling companions a few days later at Ste. Genevieve.

Mrs. Fenwick's farm was the place where Bishop Du Bourg set foot for the first time in his Diocese. On the 28th of December, in great solemnity and to the chant of the *Vexilla Regis,* the prelate planted there a large cross to commemorate the event.

During the following April he was at the Barrens to examine on the spot the offer which a delegation of the place had made him shortly after his coming to St. Louis. What agreement was made with the people in view of the location there of a resident priest and of the Seminary, cannot be rehearsed here. Suffice it to remark that he was no sooner back in St. Louis (April 20), than he called Father Charles De la Croix and four workmen under his guidance, to commence the work at once. Father De la Croix was at the same time to take charge of the parish. He is therefore to be considered the first resident pastor of the Barrens. During the time of his administration, took place the first ordination ever held in Perryville: on September 29, Mr. Michael Portier, the future Bishop of Mobile, was raised to priesthood. Whether the ceremony was performed in the log-church, or in the house of Jos. Manning, where, it seems, the Bishop resided, cannot be ascertained.

Shortly after, exactly on the 1st of October, Fr. Rosati and his band of ecclesiastics, exhausted by the long journey—they, by the way did not come from St. Louis, but directly from Bardstown, Ky., —reached the settlement, and found a home in Mrs. Hayden's house. Fr. Rosati, however, did not assume at once, the administration of the parish, as our historian seems to think. Father De la Croix remained in charge until the end of November, at which time he was succeeded by Fr. Secundus Vallesano, who had received his appointment on November 15, and exercized the pastoral functions until late in the spring 1819. Father Rosati was, therefore, the third pastor of the parish.

All along our historian speaks of the building of the church as going on at the same time as the building of the Seminary, and he tells us that in 1820, the work being completed, Fr. Rosati "blessed both church and house." This is certainly an error. No new church was built at that time, and the old church erected at the instances of Father Dunand did duty as parish center until the new one was ready in 1837. True, it had to be enlarged in the course of time; but even this did not take place until 1825. In Bishop Rosati's *Diary* under the date of February 13, 1825, we read: "After high Mass, I spoke to the people about enlarging the present church before Easter." The following Wednesday, which was Ash Wednesday, the prelate informs us that excavations were begun for the addition. The work was completed on Saturday, March 26, and the entry in the *Diary* tells us at the same time of what the addition consisted: it was a new choir and Sanctuary, so that the space of the old Sanctuary was added to the pew space for the people.

We must close here these remarks. If we have deliberately entered into some details, it was not out of any intention of carping or finding fault, but for the double purpose of encouraging the workers of the resuscitated Perry County Historical Society and of showing that the field they have engaged themselves in holds out the promise of an abundant harvest. The history of Perry County, and above all, its Catholic History, is full of interest, and worthy of a thorough treatment. Ample sources of information are at hand. True, they are scattered here and there, and the first business of the workers ought to be to ferret them out. So far the soil has barely been cleared: that is why, to use a bit of that history as a figure, out of the materials lying on the ground, only a crude and temporary log-edifice has been erected; let the workers dig deep into the historical quarry which awaits their hands, their efforts will produce a solid and lasting monument worthy of the subject and defying the teeth of time.

To the commemoration of yet another centennial, that of the erection of the episcopal See of Cincinnati, is the Church of America indebted for the *History of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati* (1821—1921), published by the Frederick Pustet Company. Most happy an inspiration it was that prompted the Most Reverend Archbishop of Cincinnati to entrust to the Reverend John H. Lamott the task of writing that History. No one was ever better qualified for the work: the thoroughness of his early training in theology, attested by the title of Doctor, his schooling in the spirit and method of historical sciences in that excellent laboratory—the Catholic University of Louvain; his functions at Mount St. Mary Seminary; and last, but not least, his enlightened appreciation of the men who were called by divine Providence to shape the destinies of the Church of Cincinnati, would by themselves alone recommend in a singular manner any historical work coming from his pen. Besides all these titles to the attention of all the lovers of history, the book in question presents itself in a way with the stamp of approval of the University of Louvain, by which it was accepted as thesis for the Doctorate in Moral and Historical Sciences.

The plan is happy and clear. After a preliminary chapter on the beginnings of Catholicity in Ohio, in the next chapter we follow the lives and activities of the four bishops who have ruled the diocese: Bishop Edward Dominic Fenwick (1821—1832), Bishop, then Archbishop John Baptist Purcell (1833—1850; 1850—1883); Archbishop William Henry Elder (1883—1904) and Archbishop Henry Moeller (1904—). The geographical development of the Diocese is the object of Chapter III: "Boundaries of Cincinnati Diocese and Archdiocese;" we are told thereafter, first, of what the writer well styles the "institutional development": Establishment and Hierarchical constitution of the Diocese and its inner growth leading to the

division and multiplication of the parishes; secondly, in c. V, "Ecclesiastical Property," the material means at the disposal of the bishops and clergy for the welfare of the diocese, came for attentive consideration; the following chapter, "Diocesan Synods and Provincial Councils" deals with the important subject of the legislation regulating ecclesiastical matters. The author finally concludes his narrative with a sketch of the religious communities both of men and women that contributed to the spiritual progress of the diocese (c. VII), and of the various manifestations of social activity under ecclesiastical auspices (c. VIII). An extensive appendix of 78 pages contains, besides the original text of some important official documents, a great deal of statistical information, among which we must single out, as particularly important even outside of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, the list of priests both Diocesan and Regular, who at any time worked, or are still working under the head of the Church of Cincinnati.

Dry as it necessarily is, this sketch of Dr. Lamott's *History* gives us a fair idea of the completeness of the treatment. Yet the text proper does not extend beyond 318 octavo pages, which means the author has compressed extremely his narrative, as indeed he should do to keep well within the wise limits assigned to a *vue d'ensemble*. We hasten to add, however, the compression is never at the expense of completeness. There is still room for monographs either of men or places besides his volume: these monographs will center our view on some particular point of the History, but we venture to say they can scarcely alter the *vue d'ensemble* which Dr. Lamott has depicted. Yet at times delicate and burning questions came for treatment and demanded sound judgment and deft handling, as for instance the question of the "Purcell Failure." Here, as is usually the case in questions much obscured by human passions and prejudices, the recourse to the untainted original sources of information has enabled the writer to draw a picture of the episode which bids fair to become the final verdict of history; and, needless to say, his picture has not the daubing of dark colors which has been often presented to us.

Neat and correct printing, pleasing, yet becomingly modest outward appearance, illustration spare, but tasteful and to the point, contribute their share to producing an excellent impression on the reader.

We are indebted to the Michigan Historical Commission for a copy of the fifth volume of its University Series and of Lawton T. Hemans' *Life and Times of Stevens T. Mason,* the first Governor of the State of Michigan. "The Boy Governor," as Stevens T. Mason was and is still dubbed in popular parlance interests us of the Mississippi Valley only in an indirect way; but those of us who wish to devote some study to the Black Hawk War, will find in Mr. Hemans' book some valuable and new information. Of much use will that book prove to be to such as wish to form a fair idea of the American life

early in the 'thirties; conditions in Michigan were then not far different from conditions in Missouri and in particular the political atmosphere had all over the western states very much the same character.

Of the four hundred and sixty odd pages contained in the other volume referred to above, more than one half are devoted to the history of the *Pere Marquette Railroad Company,* these lie outside of our sphere. Not so the first monograph due to the pen of Ida Amanda Johnson, and entitled, *The Michigan Fur Trade.* We recomment strongly the perusal of this essay to such among us as are curious to get an accurate idea of the adventurous life of the first white men who roamed through the forests and plains, paddled their canoes on the rivers of the northwest, in pursuit of the coveted peltries, of the *coureurs des bois,* who befriended or cheated the Indians, and lawfully or otherwise engaged in trade with them. Incidentally the reader will be brought to his great delight across the path of the early explorers and the early missionaries; and will be afforded a better view into their various activities. This is tantamount to saying that *The Michigan Fur Trade* is a rich storehouse of information on the early and often faltering steps of civilization in the American continent.

DOCUMENTS FROM OUR ARCHIVES

DOCUMENTS FROM OUR ARCHIVES DIARY.

OF BISHOP ROSATI.

1822 August — As the Most Rev. Ambrose Maréchal, Archbishop of Baltimore had, of his own accord, resigned in the hands of the Sovereign Pontiff, Pius VII, all the jurisdiction which he held, and the care which he exercised over the territories of Mississippi and Alabama [1], the Holy Father at the request of the S. Congregation of Propaganda, appointed me [2] Vicar Apostolic of these two States, with the character and title of Bishop of the Church of Tenagra, *in partibus infidelium,* by an Apostolic Brief in date of August 13, 1822. [3]

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1. The archbishop of Baltimore exercised his jurisdiction over the territory of these two States through the Bishop of Louisiana as his Vicar General for those parts.

2. *Designavit et constituit.*

3. The text of this Pontifical Brief was as follows:

PIUS VII POPE.

Beloved Son, health and the Apostolic Blessing.

Inasmuch as we, this day, by our Apostolic authority have appointed you Bishop and Pastor of the Church of Tenagra *in partibus infidelium,* to enjoy of all the privileges and indults which have been sent in our Brief, we explain here more at length our wishes in this regard.

Whereas the two territories of Mississippi and Alabama, in the United States of America, the spiritual government whereof devolved on the archbishopric of Baltimore, are situated so far away from the Metropolitan See, that the Archbishop was unable to take care of them, he was obliged to confide their administration to the Bishop of New Orleans as his Vicar General; as, on the other hand, the Bishop of New Orleans, owing to his changing his residence to St. Louis, in Upper Louisiana, nearly five hundred leagues from these territories, can no longer take care of them, we, in order that the faithful of these parts should not be deprived of spiritual help, have resolved to elect a Vicar Apostolic of Mississippi and Alabama, with episcopal character and title and with all the faculties enjoyed by the other Bishops of the United States.

Wherefore, fully confident of your piety, prudence, devotedness and zeal for the Christian and Catholic Faith, absolving you from any bond of excommunication....on the advice of our Venerable Brethren the Cardinals in charge of the affairs of the Propagation of the Faith, We, of our and the Holy See's good pleasure constitute and appoint you Vicar Apostolic of the Territories of Mississippi and Alabama, with all the faculties otherwise granted by said Holy See to the Bishops of the United States of America, reserving always, however, in the foregoing, the authority of the Congregation of the same Cardinals.

Ordaining, moreover, that all whom it may concern should receive you....All constitutions and ordinations of the Apostolic See to the contrary notwithstanding.

Given at Rome, near St. Mary Major, under the Fisherman's Seal, the 13th of August 1822.

H. Card. CONSALVI

(Copy in Archives of the Procurator General C. M., Rome.)

August 18 — On receiving this Brief, and other letters from the S. C. of Propaganda, dated respectively Sept. 7 [4] and 13 [5] of the same year, together with the faculties both ordinary and extraordinary, sent on September 8, after mature consideration, feeling that I was unable to bear such a burden, I answered the S. Congregation to deign to appoint somebody else [6]; and, at the same time, I begged earnestly Rev. F. Baccari, Vicar General of our Congregation,[7] the Right Rev. William Du Bourg, Bishop of New Orleans and the Right Rev. B. J. Flaget, Bishop of Bardstown to plead with the Sovereign Pontiff in order to deliver me from the obligation of accepting that dignity.

1823 January 21 — Meanwhile, at the request of the S. Congregation, the Sovereign Pontiff, by another Brief in date of January 21, 1823, added to the aforesaid Vicariate the territory of the Floridas. [8] This Brief, however, never reached me.[9]

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4. Original in Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery. After rehearsing the considerations mentioned in the Brief, and the appointment made, Card. Consalvi goes on to say: "It behooves you, therefore to receive as soon as possible Episcopal Consecration, to repair to the country committed to your care, to look to the spiritual welfare of the Faithful there, and to work strenuously for the development of our Holy Faith. Later on you shall report to us the religious condition of that district, and fully convinced as I am that your Lordship will perfectly fulfill our expectations, I pray God...."

5. Original in Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery. At the end the Card. Pro-Prefect renews his request to have—this time he says. "as soon as convenient"—Rosati's report on the state of Catholicity in Mississippi and Alabama.

6. A rough draft of this answer (in Latin) is preserved among the Rosati papers in the Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery. It reads as follows:

Your Eminence:

The letter by which Your Eminence has deigned inform me of my election to the See of Tenagra and to the Vicariate Apostolic of the territories of Mississippi and Alabama, together with the Apostolic Brief and the faculties, both ordinary and extraordinary, granted me, has been received. With what sorrow, with what troubled mind I have read it, I am unable to describe. As I know my strength, and am aware of its inability to bear the burden of the Episcopacy, I cannot convince myself that it is right for me to accept it. Wherefore I most earnestly beg and beseech Your Eminence to spare my weakness, and have someone else put in charge of these Churches of Mississippi and Alabama. Hoping, then, that Your Eminence will kindly yield to my humble entreaty, I deem it safe for me in conscience to delay my Episcopal Consecration and to abstain from going to the districts committed to me. As long as a reply contrary to my wishes shall not make it clear to me that another course would be sheer disobedience, I shall never dare leave my humble position, and sit up with the anointed rulers of the Lord's Churches. Meanwhile I pray Almighty God ever to keep Your Eminence in good health for the good of the whole Church for which you work so earnestly and assiduously.

Your Eminence's

Most humble and obedient Servant,

Joseph Rosati, *priest of the Cong. of the Mission.*

St. Mary's Seminary, Perry Co., Mo., November 26, 1822.

7. Archives of the Procurator General of the Congregation of the Mission, Rome.

8. Copy of this new Brief is in the Archives of the Procurator General of the Congregation of the Mission, Rome. Part of it was published in *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. III, No. 1, April 1917, p. 16. We give here a translation of the whole document.

PIUS VII. POPE.

For perpetual remembrance.

Among the manifold and momentous cares of Our Apostolate is the concern about the state of the various Dioceses scattered all over the world; hence it resorts to Our Sovereign Power and Judgment to assign new limits to them, or change these Dioceses according as from the consideration of times, places or circumstances, we perceive it to be useful for the faithful.

Now, whereas, according to the report made to Us, the two Floridas, Eastern and Western, in North America, which were first under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Santiago of Cuba, then were placed by Consistorial Decree, dated September 10, 1787, under that of the Bishop of St. Christopher of Havana, and finally, by Apostolic Letters of April 26, 1793, were annexed to the Diocese of New Orleans under the Metro-

At any rate, yielding to the joint entreaties of the Right Rev. Bishop of New Orleans, the Archbishop of Baltimore, and the Bishop of Bardstown, Pius VII, always at the request of the S. Congregation, abrogated the aforesaid Briefs of Aug. 13, 1822 and Jan. 21, 1823, and, maintaining to me the title of Bishop of Tenagra, made me Coadjutor to the Right Rev. Bishop of New Orleans, with this provision: for three years I was to discharge the office of Coadjutor with right of succession; at the end of this period, the Diocese was to be divided into two: the Bishop of New Orleans would then choose whichever portion he preferred, and the administration of the other would be given to me by new Apostolic Letters to be then
July 14 sent to me. I was notified of all this by a letter of the S. Congregation and a Brief dated July 14, 1823.[10]

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politan jurisdiction of the Archbishop on San Domingo, are so far away from the city of St. Louis in Upper Louisiana where the Bishop of New Orleans has established his residence, that he is absolutely unable to take care of them, and therefore has resigned his right over them; lest the faithful residing in the Floridas should be deprived of spiritual help, We, by the advice of our Ven. Brethren the Cardinals of the Congregation of Propaganda, have resolved to dismember from the Diocese of New Orleans the two Floridas and to unite and annex them provisionally to the recently created Vicariate Apostolic of the Territories of Mississippi and Alabama; and finally it being our wish that our Ven. Brother Joseph Rosati, recently elected Vicar Apostolic with Episcopal dignity and title of the two Territories of Mississippi and Alabama, should have care of, and jurisdicion over the two Floridas as well, with all the faculties enjoyed by the other Bishops of the United States: so, in virtue of our Apostolic authority by the tenor of the present letter, We decree, this to stand until other provision shall be made by this Holy See.

Given at Rome, near St. Mary Major, under the seal of the Fisherman, the 21st day of January of the year 1823, twenty-third of our Pontificate.

H. Card. Consalvi.

9. In order to strengthen his plea for refusing the Episcopate, Rosati wrote to Cardinal Consalvi, on April 2, 1823, representing that the creation of the new Vicariate Apostolic was not called for. Of this letter, No. 2 of the Official Correspondence, the rough draft is extant in the Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery.

Your Eminence:

As soon as I received the letters of the S. Congregation which, together with the Apostolic Briefs, reached me in December (Rosati's memory here fails him: a note written by him on the back of the Propaganda letter of Sept. 7, 1822 informs us that this letter was received on November 20) of last year, I wrote Your Eminence, begging you most earnestly to spare my weakness and to deign to have someone else more worthy of the honor of the Episcopate appointed to the Church of Mississippi and Alabama. In my doubt as to whether you would graciously listen to my humble entreaty, I made inquiries touching the state of those Churches, and I have learned from one of the priests of our Congregation, who visited those places, that there are very few Catholics living in that country. In Alabama, the town of Mobile is the only one where there numbers are such as to enable them—and this scarcely—to support the one single priest who was given them as Pastor by the Right Rev. Bishop of Louisiana; at Natchez, Miss., the number of Catholic families does not go beyond thirty; and they are incapable of supporting the pastor, so that the Rev. Constantine Maenhaut, who had been put in charge of that parish, is soon to leave it; finally at Bay S. Louis, Miss., there are about twenty Catholic families, naturally likewise unable to support a priest. Such being the case, Your Eminence may easily conclude to the absolute inexpediency of establishing a Bishop in those districts, as Religion may derive therefrom practically no advantages, and a Bishop could not get there the means of keeping up his dignity and even the bare necessities of life. I doubt not that the S. Congregation, on the strength of these motives, will come back on its former decision, and let me work the rest of my life for the salvation of souls to the best of my limited ability in this Diocese and in the bosom of the Congregation of the Mission, which I love as a Mother. Trusting that this shall be the case, I pour to Almighty God my prayers for Your Eminence's health, and, kissing the sacred purple, subscribe myself

Your Eminence's
Most devoted and obedient servant
Joseph Rosati, *priest of the Congreg. of the Mission.*

St. Mary's Seminary, Bois Brulé, April 2, 1823.

At any rate, yielding to the joint entreaties of the Right Rev. Bishop of New Orleans, the Archbishop of Baltimore, and the Bishop of Bardstown, Pius VII, always at the request of the S. Congregation, abrogated the aforesaid Briefs of Aug. 13, 1822 and Jan. 21, 1823, and, maintaining to me the title of Bishop of Tenagra, made me Coadjutor to the Right Rev. Bishop of New Orleans, with this provision: for three years I was to discharge the office of Coadjutor with right of succession; at the end of this period, the Diocese was to be divided into two: the Bishop of New Orleans would then choose whichever portion he preferred, and the administration of the other would be given to me by Apostolic Letters to be then sent to me. I was notified of all this by a letter of the S. Congregation and a Brief dated July 14, 1823.[9]

July 14

Deterred by the advice of our Vicar General and of the

10. Original in Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery. A translation of this important document was given in *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. III, No. 1, April 1917, pp. 18—19.

To our Beloved Son Joseph Rosati, Priest of the Congreg. of the Mission, Bishop elect of Tenagra,

PIUS VII. POPE.

Health and the Apostolic Blessing.

Beloved Son,

Last year, by the report of the Secretary of the Congregation of our Venerable Brethren the Cardinals deputed to the Propagation of the Faith, We were made cognizant of the fact that the two Territories of Mississippi and Alabama, in the United States of America, the spiritual care of which devolved upon the Archbishop of Baltimore, are so far distant from the Metropolitan See that the said Archbishop was not able to take care of them either by himself, or by our Ven. Brother Louis Bishop of New Orleans as his Vicar General, on account of the latter's residing in St. Louis, in Upper Louisiana, that is, some five hundred leagues from the afore-mentioned Territories; and for this reason the Archbishop of Baltimore of his own accord resigned the spiritual administration of these Territories; whereupon We deemed it a duty of our Pastoral Office to provide for the necessity of the faithful of those parts, and accordingly appointed you, by Apostolic Brief dated August 13, 1822, Vicar Apostolic with the dignity and title of Bishop of Tenagra for the two above-mentioned Territories; finally, as the aforesaid Bishop of New Orleans, owing likewise to distances, could not in any way take care of the Floridas, We, dismembering these two Provinces from the Diocese of New Orleans, joined them temporarily and until other provision should be made by this Holy See to the aforesaid Vicariate Apostolic by another Brief in date of January 21 of the present year.

But now a recent report of the Secretary of the same Congregation based upon a letter of the Bishop of New Orleans has apprized Us of the fact that the establishment of the above-mentioned Vicariate and the union thereto of the Floridas made later, as well as your designation for that Vicariate, are not only purposeless, owing to the small numbers of Catholics in the countries forming it, not only inopportune because these countries are utterly unable to support a Bishop, but also your very appointment will be a calamity for the cause of Religion in all Louisiana, for your departure from Louisiana will strike the death-blow, it is asserted, and to the house of the Congregation of the Mission recently erected and working so usefully in Louisiana, and to the Ecclesiastical Seminary ,and finally to the College founded for the education of young men in Religion and in the liberal Arts, as you are the only person, on account of the scarcity and youth of the sacred ministers residing in those parts, who can usefully be at the head of those establishments.

After mature consideration of all the above, and by the advice of our Ven. Brethren the Cardinals of the Congregation of Propaganda, for the greater good of Religion and of the faithful, We deem it advisable to change our decision.

Therefore, the above-mentioned Apostolic Letters whereby We made you Vicar Apostolic of the Territories of Mississippi and Alabama in the United States, and added to them the Floridas dismembered from the Diocese of New Orleans, and elected you Vicar Apostolic, We, in virtue of the Apostolic authority, by the tenor of these presents cancel and abrogate; and thus, as We had elected you Bishop of Tenagra as per our former Apostolic Letter of August 13, 1822, and as you now have possibly received already Episcopal Consecration, cancelling likewise your appointment as Vicar Apostolic, We designate you to aid the Bishop of New Orleans in the administration of his Diocese in quality of his Coadjutor; the following, however, being understood both by you and by that Bishop: Louisiana shall be divided into two Episcopal Sees within three years; if, which may God avert! the Bishop of New Orleans should depart this life before the division be made, you shall at first assume the administration of the whole Louisiana; then, when the division is made, you shall have the government of only one of these two Sees, and the other shall be turned over to the person designated by the Apostolic See.

If, on the other hand, the division of Louisiana is carried to execution during the lifetime of the Bishop of New Orleans, which We heartily beg of the Lord, then our wish is that you, resigning at once your office of Coadjutor, should be by Apostolic Letters then to be issued created Bishop of that one of the two Sees which the Bishop of New Orleans will not take forhimself.

We ordain, moreover, in the name of holy obedience, to all and every one whom it may now or eventually concern, that they receive you in quality of Coadjutor, and if the division of Louisiana is not consummated during the lifetime of the Bishop of New Orleans, then immediately after his demise in quality of spiritual head of the whole Louisiana, according to the tenor of these presents; and that they be subject to you and obey you and receive your salutary advice and your commands reverently and fulfill them effectually: otherwise every sentence and penalty which you will decree lawfully against the contumacious We shall uphold, and shall inviolably procure its execution by the authority communicated to Us by the Lord, until condign satisfaction be obtained.

Given at Rome, near St. Mary Major, under the seal of the Fisherman, on July 14, 1823.

H. Card. CONSALVI.

Right Rev. Bishops of New Orleans[11] and Bardstown from resisting the will of the Sovereign Pontiff and of the S. Congregation, to the latter, by a letter of Dec. 6,

December

1823, I made known my acceptance, together with my purpose of receiving Episcopal Consecration as soon as possible.[12]

Letter to the S.C. of Prop. No. 4.

However, as I had sent back to Rome the Apostolic Letter of August 13, 1822[13], the S. Congregation returned it to me, adding a new letter, dated November 22, 1823, commanding me to obey the will of the Apostolic See.[14]

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11. Bishop Du Bourg, writing from Iberville, La., under the date of November 22, 1823, said in part: "*Alea jacta est*.... There can be now no question of hesitating, for the document is imperative, and, however afraid you are at the thougth of the Episcopacy —a fright certainly quite natural, which I can never think of allaying, knowing as I do the dangers and troubles besetting that office—all that is left for you to do now is to bow your head under the yoke imposed upon you.—Father Baccari is aware of the imperative clause referred to above, and has approved of it." (Original in Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery.)

12. The rough draft of this letter has not been preserved; but the text is extant in the Regiser of Rosati's official correspondence under No. 4, as indicated in the margin of the *Diary*.

13. He had sent them back by Father Philip Borgna, C. M., assistant at the Cathedral of New Orleans, who was going to Europe to restore his health seriously impaired by an attack of yellow fever to which he had almost succumbed during the fall of the preceding year. Whilst Father Borgna was urged by Father Rosati to plead for him, that he be spared the burden of the Episcopate, he was strongly advised by Bishop Du Bourg, on the other hand, to work for the appointment of Rosati as Coadjutor. See Letter of Du Bourg to Borgna, Washington, D. C., February 27, 1823 in *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*. Vol. II, No. 1—2, January-April 1921, pp. 118 and foll. The documents returned to Rome were accompanied by this letter to Card. Consalvi (Rough draft in Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery):

Your Eminence:

No sooner was I informed by Your Eminence of my appointment to the Vicariate Apostolic of Mississippi and Alabama and my elevation to the Episcopate, than I most humbly entreated the S. Congregation, in a letter addressed to Your Eminence, not to lay upon my shoulders a burden which is beyond my strength. After further consideration, for I did not wish to oppose the will of God, I think I ought to persevere in the same disposition, owing to the reasons which I most humbly explained to Your Eminence in my second letter(the letter cited above in Note 9; that letter had just been written the day before this was penned). I have no doubt but that these reasons will meet the approval of the S. Congregation. In consequence I am returning to Your Eminence the Apostolic Briefs together with the faculties granted me, beseeching you most earnestly to be pleased not to consider this course of mine as an act of disobedience. Indeed I firmly hope with the grace of God that, amidst the sad examples given in this unhappy country even by those of the household of the faith, I may until death profess for the Vicar of Jesus Christ that veneration, obedience and fidelity which I have imbibed from my early years in the Eternal City.

With the greatest respect, and kissing the sacred purple, I am

Your most humble and obedient servant,

Joseph Rosati, *priest of the Congreg. of the Mission.*

St. Mary's Seminary, April 3, 1823.

Determined as was Father Borgna to disregard his superior's wishes and to follow his own judgment in this affair, he was spared the trouble, for the matter had been settled months since when he arrived in Rome in the beginning of November 1823.

14. Original in Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery.

Right Reverend Sir.

I surmise that, when you receive this letter, Your Lordship will be in possession of a letter of the S. Congregation of July 5, and, added to it, an Apostolic Brief whereby Pius VII, of holy memory, appointed you Coadjutor to the Right Rev. William Du Bourg, Bishop of New Orleans. I take it for granted likewise that you learned from the same letter the repeal of the Apostolic Brief of August 13, 1822, whreby the administration of Mississippi and Alabama was confided to you as Vicar Apostolic, and, on the other hand, the confirmation of the Apostolic Letter of the same day electing you Bishop of Tenagra. When, therefore, I received yours of the 3rd. of April 1823, to which you had joined the Brief concerning the Vicariate, which you begged to decline, and also the Brief of your election to the Bishopric of Tenagra, as you thought that, since you were not to assume the office of Vicar Apostolic, you were not either to be promoted to the Episcopal dignity,

December

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December 7 — Faculty was granted to the Bishop of Tenagra to dispense the Missionaries from the divine office, and impose upon them instead the recitation of the fifteen decades of the Rosary.

1824 — In compliance with these orders of the Holy See, and receiving from the Bishop of New Orleans letters advising me of the choice of the place in Lower [15] Louisiana where the Consecration was to be, and of the most convenient time for that ceremony [16], I made my prepara-

I. Circ. Letter to the Priests of the Dioc. No. 1.

I deemed it advisable to write at once to Your Lordship, to send you back the aforementioned Brief of your election to the Episcopacy, in order that, as soon as you can, now that the office of Coadjutor has been conferred upon you, you should receive Episcopal Consecration.

I do this with this letter and urging that you obey the will of the Apostolic See, I pray God, etc.

Julius M. Card. DE SOMLIA, *Dean of the S. College.*
Peter Caprano, Archbp. of Icon, Secretary.

15. Writing from Iberville, La., on November 22, 1823, Bishop Du Bourg, announcing to Father Rosati he had received the *Mandatum Apostolicum* for the latter's consecration, and declaring to him he should submit to the wishes of the Holy See (See above Note 11) added: "The Pontifical Brief is all the more precious and sacred, because it is as the last will and testament of our Most Holy Father (Pius VII), who lived only thirty-five days after it was expedited. Have a funeral service for him in all the churches of Upper Louisiana." (Original in Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery). In compliance with this request, Bishop-elect Rosati sent to all the Pastors of Upper Louisiana the Circular Letter referred to in the marginal note of his *Diary*, and entered under No. 1 in the Register entitled by Fr. Van der Sanden *Copiae Litterarum et Documentorum Officialium a Rmo Josepho Rosati Epo.* This was his first act of administration. According to Du Bourg's petition, which was sanctioned by Rome, the Coadjutor was to continue as Superior of the Congregation of the Mission, reside in the Seminary at the Barrens, and have especial charge of Upper Louisiana. This first Circular, written on January 14, 1825, was as follows:

Reverend Sir:

The news of the demise of our Most Holy Father Pope Pius VII, which you undoubtedly learned from the newspapers, having been ascertained through most trustworthy channels, it behooves all the faithful to pay to his memory fitting honors, as to the head of the universal Church, and to make the suffrages which filial piety ought to inspire to them for the repose of his soul. You are accordingly requested, Reverend Sir, to celebrate for that purpose a solemn service in your church, and in order that your people may assist thereat, you will announce it publicly beforehand at Mass, urging them not to fail to fulfill this last duty to their common Father.

In order to reurn thanks to God for the special Providence which He has shown upon His Church, by giving it in His mercy, after a very short interregnum, a Pontiff most worthy to succeed the great Pius VII, in the person of Leo XII, you are requested to sing a solemn Mass *pro gratiarum actione*, that is, the Votive Mass of the Most Holy Trinity with *Gloria* and *Credo*, and with the Collect *Deus cujus misericordiae non est numerus*, which is to be found immediately after that Mass, among the Votive Masses at the end of the Missal. After Mass you will expose the Blessed Sacrament, sing the *Te Deum* and will give Benediction *more solito*. All this may be done on the Sunday after the day on which you have the solemn funeral service.

I take this opportunity to humbly recommend myself to your holy sacrifices, and to beg you to obtain for me from on high the graces I need to bear the burden which has just been imposed upon me, in order that it may not prove a cause of ruin to me or to others.

I am sincerely, Reverend Sir,
Joseph ROSATI, *Bishop elect of Tenagra.*
and Coadjutor of New Orleans.

16. The question of the most suitable place was not easily settled. Bishop Du Bourg's first thought was in favor of Lower Louisiana "in order that most of the priests may be present" (Letter of November 22, 1823). It seems, however, that later on he formed other plans, and apparently communicated them to the Bishop Elect in a letter which has not been preserved: for, writing on December 29, he says: "Since writing to you, My Very dear Lord and Brother, I have changed my opinion in regard to the place of your Consecration, and have determined to ask you to come down to our Louisiana for that ceremony... My intention is that it should take place at Donaldsonville." (Original in Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery).—The day also was the subject of some hesitation. In the letter just quoted, Du Bourg said: "I thought the most favorable day might be that of the feast of your Patron Saint, March 19. It seems to me that you have time to reach here, as I have no doubt, there is some steamboat coming down during the

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January tions for the journey. Accordingly I started from the Seminary for Ste. Genevieve as winter was at its fiercest. Received there most amiably by Father F. X. Dahmen [17], priest of our Congregation and Rector of that Church,

February I stayed with him waiting for a boat. On the Sunday,

1 preached at high Mass to the people.

8 Septuagesima Sunday; preached at high Mass to the people.

15 Sexagesima Sunday; preached at high Mass to the people.

22 Quinquagesima Sunday; celebrating Mass early in the morning, went on board, and we left Ste. Genevieve.

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month of February. At any rate the ceremony will take place as soon as possible after you arrive here." But further reflections compelled the Bishop to alter this part of his plan, as we learn from his letter of January 1, 1824 (Original in Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery): "I had not considered when I wrote you last, that the Consecration of Bishops cannot take place except on the feasts of the Apostles, or on Sundays, unless there be a special dispensation. Now it would never do to have your Consecration on a Sunday, because the Clergy of the Parishes could not be present, and the earliest feast of Apostles is May 1st. It will be well enough, therefore, if you start in time to be here before Easter, which falls on April 18, so as to have the leisure to take a rest and make your retreat." Ten days later, the arrangements, altered once more, took at last final shape: "One unfortunately, does not advert to everythnig at once. Now I just noticed that May 1st, this year, falls on Saturday, a fact which places as much difficulty in the way of a gathering of the clergy as Sundya itself. I, therefore, set about to examine if we could not find a more suitable day. March 25th, feast of the Annunciation, which falls on the Thursday of the third week of Lent, would unite all the advantages. But, are Episcopal Consecrations allowed on a feast day which is neither a Sunday, nor the feast of an Apostle? I doubt it, for the Pontifical says that a Pontifical dispensation is necessary to have an Episcopal Consecration on such days. All this is so embarrassing that I see no longer what to do. However, I would be inclined to believe that, on a point unimportant in itself, when there are grave reasons to suppose the Dispensation, and recourse is impossible, it is perfectly reasonable to interpret the wish of the Sovereign Pontiff. Hence I would conclude that the ceremony should take place on the day of the Annunciation." Letter of January 10, 1824 (Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery).

17. Rev. Francis Xavier Dahmen was born at Düren, in the Diocese of Aix-la-Chapelle, on March 23, 1789, and when he became of age, was drafted into Napoleon's army. In 1815, when the first Lazarist expedition for Louisiana was organized, he was in Rome, where resided a brother of his, Father Peter Dahmen, first a *Paccanarista*, and later Rector of the pious work of the *Convertendi;* no doubt, he had come there with a view to embrace the clerical life, and probably had commenced his ecclesiastical studies. At any rate he offered his services to Bishop Du Bourg, and left the Eternal City with Father De Andreis, on December 15, 1815. During the journey, and the various stops made by the little band on its way to America, he pursued his studies under Rosati and De Andreis, receiving Tonsure and Minor Orders from the hands of the Bishop of Louisiana at Bordeaux on May 23, feast of the Ascension, and subdeaconship at Bardstown. Reaching the Barrens with the numerous company headed by Rosati after an eventful journey down the Ohio, he was ordained deacon on November 1, 1818, at Ste. Genevieve, Mo. Meanwhile he had begged admission into the Congregation of the Mission, and had been accepted. From Ste. Genevieve, therefore, he reported to St. Louis, where, together with Father Andrew Ferrari, and Joseph Tichitoli, a Subdeacon, he commenced his noviciate under Father De Andreis on December 3, 1818. Ordained to the priesthood in St. Louis, on September 5, 1819, he was some time afterwards missioned to Vincennes, Ind., to replace Father Anthony Blanc, sent to another field of labor. His first entry in the Baptism Register is dated February 18, 1820, the last entry of Blanc being made on January 29. Father Dahmen remained at Vincennes, first with Father Ferrari (who had come there at the end of June) until the end of October, 1820, when the latter was recalled to Missouri to take his vows, then alone until he was recalled November 1821 (his last entry in the Baptism Book is dated Novembre 6), owing to the inability of the parish to support a priest. Until the month of April of the following year, 1822, he remained at the Seminary; after that date we find him twice for some time at Florissant, Mo., substituting for Father De la Croix, then on a mission among the Indians (See *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. II, p. 65 and foll.); and from there he was sent in September to the parish of Ste. Genevieve, become vacant by the death of its Pastor, Father Henry Pratte (September 1, 1822). Cf. Short Manuscript Life, in the Archives of the Procurator General C.M., Rome: F. G. Holweck: *Father F. X. Dahmen, C.M., A Biographical Sketch of the Pastor of Ste. Genevieve, Mo., and St. Vincent's, St. Louis*, (1789—1866), in *Pastoralblatt*, September 1918.

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March 4 8 9 11

Until the mouth of the Ohio, river trip quite difficult, owing to the low stage of the water. Five times we struck sand bars, so that it was only after twelve days, that is, on March 4, that we reached there. The remainder of the journey we made most rapidly, for the Ohio, brimful of water, bringing to the Mississippi its most generous tribute permitted the latter to carry the largest vessels; accordingly in three days we made Natchez, and the following day late at night I left the boat and landed near Donaldsonville. There for two days I enjoyed the hospitality of Father Brassac [18], welcomed [19] Fr. Acquaroni [20], who came to see me; and, accompanied by Fr. Brassac went over to see the Bishop at the house of his nephew nine miles from the Church of the Ascension on the left

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18. Rev. Hercules Brassac was born at Marvejols, in the Diocese of Mende (France). He was one of the recruits made by Bishop Du Bourg during his long sojourn in France (1816—1817), and came to America with that prelate on the *Caravane*. That he was then sufficiently advanced in his ecclesiastical studies is evidenced by the fact he received from his Bishop in the chapel of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, soon after landing, Minor Orders and Subdeaconship. He continued his Theology at Bardstown, Ky., under Father Rosati; and arriving at the Barrens with all the Louisiana colnoy the 1st of October 1818, he was shortly after ordained deacon, and on All Saints' Day he received Holy Priesthood at Ste. Genevieve. After spending some time near Harrisonville, Ill., where he inaugurated his sacerdotal ministry, he was sent to the newly established parish of St. Charles du Grand Coteau, La., his letter of appointment bearing the date of April 29, 1821. He remained there one year, performing his last baptism in the parish on May 14, 1822, and was transferred to Donaldsonville. See Most Rev. S. G. Messmer: *The Rev. Hercule Brassac, European Vicar General of the American Bishops* (1839—1861), in *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. II, No. 4, January 1918, pp. 392—416; 448—470.

19. *Amplexatus sum.*

20. Rev. John Baptist Acquaroni, a native of Porto Maurizio, on the Genoese Riviera, had, on June 3, 1807, shortly after his sacerdotal ordination, entered the novitiate of the Congregation of the Mission in Rome. On account of the political disturbances then waging, he was allowed by special dispensation, to make his vows on April 1, 1808. Obliged to flee from Rome, he went back to Porto Maurizio where he exercised the holy ministry until, order being at last restored, he reported to the Vicar General at Monte Citorio, just about the time the first American band obtained by Bishop Du Bourg was being organized. He started from Rome with Fr. Rosati on October 21, 1815, staying two months at Marseilles, and reaching Toulouse on January 20, 1816. There they were joined, four days later by Father De Andreis and his companions, who had travelled overland. On February 7, Frs. Rosati and Acquaroni reached Bordeaux. Together all the missionaries waited for Bishop Du Bourg, together they sailed, on June 13, on *The Ranger*, bound for Baltimore, and together they travelled from Baltimore to Bardstown. Fr. Acquaroni remained in St. Thomas' Seminary until the arrival of Bishop Du Bourg and his numerous company, when the necessity of making room for the newcomers obliged Bishop Flaget to assign him to the house of a Catholic, five miles from the Seminary. He does not seem to have progressed much there in the knowledge of English, and soon tired of living apart from his companions; he therefore begged Fr. De Andreis to call him to St. Louis, where he arrived between the 22nd and the 25th of April, 1818. A few months later Bishop Du Bourg put him in charge of the two parishes of Portage de Sioux and La Dardenne, Mo. In October 1820 he accompanied from St. Louis to the Barrens the body of Fr. De Andreis. In the summer 1822, he begged to be relieved of his Missouri charge, and was sent to St. Michael's, La. Owing, however, to a misunderstanding, Fr. Sibourd had missioned there another priest when Fr. Acquaroni arrived; he was then sent to St. Joseph, and, finally to the Cathedral of New Orleans in Fr. Borgna's place, when the latter started for Europe. Judging from Bishop Du Bourg's letters, this appointment was rather ill advised: "He lacks a little the polite manners which some people want to see in a priest" (Du Bourg to Rosati, Aug. 28, 1822). "The said Fr. Acquaroni has no common sense... He is childish, and so lacking in discretion as to be the laughing stock of some people" (October 3, 1823). The Bishop even complains in the same letter of Acquaroni's independence and disregard of poverty, and one month later (November 9) declares it urgent that he should be recalled from the city. It turned out that Fr. Acquaroni was attacked by a disease, which the doctors called scurfy-leprosy, contracted at Portage de Sioux, which rendered his return to Italy imperative. He was, at the time of Bp. Rosati's visit to Louisiana, preparing to sail.

March 13 side of the river [21]; we welcomed him just as he was coming back from New Orleans. Two days I enjoyed there his company and conversation, and accompanied by him

14 I came back to Donaldsonville. The next day, after the divine service, Fr. Brassac took me over to the Parish of the Assumption; there, as the guest of the Pastor, Fr.

21 Bigeschi, [22] I made a few days' retreat, after which Frs. Bigeschi, Tichitoli [23] and myself set off for Fr. Bernard de Deva's,[24] where we remained over night; the follow-

22 ing day we reached St. Joseph's [25] where we spent the rest of that day and the night with Frs. Potini [26] and

21. Bishop Du Bourg's nephew here spoken of, was Michael Doradou Bringier, who had married at Baltimore on June 17, 1812, Louise Elizabeth Aglaé Du Bourg, daughter of Pierre François Du Bourg de Ste. Colombe, then fourteen years of age. The home of the Bringiers, "la Maison Blanche" or White Hall, was near the place here described by Rosati. Near by was "The Hermitage," a wedding present of Marius Bringier, the bridegroom's father, to the young couple. On coming home after the wedding, Michael Doradou had at once set about erecting the splendid mansion still standing and recently renamed St. Elmo. "The Hermitage was the favorite home of Bishop Du Bourg, who thus describes his life there in a letter to his Brother Louis at Bordeaux (August 6, 1823): "I am staying since the last two months at my niece's; I have a separate house, quite pretty, where I am enjoying a peace which I had not known for many years. These dear children overwhelm me with attentions. On Sundays a very large crowd of people come to my chapel. I am preparing my youngest niece, with two other young girls, for their first communion, which shall take place September 8." *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, Vol. I, Fasc. 5, p. 42.

22. The Rev. Joseph Bigeschi, young priest of Florence, was enrolled by Bishop Du Bourg for the Louisiana Mission, and assigned to the parish of the Assumption of La Fourche, La. Bishop Rosati always held him in the highest esteem.

23. The Rev. Joseph Tichitoli was a native of Como, Italy, and one of the students who had gathered together, at Milan, into a kind of pious association under Father John Mary Rossetti, and offered themselves in a body to Bishop Du Bourg when the latter visited Lombardy, early in 1816. Whilst it was agreed that the rest of the company should wait some time (they started only in 1818), nevertheless the prelate, who later on confided to a friend he had found something particular in the young cleric that strongly appealed to him, took him along with him, intending to send him to America with the band headed by Father De Andreis, and conferred upon him at Bordeaux (May 23, 1816) the Minor Orders. During the voyage and the long sojourn at Bardstown, Mr. Tichitoli continued his clerical studies. He had at an early date manifested his desire to join the Congregation of the Mission. Hence, when the Louisiana band moved to the Barrens, he remained there only a few weeks, and, on November 26, arrived in St. Louis to make his noviciate with Father Ferrari and Mr. Dahmen. His health, however, had never been strong, and almost immediately the doctor declared him unable to stand the climate of St. Louis. Bishop Du Bourg then ordained him deacon on the 14th of December (he had been made subdeacon at Bardstown), and priest the next day, and sent him to Father Bigeschi in Louisiana to recuperate. Here is how Father Rosati spoke of him in a letter of December 11, 1821 to the Vicar General of the Lazarists in Rome: "Fr. Tichitoli is a most precious subject, full of zeal, and a very able preacher both in English and in French. Before coming up to the Seminary to make his vows (which he made July 26, 1821) he was sent by the Bishop to give a kind of mission in a little town where there was scarcely any knowledge of religion. In four weeks that he stayed there, the whole town was changed, there were extraordinary conversions, and at the general communion two hundred persons—a thing absolutely unheard of in the small towns of this country—received our Lord with remarkable sentiments of compunction and tender piety. If we could give missions, he would be the man." Meanwhile he was acting as assistant to Father Bigeschi.

24. Religious Capuchine, was pastor of St. Gabriel, Iberville, having also charge of St. Bernard of Galveston, La., from Sept. 25, 1785 to April 28, 1788; next he is found at St. Martin des Attakapas from 1788 to 1791; at a later date he was put in charge of Assumption, Bayou Lo Fourche; at the time of the withdrawal of the Spanish administration, he decided to remain in Louisiana, and probably was secularized. He owned in the La Fourche district quite extensive property which he had acquired for pious purposes.

25. St. Joseph's church was erected in 1819 on land given in 1816 by Baptiste Hébert, and served the two parishes of Lafourche and Terrebonne .

26. Rev. Anthony Potini, a native of Velletri, where he was born in 1799, entered the Congregation of the Mission at Monte Citorio, Rome, in January 1816, and was sent to America while yet a scholastic in 1818, arriving at the Barrens January 5, 1819. Ordained to the priesthood on the Sunday before the feast of All Saints, 1820, he was sent during the spring of 1821 to take care of the parish of St. Joseph.

March 23 Rosti,[27] priests of our Congregation who have charge of that Parish. The next day after Mass we went back to
24 Fr. Bernard's and remained with him until the following day, being detained by rain. After dinner we came to the Assumption and finally to Donaldsonville, where I found the Rt. Rev. Bishop of New Orleans and most of those who had been invited to the Consecration. Everything in the church[28] was in readiness; the joyous peal of the church bell, the roar of the mortar, the sound of innumerable pipes first from the houses near the church, then from every other house inside and even outside the Parish of the Ascension heralded to all the faithful the morrow's celebration.

25 Accordingly,[29] on the day devoted to commemorate the Lord's Incarnation, in the church of the Ascension at Donaldsonville, amidst a great concourse of people, the following pastors and members of the clergy of the Diocese being in attendance: Revs. Bernard Deva, former pastor of the Assumption; Joseph Bigeschi, present rector of the same parish; Charles De la Croix,[30] pastor of St.

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27. The Rev. Joseph Rosti was a Milanese, and a member of the pious association under Father John Mary Rossetti, who, persuaded by Bishop Du Bourg to come to America, sailed with Father Cellini, and Messrs. Borgna and Potini in 1818. Soon after reaching the Barrens, he sought admission into the Congregation, and, while yet a novice, was raised to the priesthood by Bishop Du Bourg, in Otcobre 1821. After taking his vows (June 1, 1822), he was sent to Lower Louisiana.

28. "The church there is very handsome, of brick, with three aisles the roof of which is supported by columns, and quite tastily finished; it was built five or six years ago" (Bishop Rosati to Fr. Baccari, Vic. Gen. C. M., March 29, 1824).

29. Bishop Rosati wrote an account of his Consecration on March 28 to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda (See hereinafter Note), and the next day one to Father Baccari, Vic. Gen. C. M., in Rome, and another to his brother Nicola Rosati, at Sora. The *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* (Vol. I, Fasc. 5, p. 35 and foll.) contain a narrative of the same event by Father J. Tichitoli, C. M., in a letter to Mrs. Fournier, Bishop Du Bourg's sister.

30. An excellent sketch of the Life of Father Charles de la Croix, by Rev. F. G. Holweck, may be found in the *St. Louis Pastoral Blatt,* Vol. 53, No. 7, July 1919.

31. The Rev. Aristide Anduze, a native of the Diocese of Rennes, France, was, no doubt one of the recruits made by Bishop Du Bourg in France, although he did not come with him on *La Caravane.* We hear of him first, as a Student of Mount St. Mary's Seminary, Emmitsburg, Md., where, according to the notes of Father Bruté, in 1818, he was the first person permitted by the Archbishop to study theology for two years," acting, while yet a student of theology as tutor in the College (1819—1820). He came to Missouri in the summer 1820, and Bishop Du Bourg announced his arrival to Father Bruté in these terms: "Anduze has arrived here. He loves you most dearly. I hope he will settle down. He manifests the best dispositions, and, above all, the one I prefer before all others—candor" (July 22, 1820. Original in Catholic Archives of America, University of Notre Dame, Ind.). Anduze was ordained the following year (November 1821) and kept at the Academy in St. Louis. Early in 1823 he was in the East; and Bishop Du Bourg sent him ahead from Cincinnati to the Barrens. where he was to wait for the prelate (Du Bourg to Rosati, Cincinnati, April 13, 1823. Original in Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery). Father Rosati was very desirous to have the young priest remain at the Seminary; but Bp. Du Bourg sent him back to the Academy in St. Louis; his stay there this time was rather short, for, on July 23, 1823 Blanc writes to Rosati that Bishop Du Bourg intends to install Anduze at Natchitoches next October. The project, however, did not come to realization, and shortly after that date we find Anduze in charge of St. James' Parish, La. The *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* (V, p. 593—594) relate the story of a strange deathbed conversion brought about by him in that parish: "One of those men who are Christians only in name, being dangerously sick, and unwilling to call the priest, one of his relatives notified Fr. Anduze. who went at once to visit the sick man. After various preambles, Fr. Anduze broached the subject of confession; but the man

March 23 Rosti,[21] priests of our Congregation who have charge of
that Parish. The next day after Mass we went back to
24 Fr. Bernard's and remained with him until the following
day, being detained by rain. After dinner we came to the
Assumption and finally to Donaldsonville, where I found
the Rt. Rev. Bishop of New Orleans and most of those
who had been invited to the Consecration. Everything in
the church[22] was in readiness; the joyous peal of the
church bell, the roar of the mortar, the sound of innumer-
able pipes first from the houses near the church, then from
every other house inside and even outside the Parish of
the Ascension heralded to all the faithful the morrow's
celebration.

25 Accordingly,[23] on the day devoted to commemorate the
Lord's Incarnation, in the church of the Ascension at
Donaldsonville, amidst a great concourse of people, the
following pastors and members of the clergy of the Dio-
cese being in attendance: Revs. Bernard Deva, former
pastor of the Assumption; Joseph Digeacchi, present rector
of the same parish; Charles De la Croix,[24] pastor of St.

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21. The Rev. Joseph Rosti was a Milanese, and a member of the pious association under Father John Mary Rossetti, who, persuaded by Bishop De Neckere to come to America, sailed with Father Caldini, and Messrs. Borgna and Follini in 1835. Soon after reaching the Barrens, he sought admission into the Congregation, and, while yet a novice, was raised to the priesthood by Bishop De Neckere in October 1837. After having his vows (June 1, 1838), he was sent to Lower Louisiana.

22. "The church there is very handsome, of brick, with three aisles and the roof of which is supported by columns, and quite lately finished; it was built by one of my predecessors" (Bishop Rosati to Fr. Biocati, Vic. Gen. C. M., March 27, 1840).

23. Bishop Rosati wrote an account of his Consecration on March 25 to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda (See Inventaire Nos. 1, and the very day now to Father Boccari, Vic. Gen. C. M., in the Archives, and another to his brother Nicola Rosati, a copy in the Ateneo Za'ela Propaganda de la Fe (Vol. I, Pros. S, p. 34 and 35). I'r. Boccari's answers of the same event by Father I. Tschiedl, C. M., in a letter to Miss Fenwick, Bishop De Neckere's sister.

24. An excellent sketch of the Life of Father Charles de la Croix, by Rev. P. C. Holweck, may be found in the St. Louis Portrait Book (Vol. 31, No. 7, July 1919).

25. The Rev. Aristide Anduze, a native of the Diocese of Nismes, France, was ordained one of the recruits made by Bishop De Neckere in France, although he did not come with him on La Creyeuse. We hear of him first as a student at Mount St. Mary's Seminary, Emmitsburg, Md., where, according to the notes of Father Elet, he was the first person permitted by the Archbishop to study theology for two years. Anduze was a student of theology in the Cathedral (1835—1839). He came to St. Louis in the summer 1839, and Bishop De Neckere announced his arrival to Father Elet in these terms: "Anduze has arrived here. He never was much clever. I hope he will settle down. He manifests the best dispositions, and above all the one I prefer before others—candor" (July 25, 1839. Original in Catholic Archives of America, University of Notre Dame, Ind.). Anduze was ordained the following year (November 1839) and appointed at the Academy in St. Louis. Early in 1842 he was in the Barrens and Bishop De Neckere sent him ahead from Cincinnati to the Barrens, where he was to wait for the arrival (De Neckere to Rosati, Cincinnati, April 13, 1842. Original in Archives of St. Louis Cathedral, Cemetery). Father Rosati was very desirous to have the young priest remain at the Seminary; but Bishop De Neckere sent him back to the Academy in St. Louis: his stay there this time was rather short, for, on July 22, 1843 Bishop writes to Rosati that Bishop De Neckere intends to install Anduze at Carondelet near Cemetery. The project, however, does not seem to materialize, and shortly after that date we find Anduze in charge of St. Mary's Parish, Ca. The Academy de la Propagation de la Foi (V. p. 594—1843) relates the story of a strange delighted conversion brought about by him in that parish: "One of the men who are Christians only in name, being dangerously sick, and unwilling to call a priest, one of his relatives notified Fr. Anduze, who lived at some [illegible] from the sick man. After various preambles, Fr. Anduze broached the subject of confession, but the man

March Michael's; Anduze,[31] of St. James'; Brassac, of the Ascension; Potoni, of St. Joseph's; Rosti and Tichitoli, priests of the Congregation of the Mission; Millet,[32] pastor of St. Charles; Peyretti,[33] Janvier; Mr. Hermant,[34] a cleric; the Very Rev. L. Sibourd, Vic. Gen.,[35] and Father Anthony de Sedella,[36] O. M. C., fulfilling by dispensation the office of Assistant Consecrator, I was anointed and consecrated by the Right Rev. Louis William Du Bourg; Father Anduze preached the sermon.[37]

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at once rejected the idea and declared he did not wish to go to confession. Fr. Anduze insisted for some time; but seeing it was to no purpose, at last fell on his knees at the foot of the sick man's bed, and recited this prayer of a sinner dying in despair: "O God, it is true that thou createdst me and madest me to thy own image and likeness; I owe thee everything, and consequently do belong rightfully to thee; but no matter: I wish to be thine neither in time nor in eternity. Jesus Christ died for me: I renounce Jesus Christ. The devil wishes my unhappiness and my eternal loss: I wish to go with him to burn eternally. Thou createdst me for heaven; thou meritedst it for me: but I desire hell for my eternal lot.' On hearing this strange prayer, the sick man became very uneasy and said to Father Anduze: 'I do not say that; I do not say that!' Unheeding the interruption, Father Anduze went on: 'Thy graces, the merits of Jesus Christ, heaven, eternal happiness. I refuse, and trample under foot; hell, an eternity of misery, is what I want, what I am bent on getting,—'I do not say that; I do not say that!' broke in again the moribund. 'True,' went on Father Anduze, 'I do not say that in so many words; but my whole life says it for me; and even at this hour of death my refusing to go to confession says it still louder.' At last the sick man, hearing Father Anduze going on in the same strain, broke down, made his confession and died in great sentiments of piety." Father Anduze did not stay long at St. James, and before the end of the year was transferred to St. Gabriel's, Ibertville, La.

32. Ordained at Ste. Genevieve, on August 17, 1819; left for Louisiana together with Fathers Martial and Evremont Harrisart on October 8th of the same year.

33. The Rev. Laurence Peyretti, born at Carignan, Diocese of Turin, Piedmont, the 22nd of September 1799, was studying for the priesthood had received Tonsure and Minor Orders at Turin on April 21, 1821, and almost completed his theology, when he met Father Inglesi, and offered himself for the Louisiana Mission. He sailed from Havre on the 8th of May, 1822, in company with Father J. B. Blanc, and Messrs. Odin, Michaud, Andizio and Carretta, and landed in New Orleans July 11. Reaching the Barrens with his companions on the 30th of August, he was ordained Subdeacon at Ste. Genevieve on October 12, following; he then finished his course under Father Rosati at St. Mary's Seminary, and the next year, was called South by Bishop Du Bourg, who ordained him January 8, 1824.

34. Apollinaire Hermant, son of Pierre Francois and Mary Ann Bracher was born at Rodez on July 23, 1800. After studying theology for two years in his native diocese, he left France and came to Louisiana, where, in September 1823 he begged Bishop Du Bourg to admit him into his Diocese. The prelate accepted him intending, after his ordination, to bring him back to the College of New Orleans. He remained in the South during the winter, and, as we shall see hereafter, accompanied Bishop Rosati when the latter went back to Missouri. A few months later, Bishop Du Bourg wrote to the Barrens to "engage Mr. Hermant to turn his views elsewhere."

35. Father Louis Sibourd was sent in 1810 to New Orleans by Archbishop Carroll; Du Bourg, at the time of leaving New Orleans for Rome, April-May 1815 appointed him Vicar General in his absence, and offict which Sibourd kept until his return to France in 1826. Meantime Bishop Du Bourg had repeatedly proposed him to Propaganda as Coadjutor, but without success (Cf. *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. I, pp. 304-311; Vol. II, pp. 47-51; 132, 134, 137, 139, 142, 143, 214, 219, 224; Vol. III, 116, 118.

36. Father Anthony de Sedella is too well known—although his character is to this day the object of great discussiions—to need a particular notice here. Be it remarked only that, since the winter 1820-1821 he was reconciled with Bishop Du Bourg.

37. "An elequent sermon," wrote Bishop Rosati himself to Father Baccari, four days later (March 29) "Father Anduze preached an eloquent sermon" says likewise Father Joseph Tichitoli, C.M., in a letter of April 1st 1824 to Mrs. Fournier, Bishop Du Bourg's sister (*Annales de la Propagandon de la Foi*, Tome I, Fasc. 5, p. 36). Tichitoli's letter adds a few details on the ceremony, which complete the account of Rosati's Diary: "Father De la Croix and Father Saunier, the former pastor of Donaldsonville were deacons of honor to the Consecrating prelate; Father Bernard (de Deva) assistant Priest... Father Brassac discharged the functions of grand master of ceremonies."

March 28 Assisted at the high Mass, after which I administered
Confirm. 5 the Sacrament of Confirmation to five persons.
Letter to
Prop. No. 5 Set off to go to see Fr. Cellini,[38] who resides in the

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38. Father Francis Cellini, a native of Ascoli, Italy, was 37 years of age and had been a priest for a number of years, and for some time chaplain of the Hospital of the *Spirito Santo*, at the *Borgo*, in Rome, when he entered the Congregation of the Mission, on April 13, 1818, moved, it seems, by a strong desire to work on the foreign missions. He had not long to wait, for, just at the time of his entrance into the Novitiate of San Silvestro of the Quirinal, the Vicar General was organizing a new band for America, to strengthen that which had been sent in 1815 at Bishop Du Bourg's instances. He was designated and, after scarcely four weeks spent in the Novitiate, on May 8, 1818, set out with two scholastics, Messrs. Philip Borgna and Anthony Potini, for America. At Genoa they found another companion designated likewise for the expedition, the novice lay-brother Bettellani, and the band from Lombardy headed by Father Rossetti (Fathers Marliani and Marcellus Borella, Mr. John Rosti, cleric, and Joseph Pifferi, Peter Vergani, Vincent Turatti, John Bosoni and Angelo Mascaroni, laymen). All sailed from Leghorn on the brick *Philadelphia* (July 2, 1818) and after a painful voyage of eighty-eight days, landed, October 1, in the Quaker City. Whilst Father Rossetti and his companions remained in the east, awaiting Bishop Du Bourg's orders, the four Lazarists started for the Barrens, where they arrived on January 5, 1819. Bishop Du Bourg first wished to send Cellini to Louisiana, whereas Father De Andreis' opinion was he should come to St. Louis to make his novitiate. It was finally decided to leave him at the Barrens, where he could be trained by Father Rosati whilst learning French and English (which he never mastered well) and lending assistance in the parish. As he had a fair knowledge of medicine, permission was asked (June 7, 1819) and obtained (December 11) for him to practise this art. Meanwhile he commenced missions, first at Apple Creek, and later on at New Madrid. In the summer 1822, however, Bishop Du Bourg called him to Louisiana, and appointed him pastor of Grand Coteau, where he arrived September 29. Bishop Rosati does not state here the purpose of his visit, which was not limited to seeing his Confreres. In order both to complete his reticent narrative, and to understand fully some occurrences recorded later on in the *Diary*, it will be useful to rehearse briefly the series of relevant events antedating this journey to Grand Coteau.

On arriving on his field of labor, Fr. Cellini, as no rectory was in existence, was given hospitality in the home of Mrs. Charles Smith, about one mile west of the Convent, and one mile and a quarter N.W. of the church. He soon won the good graces of his hostess. Already in a letter of January 27, 1823, he criticized the plan then agitated of an establishment of the Congregation in the La Fourche District: danger of yellow fever, swarms of mosquitoes, the country a swamp in winter, should strongly militate against it; but no such objections could be raised against the District of Opelousas. Now, he added, "Mrs. Smith is ready to give us in fee simple a piece of property contiguous to that of the Ladies of the S. Heart, and she would have a house built there at her own expense, capable of housing at least thirty boarders; and I am perfectly sure that she will not fail to assist us as long as she lives...I do not know exactly how much property she is willing to give, but it will not be less than 100 arpents." The intention of Mrs. Smith had been for some time to finish her life as a boarder in some religious house. She thought, when the Convent of the S. Heart was built, that she would be received there, but was disappointed to find that this was against the constitutions. On hearing of the coming to the Barrens of a Community of women, Cellini thought of that new house as a desirable home for his hostess; "but, supposing the plan of the institution which she desires to erect on her property here were not to materialize, and that our Congregation were not to establish itself here, she is absolutely determined to settle all her temporal affairs in this country and go somewhere else" (Cellini to Rosati, May 7, 1823). Whether the Congregation should start a house at Grand Coteau, or Mrs. Smith remove to the Barrens "for the greater advantage of the Seminary and of the new convent, depends absolutely on us: I can assure you she regards the Congregation as the apple of her eye, and certainly could not live any more under another direction than that of one of our priests." Fr. Cellini added this important recommendation. "I beg you not to speak of this to anyone; and if You think it fit to mention it to the Bishop, mention it as a project and without manifesting the intentions of that lady. She certainly has for the Bishop the esteem due to his character, but, because she was treated a little in a high-handed way, she now does not wish to have anything to do with him; the motives which have led her to this course of action I have examined very carefully, and they appear to me just and reasonable." This lack of confidence of Mrs. Smith in Bishop Du Bourg created a very delicate situation. As, however, the prelate was expected at Grand Coteau, he could not be kept in ignorance, and indeed Father Rosati broached the subject at the time of the Bishop's return from Washington. On July 29, he wrote to Rosati: "I don't know as yet how far advanced is the affair of Grand Coteau...I hope that God will bless this project, which I consider as very advantageous." As time rolled on, Mrs. Smith, who made novena upon novena, to know the will of God, was, according to Cellini, more and more inclined to "mother the Congregation": "she feels inspired to give our Congregation, the greater part of her fortune, but does not know how to do it" (September 3, 1823). Meantime Bishop Du Bourg clung to his project of a house in La Fourche (Letter to Rosati, November 9, 1823). As he delayed his coming, Cellini went to see him: "He does not disapprove of the project," he reported after the interview, "nay even, he is very much pleased with

March 30 parish of St. Charles of Opelousas,[39] the Rev. H. Brassac accompanied me.[40] We took dinner at Mr. Narcisse Landry's, and supper at Theodore Zacharie. The following
31 day dinner at the Desabris Hotel, at Plaquemine. In the
April evening we reached the boat; nevertheless we stayed at
1 the Hotel that night. The following day, we went on board, and sailed through all the Bayous which divide the Accatapas from the lower part of Louisisana.[41] Leaving the boat at 4 p.m., we mounted horses, and covered the rest of the way within four hours, for at 8 p.m. we reached the home of Mrs. Smith. We found there the Revs. Cellini and Rosti[42] who were just taking supper; after

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it; nevertheless he would like to assert, here too, his high dominion, and put strings to the property that the benefactress wishes to donate to our Congregation without any reservation." What the reservations indicated by the Bishop were, we hear from himself in a letter of November 14, to Rosati: "The fortune of that lady consists of excellent and extensive lands, some thirty slaves, a goodly chattel of cattle, agricultural implements, house furniture, etc. The only restriction she would make, is her support, very much as was done by Mrs. Hayden at St. Thomas, Ky. This donation would be veiled during the lifetime of the donor, to avoid gossip; she would make a public deed for a piece of property measuring 8 by 40 arpents, well fenced and under cultivation. She would loan all her slaves to Fr. Cellini, on the condition she is to get from him her lodging and food on that property. I would like to specify she is to receive for her support one-tenth of the net income of the crops. As to the rest, she would settle that by a sealed holograph will in due form...However, it seems to me that Mrs. S. ought to stipulate that said property or the income thereof shall in no case be applied to no other part of the Church except this Diocese, as it is now constituted. 2° I should deem it advisable that you mention yourself that the one-tenth reserved for Mrs. Sm. during her lifetime shall go, after her demise, to the Bishop. This seems to me the means to prevent difficulties form ever arising between the Bishop and your Society....It behooves you, moreover, to give to the secular clergy that token of respect for and attachment to the Episcopate... I mentioned all this to Fr. C.; but you know how hard it is to argue with this good man." The "good man" indeed, would not hear of that: "I believe," he wrote to Rosati, "that, according to our constitutions, our property ought to be independent and free; hence I cannot see why Msgr. Du Bourg would enslave us to the Bishop in regard to our possessions. I believe that he should at least leave our rights intact. I made objections to him, but of course, without result." He concluded that Fr. Rosati should come, and see, and judge for himself. Which position was more according to ecclesiastical law, must be left for canonists to decide. But, in view of the stage reached so far by this project, somewhat strange is the sound of the words of Bishop Du Bourg to his brother (March 20, 1824. *Annales de la Propag. de la Foi,* I, V, p. 47): I was forgetting, in the enumeration of the good things in preparation, an establishment *for the Jesuits* (italics ours), at Opelousas. I am able to offer them there some 300 arpents of land, a church and a house, to which I hope a good soul will add 600 arpents, ten or twelve slaves and the furniture of a house. "Shtrange indeed,—unless a *lapsus calami* on the part of the Bishop, or the printer's devil in the *Annales,* is responsible for the substitution of the word Jesuits for Lazarists. However, this may be, Bishop Rosati's journey to Louisiana for his Episcopal Consecration naturally afforded the opportunity of a side-trip to Grand Coteau, which the importance of the affair at stake demanded.

39. That is, the parish of St. Charles of Grand Coteau in the district of Opelousas. The parish of Opelousas proper is under the title of St. Landry.

40. When Bishop Rosati advised Du Bourg of his intention of taking Father Brassac along on his journty to Opelousas, the Bishop did not relish this idea, and wrote so in unmistakable terms to his Coadjutor: "I consider it an imprudence to take Father Brassac as your travelling companion. I beg you to renounce this idea, and have most cogent reasons to request you to do so; you would not be long before experiencing the evil effects of such a step. Father Brassac woill not take it ill; he is too right-minded for that. He is in no way responsible for the prejudices existing against him, and these might mar the success of your transactions." The Bishop advised Rosati to take along rather Father De la Croix, against whom there were no preventions . This warning, however, sent to Rosati on March 31, was too late since the Coadjutor, as we see in the text of the *Diary,* set out on March 30.

41. The travellers evidently took a boat plying on the Bayou Grosse Téte, thence going up the Alligator Bayou, through the forks of the Atchafalaya and up the Bayou Courtableau to Port Barré. The distance from Port Barré to Grand .Coteau could be covered on horseback in four hours.

42. The Rev. Flavius Henry Rossi was pastor of Opelousas since May 2, 1819 (his letter of appointment by Bishop Du Bourg is dated from St. Louis, March, 1819).

April greeting them I sat at supper with them.
2 The next day, we went to the Convent,[43] where I said Mass, and gave the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament to the Nuns and to thirty girls who are educated there.
3 The next two days I said Mass in the same place, and
4 preached to the Nuns and the girls.
5 After Mass said at an early hour, I was taken back to the boat by Fr. Cellini; and, going on board, we sailed
6 through the Bayous the next day; thence in a carriage we came about night fall to the Mississippi river; the
7 next day we reached Donaldsonville, where Fr. Rosti[44] was waiting for us.
8 After saying Mass, the next day, I crossed the river, and spent the rest of the day and the night at Mr. Casimir
9 Poursine's, waiting for a boat to take me down to New Orleans. I went on board the following day at 11 a. m., and at half past six landed in New Orleans. From the boat I went straightway to the Bishop's residence, and remained there.[45]
10 Said Mass in the Church of the Ursulines,[46] after which I paid a visit to their Superior and to Father Anthony; and saw at the Bishop's residence all the priests living in the city, namely, Fathers Sibourd, Moni,[47] Jeanjean,[48] Rich-

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43. The Convent of the Sacred Heart was about one mile east of Mrs. Smith's house. Madame Eugénie Audé, one of the companions of the Ven. Philippine Duchesne, was then in charge of the convent.

44. Father Rosti had most probably remained at Donaldsonville to replace Father Brassac during the latter's absence.

45. According to Paxton's New Orleans Directory for 1822, Bishop Du Bourg lived 65 Levée (now Decatur Street); he must still have been there in April 1824, as he did not move to the Ursuline Convent until some months later.

46. The Ursulines were still in the old convent on Chartres Street, and the church here mentioned is St. Mary's church, adjoining the convent.

47. Father Louis Moni, a native of Lucca (although Du Bourg styled him *Bolonensem* in a Letter to the Prefect of Propaganda of May 12, 1819) is described by Bishop Du Bourg as "a man of most amiable character and true sacerdotal modesty." Sent to New Orleans among the very first of the prelate's recruits, and made Vicar General *ad tempus* shortly after, won absolutely the good graces of Father De Sedella. Hence the Bishop, desirous to rid the cathedral of two unworthy priests, appointed Moni as Father Anthony's assistant and future successor. He occupied this post until the death of the Capuchin Pastor in 1829, whom he succeeded at the Cathedral.

48. Rev. Auguste Jeanjean, was born at La Selve, Diocese of Rodez, Aveyron, France, on August 22, 1795, was in subdeacon's Orders when he sailed from Bordeaux July 1, 1817, on *La Caravane*, being one of the thirty or so evangelical workers taken by Bishop Du Bourg to America for the Louisiana Mission. Ordained Deacon in St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, during his short stay there (September 10 to November 4), he, with his companions reached the St. Thomas Seminary, Bardstown, Ky., on the 3rd of December. Raised to the priesthood by Bishop Flaget, on May 10, 1818, as he was loaned to the Diocese of Bardstown, he was sent to Vincennes in the intention of founding there an Academy for boys. However, owing to a misunderstanding with a portion of the population (long called the Vincennes faction), the attempt to establish an institution of education proved a failure. On learning this, Bishop Du Bourg called Fr .Jeanjean to St. Louis, where he arrived at the end of January 1819. He left for New Orleans, March 19, following, being appointed assistant at the Cathedral.

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3 The next two days I said Mass in the same place, and

4 preached to the Nuns and the girls.

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47. The Ursulines were still in the old convent on Chartres Street and the church here mentioned is St. Mary's church, adjoining the convent.

48. Father Louis Mioni, a native of Turin (although Dr. Young might like Rivière, in a letter to the Priefect of Propaganda of May 12, 1840) is described by Bishop Du Bourg as "a man of most amiable character and true ecclesiastical virtues." Even in New Orleans among the very first of the priest's records, and made Vicar General of temporal affairs, was absolutely the good grace of Father De Neckis. Hence the Bishop, desirous to rid the cathedral of two unworthy priests, appointed Mioni as Father Anthony's assistant and future successor. He remained this post until the death of the Capuchin Pastor in 1823, whom he succeeded at the Cathedral.

49. Rev. Auguste Jeanjean, was born at La Salve, Diocese of Nevers, Auvergne, France, on August 22, 1795, was in subdeacon's Orders when he landed from Bordeaux July 1, 1817, on La Caravane, being one of the thirty or so evangelical workers taken by Bishop Du Bourg to America for the Louisiana Mission. Ordained Deacon in St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, during his short stay there (September 30 to December 6), by the same compulsions reached the St. Thomas Seminary, Bardstown, Ky., on the eve of the December. Raised to the priesthood by Bishop Flaget, on May 19, 1818, as he was leaved to the Diocese of Bardstown, he was sent to Vincennes in the intention of founding there an Academy for boys. However, owing to a misunderstanding with a portion of the population (long called the Vincennes faction), the attempt to establish an institution of education proved a failure. On leaving this, Bishop Du Bourg called Fr. Jeanjean to St. Louis, where he arrived at the end of January 1819. He left for New Orleans, March 15, following, being appointed assistant at the Cathedral.

April ard,[49] Acquaroni, Portier,[50] Janvier,[51] Michaud,[52] and Bertrand.[53]

11 Palm Sunday. Said Mass early in the morning in the church of the Nuns; and later on, in the cathedral, before the solemn Mass, I blessed and distributed the Palms and was present at the procession and solemn Mass.

12 Monday,. celebrated Mass in the church of the Nuns, and saw their new Monastery outside the city. Received from Italy a letter from Father Borgna.[54]

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49. Came from France in company with Madame Duchesne and her companions, reaching St. Louis on August 20, 1818, and soon after was directed to New Orleans.

50. Rev. Michael Portier, the future Vicar Apostolic of Mississippi and Alabama, and first Bishop of Mobile, was studying theology in the Seminary of Lyons, his native Diocese, and in Subdeacon's orders, when he accompanied Bishop Du Bourg to America, sailing from Bordeaux on July 1, 1817. Having received deaconship at St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, in the fall of the same year, he was, according to the intentions of Bp. Du Bourg, to remain one year in that institution (Portier to a friend, *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, I, V, p. 62) and then go to Natchez. These plans, however, were altered in October, and early in October Mr. Portier started with Fr. De Crugy for Louisiana (Du Bourg to Bruté, October 1818; November 13, 1817, in Catholic Archives of America, University of Notre Dame, Ind.). A manuscript note of Bishop Rosati informs us that Mr. Portier arrived in St. Louis in August 1818, and was ordained in that city on September 27 of the same year. That his ordination took place in St. Louis, however, is certainly erroneous, as Bishop Du Bourg was at the Barrens on September 26, and did not leave that place until the end of the following month. If, therefore, Mr. Portier was ordained on the 27th of September—which also is doubtful, for another note of Rosati assigns the date September 29—the ceremony must have taken place at the Barrens, probably in the log-church. He spent the following winter 1818—1819 at Mrs. Fenwick's, near the mouth of Apple Creek, Mo., and started for New Orleans in March 1919. In 1823, under the direction of Bp. Du Bourg he started an Academy to replace one formerly conducted by Father Martial.

51. Came to America, already a priest, in 1817, with Bishop Du Bourg. Some few months after reaching Bardstown, he was loaned to Bishop Flaget, with whom he started for Detroit on May 15, 1818. Cf. M. J. Spalding.*Sketches of the Life, Times and Character of Bishop Flaget*, p. 183 foll. He was recalled later and for a while put in charge of the parish of Donaldsonville, La. (1823), but on the appointement of Fr. Brassac, was placed in the city .

52. Rev. Eugene Michaud was born, January 17, 1798, in the diocese of Le Puy, Haute-Loire, France; but is mentioned in several places (f. i., *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, I, v, p. 53), as belonging to the Diocese of Chambery. Perahps was he reading theology in the Seminary of that Diocese, when he gave his name to Fr. Inglesi for the Louisiana Mission. Leaving France with Messrs. Odin, J. B .Blanc, Audizio, Peyretti and Caretta, he arrived in New Orleans in July 1822, and soon after started for Missouri, arriving at the Barrens on August 30. As he was a deacon and about ready for Ordination, Bishop Du Bourg called him to St. Louis, where he was promoted to the priesthood on September 22. "I am very much pleased with Mr .Michaud," he wrote to Rosati. "He is a pious and learned young man, with an excellent character, and above all, very good judgment." Bishop Du Bourg first destined him for the Academy in St. Louis; but later on (1823) he called him to New Orleans.

53. Had come to America with Bishop Du Bourg, in 1817, being then a Subdeacon. He was raised successively to the deaconship and the priesthood at Baltimore, by the prelate, before starting for Bardstown. He, too, like Father Janvier, was loaned to the Bishop of Bardstown, and destined by the latter to the mission of Detroit. On his recall by Bishop Du Bourg, he was sent to New Orleans .

54. The Rev. Philip Borgna, C.M., born at Saluzzo, Piedmont, had come to America in 1818, being then onl ya theological student, together with Mr. Anthony Potini, also a scholastic of the Congregation of the Mission, and Father Francis Cellini, who had just been received into the Novitiate at Monte Citorio. They sailed from Leghorn in company with the band of Milanese recruits for the Louisiana mission under the direction of Fr. John Mary Rossetti, Landing at Philadelphia in the first days of October, the three Lazarists, leaving in Pennsylvania their travelling companions, started at once for the West, and reached the Seminary at the Barrens, January 5, 1819. There Messrs. Borgna and Potini continued their studies, the former being ordained to the priesthood by Bishop Du Bourg in St. Louis, March 19, 1820. at the same time as the famous Angelo Inglesi. Afer his ordination, he returned to the Barrens; but as his health soon began to give anxieties, he was first sent to St. Louis (July 1820), and, a few months later (beginning of September), to New Orleans, where he was stationed at the Cathedral. When yellow

April 13 Tuesday. Said Mass in the same place.

14 Wednesday. Mass in the same church, and confirmed
Conf. 1 one of the girls educated in the Monastery.

15 Maundy Thursday. Celebrated pontifical Mass in the church of the Nuns, to whom I gave Holy Communion. Assisted at the solemn Mass and the solemn Consecration of the Oils by the Bishop of New Orleans in the Cathedral, also at the office of *Tenebrae.*

16 Good Friday.[55] Celebrated the service solemnly in the church of the Nuns. At the cathedral attended the office of *Tenebrae,* after which I went to visit the tomb of Father Ferrari, priest of our Congregation.[56]

18 Easter Sunday. Celebrated solemn pontifical Mass in the Cathedral;[57] during Mass the Right Rev. Bishop preached the sermon from the communion rail,[58] assisted at Vespers in the same place.

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fever broke out at the end of the summer 1822, Fr. Borgna vied with his confrere, Fr. Andrew Ferrari, in his devotedness to the stricken people. It is said of him that he daily administered the last Sacraments to upwards of thirty persons. Both were attacked by the disease; Fr. Ferrari, after a few days' illness, died on November 2; Fr. Borgna recovered, but suffered much for some time of the after-effects of the malady, so that it was deemed advisable he should go back to Italy in the hope that the air of his native country would completely restore him. Bishop Du Bourg readily granted him a leave of absence (letter of February 27, 1823, *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review,* Vol. III, pp. 118—128), entrusting to him a number of delicate negotiations in Rome, while Fr. Rosati through him sent back the Brief of his appointment to the Vicariate Apostolic of Mississippi and Alabama (cf. above, Note 13), and begged him earnestly to plead the reasons of his (Rosati's) refusal of the burden. Borgna sailed from New Orleans, on the 10th of April 1823, and after some time spent in Paris, in Turin and with his family, he arrived in Rome towards the end of the year. He proceeded thence to Sora, to visit the family of Rosati, and while there was godfather to a child of Nicola Rosati, the Bishop's brother.

55. The Manuscript has: *Fer. V,* evidently a distraction.

56. Fr. Andrew Ferrari, a native of Port-Maurice, on the Genovese riviera, was already a priest when, in 1815 he resolved with his friend, Canon Carretti, to enlist for the American Mission. They wrote for this purpose to Fathers Rosati and Acquaroni, then at Marseilles, who encouraged them to execute their project. Leaving Port-Maurice on February 22, 1816, they arrived at Bordeaux on March 21, and embarked with Father De Andreis and his companions on *The Ranger.* Arrived at Bardstown, Fr. Ferrari won so much the confidence of Bishop Flaget by his beautiful qualities of mind and soul, that the prelate entrusted to him the direction of the Lorettines of Gethsemani. While in Kentucky, he begged admission into the Congregation of the Mission, and shortly after the arrival of the Louisiana colony in Missouri, commenced in St. Louis, on December 3, the very day of the death of his companion Canon Carretti, his novitiate under the direction of Fr. De Andreis. After 6 months, he was missioned to Vincennes, as assistant of Fr. Anthony Blanc, whom he succeeded as pastor at the end of January 1820. At the end of October or the beginning of November of the same year, he left for Missouri for the purpose of preparing himself to make his vows. But his health was so shattered that, after a few weeks at the Barrens he was constrained to go to St. Louis to seek medical aid. He remained there until sometime in August 1821, when he was sent to New Orleans, to act as Father Anthony's Assistant at he Cathedral. He soon endeared himself to all, by his unalterable amiability and unselfish devotedness, of which he gave the supreme proofs during the epidemic of yellow fever which broke out late in the summer of 1822. Despite his poor health and frail body, he was untiring in his care of the sick, until finally he too fell a victim to the disease. He took to his bed on October 27, and on the 2nd of November, softly breathed his last, with an angelic smile on his face. His funeral, held on the next day by Father Anthony, was the occasion of such a public manifestation of sorrow as was ever seen in the old Louisiana City. Father Rosati wrote a beautiful biographical notice for his Roman confreres, while, in New Orleans, Fr. Portier published a necrological article which showed eloquently the impression made upon all, clergy and laity, by the life and death of the deceased.

57. From the letter of Fr. Tichitoli, C. M., to Mrs. Fournier, Bp. Du Bourg's sister. (*Annales de la Prop. de la Foi,* I, v, p. 35) we learn that, at the time of Rosati's Consecration, Fr. Anthony de Sedella had invited the new Bishop to officiate at the Cathedral on Easter Sunday.

58. *ex suggestu,* says the Latin text.

April 12 Tuesday. Said Mass in the same place.
14 Wednesday. Mass in the same church, and confirmed
Conf. 1 one of the girls educated in the Monastery
15 Maundy Thursday. Celebrated pontifical Mass in the church of the Nuns, to whom I gave Holy Communion. Assisted at the solemn Mass and the solemn Consecration of the Oils by the Bishop of New Orleans in the Cathedral, also at the office of Tenebræ.

16 Good Friday.[4] Celebrated the service solemnly in the church of the Nuns. At the cathedral attended the office of Tenebræ, after which I went to visit the tomb of Father Ferrari, priest of our Congregation.[5]

18 Easter Sunday. Celebrated solemn pontifical Mass in the Cathedral;[6] during Mass the Right Rev. Bishop preached the sermon from the communion rail,[7] assisted at Vespers in the same place.

April 19 Monday. Mass in the church of the Nuns, and visit of the Monastery with the Bishop.[59]

20 Mass in the same place. All the priests of the city had been invited for dinner at the Bishop's.

21 Mass in the same place. At night solemn distribution of the premiums to the pupils of Mr. Lafont.

22 Mass in the same place. Dinner at the cathedral rectory[60] with the Bishop and all the clergy of the city.

23 Mass in the same place. At 5 p.m. sermon to the Nuns.

24 Said Mass in the cathedral; during the Mass preached to the children who were to make their first Communion, and gave them Holy Communion. After Mass and a short exhortation to the candidates for confirmation, I administered this Sacrament to over one hundred and fifty persons of every age and sex. The same day bidding goodbye to all the clergy, and being accompanied by several priests to the boat, the Bishop of New Orleans and I went on board at 5 o'clock.

confirm. 150

25 Low Sunday. At 11 o'clock a.m., landed at St. Michael's. There I said Mass. At 5 o'clock we left the rectory and at night-fall we arrived at Mr. Bringier's.

26 Mass in the Bishop's chapel.[61] He and I left after breakfast, and before noon we reached Donaldsonville; we took dinner there at the rectory, and went with him to Assumption, where we arrived at night-fall.

27 Mass in the Church of the Assumption. After Mass we went to see Father Bernard, took dinner with him, and talked over with him various matters concerning the foundation of a new Seminary, for which the said Rev. Father gave some time ago a thousand acres of land; at 4 o'clock we took leave of him and came back to Assumption.

28 Mass in the same place.

29 Mass in the same place. The Right Rev. Bishop returned to Donaldsonville.

30 Mass in the same place. After Mass Father Potini arrives: he is to go back with me to the Seminary.

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59. The original intimates that the Bishop of New Orleans took his guest inside the enclosure: *Monasterium cum Epo. ingressus illud vidi.*

60. *Apud Vicarios et Parochum cathedralis.*

61. At the Hermitage, the home of his niece, Mrs. Aglaé Bringier, wife of Michael Doradou Bringier, Bishop Du Bourg always found a loving welcome and had a pleasant place of retirement (see note 20). "I have a pretty house apart, where I am enjoying such a peace as I had not known for many years. These dear children (his niece and her husband: Mrs. Bringier was then twenty-six, and her husband thirty-two years of age) are overwhelming me with loving attentions. On Sundays quite a large crowd of people come to my chapel" (Du Bourg to his brother Louis, August 6, 1823, in *Annales de la Prop. de la Foi*, I, v. p. 42).

April 19 Monday. Mass in the church of the Nuns, and visit of the Monastery with the Bishop.[89]

20 Mass in the same place. All the priests of the city had been invited for dinner at the Bishop's.

21 Mass in the same place. At night solemn distribution of the premiums to the pupils of Mr. Lafont.

22 Mass in the same place. Dinner at the cathedral rectory[90] with the Bishop and all the clergy of the city.

23 Mass in the same place. At 5 p.m. sermon to the Nuns.

24 Said Mass in the cathedral; during the Mass preached to the children who were to make their first Communion, and gave them Holy Communion. After Mass and a short exhortation to the candidates for confirmation, I administered this Sacrament to over one hundred and fifty persons of every age and sex. The same day bidding goodbye to all the clergy, and being accompanied by several priests to the boat, the Bishop of New Orleans and I went on board at 5 o'clock.

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28 Mass in the same place.

29 Mass in the same place. The Right Rev. Bishop returned to Donaldsonville.

30 Mass in the same place. After Mass Father Potini arrives: he is to go back with me to the Seminary.

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89. The original intimates that the Bishop of New Orleans took his guest inside the enclosure: Alexandrinum vero ipse, ingressus illuc secum.

90. Apud Vicarios et Parochum cathedralis.

91. At the Hermitage, the home of his niece, Mrs. Adèle Bringier, wife of Michael Doradou Bringier, Bishop Du Bourg always found a loving welcome and had a pleasant place of retirement (see note 20). "I have a pretty house apart, where I am enjoying much a peace as I had not known for many years. There dear children (the niece and her husband, Mrs. Bringier was then twenty-six, and her husband thirty-two years of age) are overwhelming me with loving attentions. On Sunday quite a large crowd of people came to my chapel." (Du Bourg to his brother Louis, August 6, 1823, in Annales de la Prop. de la Foi, t. v, p. 42).

MAY

1 Mass in the same place. Left after breakfast and came to Donaldsonville in the evening.

2 Mass in the church of the Ascension.

3 After the Holy Sacrifice, I crossed the river with Father Brassac, and came towards evening to Mr. Bringier's. I remained there for a few days, saw Fathers Anduze and De la Croix, and was sick two days. At 5 a. m. went
10 on board the *Dolphin* with Father Potini; we had a prosperous and quick voyage, for we reached Bois Brulé
19 the 19th about noon. Leaving there on the bank our baggage to be carried by wagon to the Seminary, which[62] is only ten miles distant, and bidding good-bye to Mr. Hermant, a cleric whom we had taken along with us, we continued our journey. At Ste. Genevieve we stopped only a short while at the landing, and then resumed our trip
20 and the next day at ten o'clock we arrived at St. Louis. There we took dinner with Fathers Niel,[63] Audizio and Saulnier,[64] who have charge of the parish, and, after dinner went to St. Ferdinand. The Nuns of the Sacred Heart and Father Van Quickenborne, Superior of the house of the Jesuits welcomed us most joyfully, and we staid there over night.

21 Said Mass in the church of St. Ferdinand; and after breakfast taken at Mr. Mullanphy's,[65] we returned to St. Louis before noon. There I visited General Clark,[66] gave him a letter confided to me for him by Bishop Du Bourg, and had a long talk with him about the missions to the Indians. He received me most kindly; and I trust that both

62. A *lapsus* of the pen made Rosati write here: *ad Seminarium,* QUI *inde decem tantum millibus passuum distat.*

63. Francis Niel, was a tonsured cleric (M. J. Spalding, *Sketches of Bishop Flaget,* p. 173) when he left France with Bishop Du Bourg. Scarcely staying a few days at Bardstown, he was taken along by the prelate, when they started for St. Louis in December 1817. There he remained to study theology under Father De Andreis, and was ordained March 19, 1918. When the Academy was started, in the fall of the same year, Fr. Niel was made its rector; and after the death of Fr. De Andreis (October 15, 1820) joined to his functions at the College the office of pastor of the Church. In the winter 1823—1824 he had an attack of what, despite his youth, was regarded as apoplexy, of which he does not seem to have ever well recovered, as long as he remained in America.

64. "Edmund Saulnier, a native of Bordeaux, arrived in the Seminary during the month of May 1819. He studied there philosophy under Father Borgna. In the beginning of December of the same year, Bishop Du Bourg called him to St. Louis to employ him in the College. He remained there in 1820, 1821, and 1822, when he was ordained priest, (September 22) and since then he has remained in St. Louis." Rosati. *Catalogus Alumnorum Seminarii S. Mariae,* No. 17.

65. John Mullanphy. See Rev. Lawrence J. Kenny, S.J.: *The Mullanphys of St. Louis,* in *Historical Records and Studies,* published by the United States Catholic Historical Society of New York, XIV, May 1920, pp. 70—110.

67. Gen. William Clark, brother of Gen. George Rogers Clark, companion of Merriwether Louis in the expedition to the headwaters of the Missouri and the Pacific Ocean; Governor of the Missouri Territory, and after the admission of Missouri into the Union, Indian agent.

May the favor of that man who wields such an influence over the Indians, and material help shall be given to the missionaries.

22 Celebrated the Holy Sacrifice in the church of St. Louis, and in order to be sure not to miss the boat returning to Ste. Genevieve, I went on board about noon with Father Potini. At 3 o'clock, we reached Herculaneum; there we had to remain the rest of the day, the whole night and

23 part of the next day, owing to the freight to be embarked. We left Herculaneum shortly after twelve o'clock, and at 3 o'clock we landed at Ste. Genevieev. There we were warmly welcomed by Father Dahmen, and found Mr. Paquin,[67] a cleric of our Congregation sent there by Father De Neckere[68] to ascertain the time of our arrival at the Seminary. The Catholics of the parish around the Seminary had planned a solemn reception, and the men belonging to the militia wanted to come to meet us. On hearing this, I forbade Mr. Paquin to go ahead of us;

24 and so we all came together to the Seminary a little before noon.

25 Said Mass in the Seminary chapel. Went to see the Lorettines,[69] and received the visits and congratulations of my friends.

26 Said Mass in the chapel of the Nuns. Heard their confessions in the morning and gave them a conference; in the evening heard confessions of the Seminarians.[70]

27 Ascension of our Lord. In the morning heard the confessions of the Brothers of our Congregation, and, also of the lay people. Pontifical Mass in the church according to the *Ceremonial of the Bishops*. Preached at the Mass. I presided likewise at Vespers. Novena preparatory to Pentecost begun today.

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67. "Joseph Paquin, born at Florissant, Mo., December 4, 1799, arrived in the Seminary January 13, 1820. He commenced there his studise of Latin and English. He deported himself most creditably, and having begged admission into the Congregation of the Mission, was received on November 21, 1822" Rosati. *Catalogus Alumnorum Seminarii S. Mariae*, No. 19.

68. "Leo de Neckere, born at Wevelghem, in the Diocese of Ghent, Flanders, on June 5, 1800. Was received by Bishop Du Bourg for the Louisiana Mission. Sailed from Bordeaux with Bishop Du Bourg, arrived in Kentucky with the others and there studied theology for a year under Fr. Rosati; left Kentucky with the others for the Barrens, and thence was sent to St. Louis, where he was put to teach in the college. He was received into the Congregation of the Mission by Fr. De Andreis on June 1, 1820." Rosati, *Catalogus etc.* No. 10. He went back shortly after to the Barrens whence Bishop Du Bourg called him again to St. Louis in September. He was there when Father De Andreis died, and, a few weeks later returned to the Barrens (November 4). He was ordained Subdeacon in the fall of 1821, and the next year after his vows, Deacon and priest (October 1822).

69. The convent of Bethlehem, about a quarter of a mile north of the Seminary, and a little east of the old church.

70. Be it remembered that Bp. Rosati was practically the only one capable of hearing confessions: Fr. De Neckere was sick, so was Fr. Potini, and Fr. Odin was a novice. The custom of the Superior hearing the confessions of his subjects was then the object of no strictures.

May the favor of that man who wields such an influence over the Indians, and material help shall be given to the missionaries.

22 Celebrated the Holy Sacrifice in the church of St. Louis, and in order to be sure not to miss the boat returning to Ste. Geneviève, I went on board about noon with Father Point. At 3 o'clock, we reached Herculaneum; there we had to remain the rest of the day, the whole night and

23 part of the next day, owing to the freight to be embarked. We left Herculaneum shortly after twelve o'clock, and at 3 o'clock we landed at Ste. Geneviève. There we were warmly welcomed by Father Dahmen, and found Mr. Paquin,[87] a cleric of our Congregation sent there by Father De Neckere[88] to ascertain the time of our arrival at the Seminary. The Catholics of the parish around the Seminary had planned a solemn reception, and the men belonging to the militia wanted to come to meet us. On hearing this, I forbade Mr. Paquin to go ahead of us;

24 and so we all came together to the Seminary a little before noon.

25 Said Mass in the Seminary chapel. Went to see the Loretines,[89] and received the visits and congratulations of my friends.

26 Said Mass in the chapel of the Nuns. Heard their confessions in the morning and gave them a conference; in the evening heard confessions of the Seminarians.[90]

27 Ascension of our Lord. In the morning heard the confessions of the Brothers of our Congregation, and, also of the lay people. Pontifical Mass in the church according to the Ceremonial of the Bishops. Preached at the Mass. I presided likewise at Vespers. Novena preparatory to Pentecost begun today.

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87. "Joseph Paquin, born at Florissant, Mo., December 4, 1795, arrived in the Seminary January 15, 1820. He commenced there his studies of Latin and English. He departed almost most creditably, and having begged admission into the Congregation of the Mission, was received on November 21, 1822." Records, Centenary, Seminary, St. Mary's, Mo., p. 19.

88. "Leo de Neckere, born at Wevelghem, by the Diocese of Ghent, Flanders, on June 5, 1804. Was received by Bishop Du Bourg for the Louisiana Mission. Sailed from Bordeaux with Bishop Du Bourg, arrived in Kentucky with the others and there studied theology for a year under Fr. Rosati, left Kentucky with the others for the Barrens, and thence was sent to St. Louis, where he was put to teach in the college. He was received into the Congregation of the Mission by Fr. De Andreis on June 1, 1820." Records, Centenary, Seminary, St. Mary's, Mo., p. 16. He went back shortly after to the Barrens where Bishop Du Bourg called him again to St. Louis in September. He was there when Father De Andreis died, and, a few weeks later returned to the Barrens (November 6). He was ordained Subdeacon in the fall of 1821, and the next year also Deacon and priest (October 1822).

89. The convent of Bethlehem, about a quarter of a mile south of the Seminary, and a little east of the old church.

90. He it remembered that Fr. Rosati was practically the only one capable of hearing confessions; Fr. De Neckere was sick, as was Fr. Tschiel, and Fr. Odin was a novice. The custom of the Superior hearing the confessions of his subjects was then the object of strictures.

May 28 Mass in the Seminary chapel.

29 Mass in the same place. Examination of the candidates
exam. ordin. for Orders.[71]

30 Mass in the Seminary chapel. Assist in Rochet and Mozetta at the solemn Mass, during which I preached. Vespers in the church; afer Vespers Sermon by Mr. McGilligan.[72]

31 Mass in the same place.

JUNE

1 Conference[73] in the chapel of the Community, on the preparation for the reception of the gifts of the Holy Ghost on the coming feast of Pentecost.

2 Mass in the same place.

3 Mass in the same place. Conference to the Nuns.

4 Mass in the same place.

5 Vigil of the Pentecost. Pontifical services in the church;
Ordin. I blessed the Baptismal Fount, conferred the first tonsure on Frederick Eugene Saucier[74] and Thomas Moore,[75]

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71. Messrs. Patrick McGilligan, C.M., and John Caretta, Frederic Saucier and Thomas Moore.

72. "Patrick McGilligan, born March 17, 1795, at Maghera, in the Diocese of Londonderry, Ireland, had stayed some time in the Seminary of Quebec, Canada, where he received Tonsure on September 12, 1819. He came to the Seminary on July 2, 1822. He continued the course of Theology which he had already begun. After wishing and begging for a long time to be received in the Congregaiton of the Mission, he was admitted on April 25, 1823." Rosati. *Catalogus etc.*, No. 35.

73. These Conferences are in honor in the Congregation of the Mission since the days of St. Vincent de Paul, and held very much in the same manner as he inaugurated them. The subject is proposed beforehand, in order that all may reflect upon it. At the time appointed, which is sometimes in the evening, but oftener in the morning, after half an hour of meditation, the superior calls on one or two of those present to tell the thoughts they had on the subject, which they do following the order of the points indicated. At the end he adds, if he deems fit, his own remarks on the subject.

74. "Eugene Saucier, born at St. Louis in the Territory of Missouri (date wanting). Having been under the tutorship of Father Acquaroni (at Portage des Sioux, Mo.), and showing beautiful dispositions for study, piety and the ecclesiastical State, he was sent to the Seminary, where he arrived the 7th of September 1821. He continued there the study of Latin, and began that of English with much success. In the month of May 1822, he was made instructor in French Grammar. His conduct was exemplary and his progress rapid. In October he was appointed Sacristan of the chapel." Rosati. *Catalogus etc.* No. 28.

75. "Thomas Moore, born at the Barrens, Territory of Missouri, on November 11, 1805, was received in the Seminary, April 2, 1821, after begging admission for several months: His conduct merited for him this privilege. From the time of his entrance he edified very much the others by his piety, regularity and his eager desire to learn. He studied first English Grammar, then commenced the study of Latin and French, and, during vacation, in 1822, Geography. During the following years, he made rapid progress. Having sufficient talent, with persevering application he became capable of following all his classes; he had learned French and Latin very well ,and had acquired a perfect knowledge of his mother tongue, and had begun the study in Greek. Always pious, regular, prompt, obedient, meek, he never gave any occasion of dissatisfaction and complaint to his Superiors. Constant in the practice of virtue, he never was remiss in his exercises of devotion. He was particularly solicitous about his spiritual progress, sought regularly every month advice of direction, made carefully his meditation, never failing to take proper resolutions. He even practised special mortifications. He was judged worthy to receive Tonsure at the Pentecost 1824." Rosati, *Catalogus* etc. No. 26.

June pupils of the Seminary, and ordained to the Subdiaconate *ad titulum Missionis* John Caretta[76] and Patrick McGilligan, novice of our Congregation; made a short address to the Ordinandi before the Ordination.

6 Pentecost Sunday. Heard at home the confession of the Brothers and others. Celebrated Pontifical Mass. The sermon was delivered by Mr. Timon,[77] novice of our Congregation.

7 Monday. Heard confessions at home, and said Mass in the chapel. Assisted at High Mass in cope; during Mass preached to the boys and girls about to make their first
confirm. 36 Communion; after Mass and a short exhortation administered the sacrament of Confirmation to 36 boys and girls.

8 Tuesday. Had ordination privately[78] in the church, at
Ordin. which, after a short allocution to the candidates, I promoted to Deaconship John Caretta and Patrick McGilligan.

9 Mass in the Seminary chapel.

10 Celebrated Mass in the Convent chapel, and confirmed
Confirm. Vows of a Nun. there two girls, the one a Novice and the other a Postulant, and received the vows of Sister Elodie, in the world[79] Vessels.

11 Mass in the Seminary chapel.

12 Saturday of the Ember week of Pentecost. Early in the morning Confessions of the Nuns. At 9:30 celebrated in
Ordin. the church a low Mass during which I raised to the holy Order of the priesthood Patrick McGilligan and John Caretta, inaugurating the ceremony by a short exhortation to the Ordinandi.

13 Trinity Sunday. Assisted in cope at the High Mass, during which Father Odin,[80] a Novice of our Congregation

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76. "John Caretta, born at Orbazzano, in the Diocese of Turin, Piedmont, November 5, 1797, arrived in the Seminary on August 30, 1822, sent by Father Inglesi. He had begun his course of Theology at Turin. He received Tonsure and the four Minor Orders, October 12, 1822. He was made second Sacristan of the church." Rosati *Catalogus*, etc. No. 43.

77. "John Timon, born at Lancaster, Pennsylvania ,February 12 ,1797. Having stayed six months at St. Louis at the Bishop's, was sent to the Seminary, where he arrived the 19th of July 1822; continued there to study Latin and commenced Rhetoric, he was appointed instructor in English and infirmarian. He received Tonsure on October 12, 1822, and was put at the head of the catechism class in the church." Rosati, *Catalogus*, etc., No. 36. Was admitted to the Novitiate April 25, 1823. His Life has been written by Charles G. Deuther, under the title: *The Life and Times of the Rt. Rev. John Timon, D. D., First Roman Catholic Bishop of the Diocese of Buffalo.* Buffalo, 1870.

78. *Ordinationem habui in ecclesia sine cantu.*

79. Sister Elodie's name in the world was Julia Vessels.

80. "John Mary Odin, born at Ambierle, Loire, in the Diocese of Lyons, France, on February 25, 1800, having received Tonsure and Minor Orders at Lyons, July 22, 1820, and Subdeaconship at the same place, March 17, 1821, arrived in the Seminary on August 30, 1822. He had finished his course of Theology at the Seminary of Lyons, where, seeing Fr. Inglesi, who was travelling through Europe for the benefit of the Louisiana Mission, he obtained dimissorial letters from the Vicars General of Lyons, and sailed for America from Havre, and arrived in the Seminary on August 30, 1822. He was ordained deacon in the chapel of the Seminary, on October 12, 1822; and, on the 4th of November of the same year, was received in the Congregation of the Mission." Rosati, *Catalogus*, etc., No. 39. He was ordained May 4, 1823. His Life has been written in French by the author of the *Initiateur du Voeu National: Cinquante Années de l'Eglise Catholique aux Etats-Unis* (1820—1870). *Vie de Mgr. Jean-Marie Odin, Missionnaire Lazariste, Archevêque de la Nouvelle Orléans.* Paris, 1896.

June preached on the mystery. I had said Mass in the Seminary chapel and heard at home the confessions of the Brothers and others.

14 Monday. Mass in the same place.

15 Tuesday. Mass in the same place. Domestic conference on the necessity of making efforts unceasingly towards perfection.

16 Wednesday. Mass in the same place. In the evening confession of the Seminarians.

17 Thursday. Early in the morning heard at home the confessions of the Brothers and others. Said Mass in the chapel. Assisted in cope at the High Mass, which was the first Mass of Father Caretta; after Mass, Litany of the Saints chanted before the Blessed Sacrament to beg for the cessation of rain; then I gave Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament. Prayers and Litany of the Saints to beg for the cessation of rain. At half past four, I celebrated Pontifical Vespers before the Blessed Sacrament, and immediately afterwards we started[81] the procession. After the banner of the Bl. Virgin marched the little girls, then the women, then the boys and the men, who were followed by the Nuns: all went two by two carrying lighted candles in their hands; then following the cross carried, between two candle-bearers, by a subdeacon in tunic, marched the clergy, that is, four in Tunics and Dalmatics, two in chasubles and two in copes, then a cleric in cope carrying the crozier, four boys in white cassocks throwing flowers before the Blessed Sacrament, and finally two censer-bearers; the Bl. Sacrament was carried by myself having at my sides the Deacon and Subdeacon, under a canopy carried by six Brothers of our Congregation; following were the mitre-bearer, etc., and the rest of the people devoutly reciting the rosary. The procession went from the church to the Seminary, where having placed the Bl. Sacrament in the repository prepared under the porch, I spoke on the Sacrament of the Eucharist; the sermon finished and the benediction given the procession returned to the church in the same order. etc. etc.

18 Friday. Mass in the Community chapel. Collect for the cessation of rain.

19 Saturday. Mass in the same place. Collect etc. Heard the Nuns' confessions in the morning at the convent.

20 Sunday. Heard the confessions of our Students and Brothers. Mass in the Community chapel. At 9 o'clock I

Baptism of one Adult baptized solemnly according to the rite prescribed by the Rom. Ritual an adult to whom I gave the name David John

81. A *lapsus calami* made Rosati write here *incohavimus*.

June ([82]). This man, a convert from protestantism, had prepared himself with the greatest devotion and piety; he received Communion at High Mass at which I assisted in cope. After Mass, Litany of the Saints for the cessation of rain, and Benediction of the Bl. Sacrament, after which I administered the Sacrament of Confirmation to the newly baptized man, making a short allocution before. Vespers in Domestic chapel on account of rain. Heard the confessions of the Seminarians.

21 Monday. Feast of St. Aloysius. Heard a few confessions. Mass in the chapel for our Scholastics, the Seminarians and the College boys. In the church High Mass at which I assisted and preached. Vespers in the church.

22 Tuesday. Domestic Conference on the Devotion to the Bl. Sacrament of the Eucharist. Mass in the Seminary chapel. Wrote to Fr. Baccari, Vic. Gen.,[83] to the Superior General of the Society of Jesus [84] to ask for some Missionaries of that Society, etc.

23 Wednesday. Mass in the same place. Received a letter from Fr. Dahmen. Heard the communications [85] of two, etc.

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82. Watcking—Watkin?—was the family name of this convert, according to the entry in the Baptism Register:

June 20, 1824

CXXXV

The Right Reverend Bishop Joseph Rosati, Bishop of Tenagra solemnly baptized David John Watcking, son of Benjamin and Margaret Watcking his wife, twenty-five years old and converted from infidelity to the Catholic religion.

By request of the Rt. Rev. Bishop of Tenagra,
ODIN, *Secretary.*

83. This is undoubtedly the letter dated June 14, 1824. We suppose it to be dated from the day it was begun, and take the mention in the *Diary* as referring to its completion. After a few words on his journeys and health, he gives news of the Congregation: Fr. De Neckere is believed to have consumption, and is going to be sent to Louisiana; Fr. Acquaroni's health demands that he should return to Europe, and he has been given permission to do so; Fr. Tichitoli, too, is in precarious condition; Fr. Potini, since he returned to Missouri has declined, and will have to be sent back south. The health of two students, likewise, and of a brother leaves much to be desired. Father Odin is the only priest now in the Seminary, and is overworked; the speedy return of Fr. Borgna is eagerly awaited. There are now two clerical postulants for the Congregation, three students, three novices, nine Brothers and one postulant Brother; in the Seminary there are 14 students and 10 boys; candidates for the priesthood have to be refused, for lack of means. Bishop Du Bourg's project of a Seminary in Lower Louisiana is reported favorably, despite the difficulties of finding the personnel to man this establsihment. Bright prospects for religion: the convent of Bethlehem does wonderful good; conversions of protestants; public lectures on the Church by Mr. Timon; two priests wanted for Arkansas; the American Government promises $200 for every missionary sent to the Indians, would like the Jesuits to take up these Missions: they have at Florissant two priests, six scholastics and three brothers. Intends to write to their Superior General to send over more men. Religious of the Sacred Heart at Florissant, Mo.—The church at the Barrens too small, steps have been taken to erect another, but slow work, for the people are poor. (Archives of the Procurator General C. M., Rome).

84. Rough Draft in the Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery. It seems to be in the designs of Divine Providence to resume the works of the Jesuits in the Mississippi Valley. Already the Diocese has the good fortune of possessing a colony of them at Florissant. Gov. Clark would like to see them have an establishment of education for young Indians at Florissant. Bishop Du Bourg and himself would like to have them start a College at St. Louis, and will do everything in their power to foster this project. Therefore asks that some men may be sent to America.

85. Be it remembered that no one then had the least misgivings about the practice of interior communication, which had spread so generally during the XVIIth century, and was in honor in all religious institutes originated at that time.

June ([84]). This man, a convert from protestantism, had prepared himself with the greatest devotion and piety; he received Communion at High Mass at which I assisted in cope. After Mass, Litany of the Saints for the cessation of rain, and Benediction of the Bl. Sacrament, after which I administered the Sacrament of Confirmation to the newly baptized man, making a short allocution before. Vespers in Domestic chapel on account of rain. Heard the confessions of the Seminarians.

21 Monday. Feast of St. Aloysius. Heard a few confessions. Mass in the chapel for our Scholastics, the Seminarians and the College boys. In the church High Mass at which I assisted and preached. Vespers in the church.

22 Tuesday. Domestic Conference on the Devotion to the Bl. Sacrament of the Eucharist. Mass in the Seminary chapel. Wrote to Fr. Bacceti, Vic. Gen.[85] to the Superior General of the Society of Jesus [86] to ask for some Missionaries of that Society, etc.

23 Wednesday. Mass in the same place. Received a letter from Fr. Dalmen. Heard the communications [87] of two, etc.

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84. Watching—Watkins?—was the family name of this convert, according to the entry in the Baptism Register:

June 20, 1824

CXXXV

The Right Reverend Bishop Joseph Rosati, Bishop of Tenagra ordinarily baptized David John Watching, son of Benjamin and Margaret Watching his wife, twenty-five years old and converted from infidelity to the Catholic religion.

By request of the Rt. Rev. Bishop of Tenagra,
Odin, Secretary.

85. This is undoubtedly the letter dated June 14, 1824. We suppose it to be dated from the day it was begun, and take the mention in the Diary as referring to its completion. After a few words on his journeys and health, he gives news of the Congregation. Fr. De Neckere is believed to have consumption, and is going to be sent to Louisiana. Fr. Acquaronni's health demands that he should return to Europe, and he has been given permission to do so; Fr. Tichelaël, too, is in precarious condition; Br. Vidal, since he returned to Missouri has declined, and will have to be sent back south. The health of two students, likewise, and of a brother leaves much to be desired. Father Odin is the only priest now in the Seminary, and is overworked; the second return of Fr. Borgna is eagerly awaited. There are now two clerical postulants for the Congregation, three aspirants, three novices, nine Brothers and one perpetual Brother in the Seminary; there are 14 students and 10 boys; candidates for the priesthood have to be trained, for lack of means. Bishop Du Bourg's project of a Seminary in Lower Louisiana is regarded favorably, despite the difficulties it finding the personnel to man the establishment. Bright prospects for religion; the convent of Visitation does wonderful good; conversions of protestants; public lectures on the Church by Mr. Timon; two priests wanted for Arkansas; the American Government promises $200 for every missionary sent to the Indians, would like the Jesuits to take up these Missions; they have at Florissant two classes, six scholastics and three brothers. Intends to write to their Superior General to send over more men. Relations of the Sacred Heart at Florissant, Mo.—The church at the Barrens too small, steps have been taken to erect another, but dry weather for the people are poor. (Archives of the Procurator General C. M., Rome).

86. Rough Draft in the Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery. It seems to be in the design of Divine Providence to resume the works of the Jesuits in the Mississippi Valley. Already the Diocese has the good fortune of possessing a colony of them at Florissant. Gov. Clark would like to see them have a College; they have charge of education for young Indians at Florissant. Bishop Du Bourg and Bishop Rosati would like to have them start a College at St. Louis, and will do everything in their power to foster this project. Therefore asks that some men may be sent to America.

87. He is remembered that no one then had the least misgiving about the meeting of interior communication, which had spread so generally during the XVIIth century, and was in honor in all religious institutes originated at that time.

June 24 Thursday. Feast of St. John the Baptist. Heard the confessions of the Brothers, Scholastics and others. Mass in the Domestic chapel. Assisted in cope at High Mass; gave Benediction of the Bl. Sacrament. Officiated in the church at solemn Vespers, which were followed by the Benediction of the Bl. Sacrament. Heard the communications of three.

25 Friday. Mass in the chapel. Heard a few confessions. Chapter.[86]

26 Saturday. Said Mass in the chapel during Meditation time. Heard the confessions of 19 Nuns at 6 a. m.; taught the class of theology for Fr. Odin; and at 5 p. m. heard at home the confessions of the Seminarians.

27 Sunday. Early in the morning[87] heard the Brothers' confessions. Said Mass in the chapel. After Mass heard one communication and some people's confessions. Assisted at High Mass during which I preached on the divine mercy, which shines forth in the wonderful *patience* wherewith He permits sinners to go astray, *solicitude* displayed in seeking them, and *love* exhibited in receiving them when they return. Assisted at Vespers in the church; after which sermon by Mr. Loisel.[88]

28 Monday. Spiritual conference to the Seminarians:[89] The end of the Seminary and the means to attain this end. Thomas Moore was called, and for a quarter of an hour developed devoutly and pointedly the thoughts which had occurred to him while meditating on the subject proposed. Mass in the chapel.

29 Tuesday. Early in the morning heard the confessions of the Brothers and of the clerics; also one Communication. Solemn Pontifical Mass after the chanting of Tierce, as in the Roman Ceremonial. Vespers likewise solemn Pontifical.

30 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel.

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86. A general practice of religious orders and communities, consisting in a public accusation of, and sometimes public admonition for external faults committed against the Rules. We will see regularly in our *Diary* mention of this exercise on Fridays .

87. This expression, *summo mane*, under Bishop Rosati's pen, refers generally to something taking place during meditation time. On these days, he usually arose before the Community.

88. "Francis Regis Loisel, born at St. Louis, March 24, 1805; after beginning his studies at the Academy under Fr. Niel, and the College, as he manifested inclination to the ecclesiastical state, was sent to the Seminary by Bishop Du Bourg, on June 8, 1820; he continued there studying Latin and English during the rest of that year and during the year 1821, joining to the foregoing the study of Mathematics, which he commenced in November of the same year. He received Tonsure on October 20, 1821 in the Seminary. He was made instructor of a Latin class in 1822." Rosati, *Catalogus*, etc. No. 24. A Sketch of his life was published by the Rev. F. G. Holweck under the title: *Rev. John Francis Regis Loisel* in the *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. I, p. 103—130.

89. These Conferences were conducted by Bishop Rosati along the same lines as the Conferences of the Community (See Note 74). The idea was likewise an heritage of St. Vincent de Paul, who instituted the famous "Tuesday Conferences" for the ecclesiastics of Paris.

June 24 Thursday. Feast of St. John the Baptist. Heard the confessions of the Brothers, Scholastics and others. Mass in the Domestic chapel. Assisted in cope at High Mass; gave Benediction of the Bl. Sacrament. Officiated in the church at solemn Vespers, which were followed by the Benediction of the Bl. Sacrament. Heard the communications of three.

25 Friday. Mass in the chapel. Heard a few confessions. Chapter.[25]

26 Saturday. Said Mass in the chapel during Meditation time. Heard the confessions of 19 Nuns at 6 a. m.; taught the class of theology for Fr. Odin; and at 5 p. m. heard at home the confessions of the Seminarians.

27 Sunday. Early in the morning[26] heard the Brothers' confessions. Said Mass in the chapel. After Mass heard one communication and some people's confessions. Assisted at High Mass during which I preached on the divine mercy, which shines forth in the wonderful patience wherewith He permits sinners to go astray, solicitude displayed in seeking them, and love exhibited in receiving them when they return. Assisted at Vespers in the church; after which sermon by Mr. Loisel.[25]

28 Monday. Spiritual conference to the Seminarians;[25] The end of the Seminary and the means to attain this end. Thomas Moore was called, and for a quarter of an hour developed devoutly and pointedly the thoughts which had occurred to him while meditating on the subject proposed. Mass in the chapel.

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25. A general practice of religious: orders and communities, consisting in a public accusation of, and sometimes public admonition for external faults committed against the Rules. We will see regularly in our Diary mention of this exercise on Friday's.

26. This expression, common enough under Bishop Rosati's pen, refers generally to something taking place during meditation time. On these days, he usually arose before the Community.

25. "Francis Regis Loisel born at St. Louis, March 24, 1808; after beginning his studies at the Academy under Fr. Niel, and the College, as he mentioned himself in the ecclesiastical state, was sent to the Seminary by Bishop Du Bourg, on June 8, 1821; he continued there studying Latin and English during the rest of that year and during the year 1821, joining to the foregoing the study of Mathematics, which he commenced in November of the same year. He received Tonsure on October 28, 1821 in the Seminary. He was made Instructor of a Latin class in 1822." Rosati, Catalogue, etc. No. A Sketch of his life was published by the Rev. P. O. Holweck under the title: Rev. Jean François Régis Loisel in the St. Louis Catholic Historical Review, Vol. I, p. 193-218.

25. These Conferences were conducted by Bishop Rosati along the same lines as the Conferences of the Community (See Note 24). The idea was likewise to instruct the ecclesiastics of Perú, who instituted the famous "Tuesday Conferences" for the

JULY

1 Thursday. Mass in the chapel. Conference to the Nuns
See No. 2 on the use of the Sacrament of Penance. *Letter to Father Niel*: his way of treating the women who attend public dances I approve and endorse, judging such persons unworthy of the sacraments; and I warn him against burying in the Catholic Cemetery the Heretics and all non-catholics whatsoever.[90] In the evening received through the mail the following letters: 1° from the Rev. Fr. Van Quickenborne, dated St. Ferdinand, June 2 of the present year, conveying the very sad news of the death of Rev. Fr. Timmermans, S.J., untimely taken away after a very short illness from his brethren and the various parishes which he administered, at St. Ferdinand, on the 26th of May; 2° from Fr. Acquaroni, dated New Orleans, May 24; he is soon to start for Europe. 3° from Fr. Richard,[91] Washington, containing authentic proofs of a miracle wrought in the same city —the sudden and preternatural cure of Ann Mattingly— obtained through the prayers of Prince Hohenlohe.[92]

2 Friday. Chapter. Mass in the chapel for the Rev. Fr. Timmermans. Wrote to the Rt. Rev. Bp. of N. Orl. about Fr. Niel's intended trip to Europe, which is very useful and even necessary. Answered Fr. Van Quickenborne. Permission to Father Acquaroni of returning to Europe.[93]

3 Saturday. Mass in the chapel early in the morning.
See No. 5 Heard the Nuns' confessions at the convent at 6 o'clock. In the evening, heard the Seminarians' confessions in the Seminary.

4 IVth Sunday after Pentecost. Heard at home the confessions of the Brothers and of others. Mass in the chapel, at which the Brothers, Clerics and Seminarians went to Communion. Attended High Mass at 10 o'clock, and durit preached a Homily on the Gospel of the Sunday: 1° the zeal to hear the word of God and conform one's conduct with it; 2° the unhappiness of those who, far from Christ and in the darkness of infidelity and ignorance, labor to no purpose; 3° the happiness of those who, united with Christ through grace, cast their nets in His name and catch a multitude of fish, amass merits, and no matter in what condition they happen to find themselves, whether in prosperity or adversity, in poverty or abundance, see everything turn

90. The text of this letter is entered under No. 2 in the Register entitled *Copiae Litterarum et Documentorum Officialium a Rmo Josepho Rosai Epo etc. a 14 Januarii 1822 ad 22 Aprilis 1840*, in Archives of the St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery.

91. Father Gabriel Richard, S.S., of Detroit, representative for the Territory of Michigan in the Congress. The original of this letter is preserved in the Archives of the St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery.

92. On this miraculous cure, see J. G. Shea: *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, Vol. III, pp. 85 and foll., where the contemporary bibliography dealing with the event is cited.

93. *Copiae Litterarum et Documentorum Officialium*. No. 5.

JULY

1 Thursday. Mass in the chapel. Conference to the Nuns
See No. 3 on the use of the Sacrament of Penance. Letter to Father Nigl: his way of treating the women who attend public dances I approve and endorse, judging such persons unworthy of the sacraments; and I warn him against burying in the Catholic Cemetery the Heretics and all non-catholics whatsoever.[95] In the evening receiving through the mail the following letters: 1° from the Rev. Fr. Van Quickenborne, dated St. Ferdinand, June 2 of the present year, conveying the very sad news of the death of Rev. Fr. Timmermans, S.J., untimely taken away after a very short illness from his brethren and the various parishes which he administered, at St. Ferdinand, on the 26th of May; 2° from Fr. Acquaroni, dated New Orleans, May 24; he is soon to start for Europe. 3° from Fr. Richard[96] Washington, containing authentic proofs of a miracle wrought in the same city —the sudden and preternatural cure of Ann Mastingly— obtained through the prayers of Prince Hohenlohe.[97]

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4 IVth Sunday after Pentecost. Heard at home the confessions of the Brothers and of others. Mass in the chapel, at which the Brothers, Clerics and Seminarians went to Communion. Attended High Mass at 10 o'clock, and during it preached a Homily on the Gospel of the Sunday: 1° the zeal to hear the word of God and conform one's conduct with it; 2° the unhappiness of those who, far from Christ and in the darkness of infidelity and ignorance, labor to no purpose; 3° the happiness of those who, united with Christ through grace, cast their nets in His name and catch a multitude of fish, amass merits, and no matter in what condition they happen to find themselves, whether in prosperity or adversity, in poverty or abundance, see everything turn

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95. The text of this letter is printed under No. 4 in the Reports entitled Correspondence of Archbishop Odin and Bishop Blanc, Doc. No. 6 of Fr. Thomas M. Hughes' Documentary History of the Diocese of Galveston, Houston, 1917, p. 17.

96. Father Gabriel Richard, S.S., of Detroit, representative to the Congress of the United States. Vol. III, pp. 85 and 140. Where the centenary celebration of the Virginia Dare event is cited.

97. Caspar Hohenlohe, a German Capuchin, who was then residing in Rome. See Vol. III, p. 85.

98. Father Gabriel Richard, S.S., of Detroit, representative to the Congress of the United States. Vol. III, pp. 85 and 140. Where the centenary celebration of the Virginia Dare event is cited.

July to their benefit, because they love God, and shall be as a tree planted near the running waters, which shall bring forth its fruit in due season, and its leaf shall not fall off: and all whatsoever he shall do shall prosper; 4° their humility under the graces abundantly bestowed by God upon them; 5° the eagerness with which we ought to respond to God's call, leaving promptly and willingly all things, as the Apostles did. — After Mass Benediction of the Bl. Sacrament. Vespers in the church, followed by sermon by Thomas Moore.

5 Monday. In the morning at 5:30 Spiritual Conference to the Seminarians. Eugene Saucier was called and told briefly and to the point the thoughts which came to him in the meditation. I spoke on the observance of the rules of the Seminary, which is urged by many and very cogent motives, namely: the necessity to conform to the will of God, to His eternal law promulgated by natural reason; the obedience due to Him also commands order to be kept everywhere and forbids troubling that order; the special duties inherent in every state of life and the obligation devolving on every one to fulfill these duties; the danger to which the transgression of the rules exposes of falling into sin, either by indulging one's evil inclinations, or by tenaciously clinging to one's own judgment, or by acting out of contempt of the superiors and of the rules. After these explanations I indicated means helping to observe the rules: 1° To have a high opinion of the rules; 2° To practise with the utmost exactitude the smallest as well as the greatest points of rule; 3° to let one's self be induced to observing them by no human consideration; 4° to realize God's presence everywhere, etc. — Mass in the chapel. After breakfast I sent to Ste Genevieve by Fathers De Neckere and Potini the letters [94] to Father Niel, to Father Van Quickenborne, together with others which I had written to my brother, to our Superior, and other persons living in Europe.

6 Tuesday. In the morning Spiritual conference in the Community chapel, on the attention to be paid to doing all our actions well. First I developed the principal reasons which must prompt all to do so: the merit accrueing from doing all actions well; the innumerable sins of which the contrary practice is the source; finally peace, happiness, etc.

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94. Usually occasions were made use of, instead of the expensive public mail, to send letters. The letter to Fr. Niel here mentioned, is no doubt, the one written on July 1; that to Father Van Quickenborne is the letter dated July 2; to his Superior, that is, to Father Baccari, Vicar General of the Congregation in Rome, Rosati had written, as has been seen, June 14—22; another letter to Europe was that of June 22, to the Superior General of the Socity of Jesus. The collection of Rosati's letters to his brother, carefully kept by the latter, bound together later on, and now preserved in the Archives of the Procurator General of the Congregation of the Mission in Rome, contains no letter of a date approximating to this; but we know that occasionally letters, especially letters to Europe were lost.

July

to their benefit, because they love God, and shall be as a tree planted near the running waters, which shall bring forth its fruit in due season, and its leaf shall not fall off: and all whatsoever he shall do shall prosper; 4° their humility under the graces abundantly bestowed by God upon them; 5° the eagerness with which we ought to respond to God's call, leaving promptly and willingly all things, as the Apostles did. — After Mass Benediction of the Bl. Sacrament, Vespers in the church, followed by sermon by Thomas Moore.

5 Monday. In the morning at 5:30 Spiritual Conference to the Seminarians. Eugene Saucier was called and told briefly and to the point the thoughts which came to him in the meditation. I spoke on the observance of the rules of the Seminary, which is urged by many and very cogent motives, namely: the necessity to conform to the will of God, to His eternal law promulgated by natural reason; the obedience due to Him also command order to be kept everywhere and forbids troubling that order; the special duties inherent in every state of life and the obligation devolving on every one to fulfill these duties; the danger to which the transgression of the rules exposes of falling into sin, either by indulging one's evil inclinations, or by tenaciously clinging to one's own judgment, or by acting out of contempt of the superiors and of the rules. After these explanations I indicated means helping to observe the rules: 1° To have a high opinion of the rules; 2° To practise with the utmost exactitude the smallest as well as the greatest points of rule; 3° to let one's self be induced to observing them by no human consideration; 4° to realize God's presence everywhere, etc. — Mass in the chapel. After breakfast I sent to Ste Geneviève by Fathers De Neckere and Potini the letters [illegible] to Father Van Quickenborne, together with others which I had written to my brother, to our Superior, and other persons living in Europe.

6 Tuesday. In the morning Spiritual conference in the Community chapel, on the attention to be paid to doing all our actions well. First I developed the principal reasons which must prompt all to do so: the merit accruing from doing all actions well; the innumerable sins of which the contrary practice is the source; finally peace, happiness, etc.

July In the second place I proposed the means to be used to this end: a right intention excluding motives suggested by evil inclinations, human considerations, self-satisfaction, and referring everything to God: *Whatsoever you do, do all to the glory of God;*[95] following the presrcibed order as to time, place and manner: *Let all things be done according to order;*[96] earnestness in observing these practices: *God loveth a cheerful giver.*[97] etc., etc. Mass in the chapel.

7 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel. In the evening I received by mail the following letters: 1° of the Rt. Rev. J. B. Flaget, Bishop of Bardstown, dated June 23; 2° of Fr. Ricard, June 7[98]; 3° of Madame Philippine Duchesne, June 24; 4° of Vincent Nolte, June 10; 5° of Varnier, March 20, this one from Europe. The same day I received through Fr. Potini a letter from Fr. Dahmen, dated July 5, and another, of Angelo De Geither, of May 31.[99]

8 Thursday. Mass early in the morning in the chapel. After Mass and prayers at 6 o'clock I went to the church with all the clergy, there I put on the Pontifical vestments; thence we proceeded to the Monastery, the cross carried by a cleric between two acolytes openin gthe march; I blessed the Nuns' cemetery according to the rite prescribed by the Holy Roman Church in the Pontifical. On our return to the church, solemn Mass with Deacon and Subdeacon was sung by Fr. Caretta for the Rev. Fr. Timmermans, after Matin and Laudes of the Dead; at the close I gave the Absolution in cope and miter. In the evening heard at home the confession of one of the Nuns.

Blessing of cemetery.

9 Friday. Chapter. Went to confession; heard the confession of one of the priests of the Congregation. — Mass in the chapel. After night-prayers was commenced in the chapel the novena preparatory to the feast of St. Vincent de Paul. Answered Madame Duchesne. Wrote to Father

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95. I. Cor. x, 31.
96. I. Cor. xiv, 40.
97. II. Cor. ix, 7.
98. A short note.—Father Richard hopes the documents relative to Mrs. Mattingly's cure arrived safely; he saw that pious and fervent lady the day before in very good health. Is enclosing papers concerning another miracle wrought in France by Prince Hohenlohe on Mary Dorizon. Promises to send, when he goes to New York, a picture of the Prince engraved by Mr. Maverick.
99. "Engelbert—not Angelo, as Bishop Rosati regularly writes—De Geither, born at Alost, in the Diocese of Ghent, came with Bishop Du Bourg to America. He commenced the study of Latin, French and English at St. Thomas, came to the Barrens with the rest of the company, where he received Tonsure on May 16, 1819. After learning Latin and English, he was applied to the study of Philosophy, and left during the month of July 1821, being undecided in regard to his ecclesiastical vocation; he was sent to St. Louis and made instructor in the College. From there he went down to New Orleans, and after staying there some time sailed for Flanders. We learned that he died during the voyage." Rosati, *Catalogus*, etc., No. 13.—In this letter (Original in Archives of the St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery), written from "Baiou," De Geyther asks Rosati whether he would accept for the College at the Barrens a young man, d'Hébécourt by name, whom himself is teaching now, but the father wants to send away to a boarding place, because he needs watching closely. Laments the fact that where he is teaching there are boys from fifteen to nineteen years, and most of the young men are corrupt "to the marrow of their bones." Hopes to go to Fr. Portier's College, if he does not go back home to Europe.

July

In the second place I proposed the means to be used to this end: a right intention excluding motives suggested by evil inclinations, human considerations, self-satisfaction, and referring everything to God: "Whatsoever you do, do all to the glory of God,"[95] following the prescribed order as to time, place and manner: Let all things be done according to order;"[96] earnestness in observing these practices: God loveth a cheerful giver,"[97] etc., etc. Mass in the chapel.

7 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel. In the evening I received by mail the following letters: 1° of the Rt. Rev. J. B. Piaget, Bishop of Hardstown, dated June 20; 2° of Fr. Ricard, June 7[98]; 3° of Madame Philippine Duchesne, June 24; 4° of Vincent Nolte, June 10; 5° of Varnier, March 20, this one from Europe. The same day I received through Fr. Potini a letter from Fr. Dahmen, dated July 5, and another, of Angelo De Cleiter, of May 11.[99]

8 Thursday. Mass early in the morning in the chapel. After Mass and prayers at 6 o'clock I went to the church with all the clergy, there I put on the Pontifical vestments; thence we proceeded to the Monastery, the cross carried by a cleric between two acolytes opening the march; I blessed the Nuns' cemetery according to the rite prescribed by the Holy Roman Church in the Pontifical. On our return to the church, solemn Mass with Deacon and Subdeacon was sung by Fr. Caretta for the Nuns, Fr. Tinnemans, after Matin and Laudes of the Dead; at the close I gave the Absolution in cope and miter. In the evening lodged at home the confession of one of the Nuns.

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95. I. Cor. x, 31.
96. I. Cor. xiv, 40.
97. II. Cor. ix, 7.
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July Jeanjean, to ask him to forward the books sent from France, etc., etc.

10 Saturday. Mass early in the morning in the chapel. Heard the Nuns' confession in their own chapel. Letter to Fr. Niel with which I enclosed some copies etc., also to Vinc. Nolte, etc., etc. In the evening heard the confessions of the Seminarians.

11 Vth Sunday after Pentec. Early in the morning heard the Brothers' confessions. Mass in the chapel. Assisted at High Mass in the Church, during which, reading the authentic attestations of the miracle which God deigned to work through the intercession of Prince Hohenlohe in Washington on Ann Mattingly who, suffering from a long, grave and incurable disease, was restored to perfect health, I preached the sermon. Text: *It is good to hide the secret of a king: but honorable to reveal and confess the works of God,* Tob. xii, 7—20. I expatiated on the authenticity of the fact, its nature and the conclusions to be deduced therefrom. I. Assent should be given to facts confirmed by witnesses trustworthy, numerous and agreeing in their statements. In the present case, these are ocular witnesses, who relate what they have seen with their own eyes for several years, frequently and without change. We can suspect in these grave persons of tried honesty and enjoying public esteem and confidence no intention whatever to deceive; and even though they wished to deceive others, they could never succeed in doing it; for how could they show such a bold front as to asseverate a falsehood to people who were in a position to challenge their lying assertions? how would people of diffeernt opinions, culture and religions agree in the same affirmation? There is the woman restored to health; there are her brothers, her relatives, the persons of the house, her friends, the doctors, the priests, etc., etc. Finally the testimonies are in absolute agreement; all unanimously affirm that this woman was for six years suffering from a very grave and incurable disease, and that in the twinkling of an eye, after Communion, she was restored to health; the strength of these testimonies is increased by the fact they are given under oath, are corroborated by the presence and sanction of the civil authorities, and made with all the forms and protocols of law, so that in the whole world not a court, not an upright judge could reject them, even if all the goods, the reputation, the freedom and the life itself of the most honorable citizen were in question. Therefore the testimonies ought to be received, etc. II. P. These facts, then, being true, can they be held miraculous? Before answering this question, we should ask ourselves what a

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miracle is, whether it is possible, whether the power to perform miracles was ever granted to men, and finally whether even now it is found in the Church. A miracle is an extraordinary work, done against the laws of nature, and which cannot be the result of any natural cause whatsoever. Hence God alone is the first and true cause of miracles. That God can work miracles, that is, suspend the laws freely established by him, derogate from these laws in certain cases or even totally abrogate them, no one of sound mind can gainsay. Now that the power to perform miracles which God, who by essence is Almighty, has by his very nature, has been by Him frequently granted to certain men dear to Him, appears from what we read in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments and likewise in ecclesiastical and profane history. Moses, Elias, Eliseus, Daniel, the Apostles and their disciples received from God this power, etc. But when the Church had spread throughout the world, did not miracles cease? Where in the Scriptures, I answer, do we read that miracles shall cease? Quite the contrary: in Holy Writ we read: *Behold I am with you even to the consummation of the world.*[100] *And these signs shall follow them that believe: they shall lay their hands upon the sick, and they shall recover, etc.,* [101] *For, amen I say to you, if you have faith as a grain of mustard seed, you shall say to this mountain, Remove from thither, and it shall remove: and nothing shall be impossible to you.* Matt. xvii, 19. *Amen, amen, I say to you, he that believeth in me, the works that I do, he also shall do, and greater than these shall he do ... and whatsoever you shall ask the Father in my name, that will I do.* John, xiv, 12, etc., etc. After these remarks, it is now easy to understand that the facts, etc., concernnig the cure of Ann Mattingly constitute a miracle: they are extraordinary; they are against the laws of nature; and they cannot in any way be the effects of a natural cause.—III. P. It being so, this miracle wrought by God through a Catholic priest, Catholic prayers, the reception of the Catholic Sacraments of Eucharist and Penance, the Catholic sacrifice of the Mass, etc., shows manifestly that the doctrine of the Catholic Church, her practices, her customs, her sacraments, her sacrifice contain not a speck of superstition: otherwise God would countenane superstition, approve the practice of superstition, and co-operate with superstition. The mere thought of such a thing is blasphemous. Finally the miracles wrought by God in our own times, in our

100. Mtt., xxviii, 20.
101. Mk., xvi, 17—18.

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miracle is, whether it is possible, whether the power to perform miracles was ever granted to men, and finally whether even now it is found in the Church. A miracle is an extraordinary work, done against the laws of nature, and which cannot be the result of any natural cause whatsoever. Hence God alone is the first and true cause of miracles. That God can work miracles, that is, suspend the laws freely established by him, derogate from these laws in certain cases or even totally abrogate them, no one of sound mind can gainsay. Now that the power to perform miracles which God, who by essence is Almighty, has by his very nature, has been by Him frequently granted to certain men dear to Him, appears from what we read in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments and likewise in ecclesiastical and profane history. Moses, Elias, Eliseus, Daniel, the Apostles and their disciples received from God this power, etc. But when the Church had spread throughout the world, did not miracles cease? Where in the Scriptures, I answer, do we read that miracles shall cease? Quite the contrary: in Holy Writ we read: Behold I am with you even to the consummation of the world.[100] And these signs shall follow them that believe: they shall lay their hands upon the sick, and they shall recover, etc.,[101] For, amen I say to you, if you have faith as a grain of mustard seed, you shall say to this mountain, Remove from hither, and it shall remove: and nothing shall be impossible to you. Matt. xvii, 19. Amen, amen, I say to you, he that believeth in me, the works that I do, he also shall do, and greater than these shall he do . . . and whatsoever you shall ask the Father in my name, that will I do. John, xiv, 12, etc. etc. After these remarks, it is now easy to understand that the facts, etc., concerning the cure of Ann Mantigny constitute a miracle: they are extraordinary; they are against the laws of nature; and they cannot in any way be the effects of a natural cause.—III. P. It being so, this miracle wrought by God through a Catholic priest, Catholic prayers, the reception of the Catholic Sacraments of Eucharist and Penance, the Catholic sacrifice of the Mass, etc., shows manifestly that the doctrine of the Catholic Church, her practices, her customs, her sacraments, her sacrifice contain not a speck of superstition: otherwise God would countenance superstition, approve the practice of superstition, and co-operate with superstition. The mere thought of such a thing is blasphemous. Finally the miracles wrought by God in our own times, in our

100. Mt., xxviii, 20.
101. Mk., xvi, 17—18.

July own country and so to say under our own eyes, are a confirmation of the miracles wrought in the past. Let us, therefore, return thanks to God, who by a wonderful disposition of His Providence deigns thus strengthen our faith; let us hold fast to that faith and conform exactly our conduct to the rule of that faith, etc. Vespers in the church.

12 Monday. Spiritual conference for the seminarians, on the care to be given to performing all our actions well. As above, 6th inst. Francis Regis Loisel was called, and said what he had thought in the meditation on the subject proposed. Mass in the chapel. In the evening, I welcomed the Rev. Charles Nerinckx[102] coming from Kentucky, and he handed me a letter from Fr. Abell.[103]

13 Tuesday. Domestic spiritual conference, on the Devotion to St. Vincent de Paul. Bro. Blanka[104] and Fr. Odin told what they had thought in the meditation. I spoke, first in English, then in Italian, 1° On the motives which must impel us to this devotion, motives derived from the notion itself of devotion. For devotion is nothing else than the esteem, love, respect and confidence which we feel towards a person on account of that person's qualities, which excite in us these sentiments. Now as St. Vincent shines forth by his excellent and supernatural gifts of sanctity, is entitled to be called our Father, has a right to the love of us all, and is by his prayers and merits powerful with God, he is worthy to be singularly esteemed by us, to receive the tribute of our best love and veneration, and to receive all our confidence. 2° The means to pay him all these duties will be: *a*) to honor him daily by our prayers and other manifestations of our veneration; *b*) to have recourse to him in our temptations, dangers, adversities, and all our necessities; *c*) to read and meditate attentively his life; *d*) to imitate his actions; *e*) to

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102. On Father Nerinckx, and the causes which brought about his departure from Kentucky. See Camillus P. Maes: *The Life of Rev. Charles Nerinckx.* Cincinnati, 1880; W. J. Howlett *The Rev. Charles Nerinckx.* M. J. Spalding, *Sketches of...Bishop Flaget,* Louisville, 1852; Ben. J. Webb, *The Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky,* Louisville, 1884; Anna C. Minogue, *Loretto Annals of the Century.* New York, 1912; Victor F. O'Daniel, O. P., *The Right Rev. Edward Dominic Fenwick, O. P., Founder of the Dominicans in the U. S.,....First Bishop of Cincinnati,* New York, 1920.

103. See M. J. Spalding, *Op. cit.,* and *Sketches of the Early Catholic Missions of Kentucky.* Ben. J. Webb, *Op. cit.*—This letter (Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery) is dated Mount Carmel, July 4, 1824. Has just learned from Fr .Nerinckx about Rosati's consecration; congratulations. Explains his long silence: extent of mission, insuperable dislike for the pen, sorrows. Had formerly the Mount Carmel Sisters of Nazareth; now has Lorettines.

104. Martin Blanka, born in Orsivia, German Poland, on October 5, 1777, entered while yet quite young in the Roman Novitiate of the Congregation as a lay Brother, and made his vows on May 18, 1801. He was in the house of Piacenza when Fr. De Andreis stopped there on his way to America, and was incorporated into the band. Accompanied Fr. De Andreis, Bishop Flaget and Fr. Rosati when they came to St. Louis in the fall of 1818, remained with Fr. De Andreis in Ste. Genevieve, and later on in St. Louis, until the death of his reverend Superior. Shortly after he was called to the Barrens.

July observe faithfully his rule. Mass in the chapel. Heard the confession of one singular grace from Almighty God; twice the Litany of the Saints with the penitential Psalms for the conv.[105] of M. C. Eu.[106]; heard his confession, etc. *Te Deum* etc.

14 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel for the conv. of M. C. Eu. Collect *ad repellendas tempestates.*

15 Thursday. Heard two confessions. Mass in the chapel. Communion of M. C. Eu.

16 Friday. Chapter. Heard two confessions; went myself to confession. Mass in the chapel.

17 Saturday. Two confessions. Mass in the chapel. The Nuns' confessions were heard by Father Nerinckx. In the evening heard the confessions of the Seminarians.

18 VIth Sunday after Pentec. Early in the morning heard the Brothers' confessions. Mass in the chapel, after which I heard confessions until High Mass, at which I assisted and during which I preached a homily to the people, speaking, 1° of the care to be given above all things else to doing that which concerns life eternal; 2° of the divine providence which supplies all our needs in this life; 3° of our gratitude to God for those benefits, etc. A 5 o'clock Pontifical First Vespers of the solemnity of St. Vincent de Paul.

19 Monday. Feast of St. Vincent de Paul. In the morning heard the confessions of some of the Brothers, Seminarians and priests. At 10 o'clock solemn Pontifical Mass in the church, after the singing of Tierce according to the Rom. Ceremonial. Deacons of honor. Fathers De Neckere and McGilligan; Assistant Priest, Father Potini; Deacon and Subdeacon, Fathers Caretta and Odin; with chasubles in the Sanctuary, Fathers Dahmen and Nerinckx. Panegyric of the Saint by Mr. Timon. At half past three, Pontifical second Vespers, followed by the veneration of the relic of St. Vincent.

20 Tuesday. Spiritual Conference in the Domestic chapel. Bro. Sargiano[107] and Fr. McGilligan were called, etc. I spoke, first in Italian, and afterwards in English on Silence

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105. We take this abbreviation, *conv.* to stand for 'conversion'. As the person in question had gone to confession, the meaning seems to be the perseverance in good dispositions.

106. These letters, either in this order, or sometimes in the form *c. m. eu.* will be found recurring quite frequently in the pages of the *Diary.* They are never capitalized. Still from the context it appears evident they are the initials of the penitent. It were perhaps, even at this date, an indiscretion to try to lift up the veil covering the identification of this person; suffice it to say these initials (in the supposition that the letters in the text are initials), no matter in what order they are read, correspond to the name of none of the inmates of the house.

107. John Sargiano was born in Piedmont, near Mondovi, March 30, 1797. He was received into the Congregation of the Mission as a lay Brother on February 2, 1823, and while still a novice, was destined for the Louisiana Mission, where he made his vows the 26th of February 1825.

July observe faithfully his rule. Mass in the chapel. Heard the confession of one singular grace from Almighty God; twice the Litany of the Saints with the penitential Psalms for the conv.[104] of M. C. Eu.[105]; heard his confession, etc. Te Deum etc.

14 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel for the conv. of M. C. Eu. Collect. ad repellendas tempestates.

15 Thursday. Heard two confessions. Mass in the chapel. Communion of M. C. Eu.

16 Friday. Chapter. Heard two confessions; went myself to confession. Mass in the chapel.

17 Saturday. Two confessions. Mass in the chapel. The Nuns' confessions were heard by Father Nerinckx. In the evening heard the confessions of the Seminarians.

18 VIIth Sunday after Pentec. Early in the morning heard the Brothers' confessions. Mass in the chapel, after which I heard confessions until High Mass, at which I assisted and during which I preached a homily to the people, speaking 1° of the care to be given above all things else to doing that which concerns life eternal; 2° of the divine providence which supplies all our needs in this life; 3° of our gratitude to God for those benefits, etc. At 5 o'clock Pontifical First Vespers of the solemnity of St. Vincent de Paul.

19 Monday. Feast of St. Vincent de Paul. In the morning heard the confessions of some of the Brothers, Seminarians and priests. At 10 o'clock solemn Pontifical Mass in the church, after the singing of Tierce according to the Rom. Ceremonial. Deacons of honor, Fathers De Nedere and McGilligan; Assistant Priest, Father Fotin; Deacon and Subdeacon, Fathers Carrata and Odin; with chasubles in the Sanctuary, Fathers Dalmon and Nerinckx. Panegyric of the Saint by Mr. Timon. At half past three Pontifical second Vespers, followed by the veneration of the relic of St. Vincent.

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105. We take this abbreviation, rare, to stand for 'conversion'. As the person in question had gone to confession, the meaning seems to be the perseverance to good dispositions.

106. These letters, either in this order, or inversions in the form c. s. ss. will be found recurring quite frequently in the pages of the Diary. They are never explained. Still from the context it appears evident they are the initials of the penitent. It were perhaps, even at this date, an indiscretion to try to fill up the real meaning the obscurities of this person; suffice it to say these initials (in the expression that the letters in the text are initials), no matter in what order they are read, corresponds to the name of none of the inmates of the House.

107. John Sargiano was born in Piedmont, near Mondovi, March 19, 1797. He was received into the Congregation of the Missions as a lay Brother on February 2, 1823, and while still a novice, was destined for the Lazarist Mission, where he made his vows the 25th of February 1825.

July that we should keep according to our rules: 1st, because it is a point of rule; 2nd, because this point of rule is a most powerful help to avoid numberless faults; 3rd, silence fosters the recollection of mind; recollection disposes us to receive the divine inspirations and graces, and thus leads to perfection; 4th, for this reason, the presence of God etc., etc. The manner of keeping silence is prescribed in the rules, etc., etc. Mass in the chapel.

21 Wednesday. Spiritual conference to the Seminarians. L. Tucker[108] being called, stated very briefly what he had thought in the meditation. I spoke of the fervor which should animate us in what concerns God and our eternal salvation; 1st, because tepidity is dangerous; 2nd, harmful; 3rd, grave, etc., etc. Mass in the chapel.

In the evening reecived a letter of Father Borgna from Italy, dated March 15; also of Fr. Acquaroni, dated New Orleans, June 26th, the eve of his departure from that city for Italy; also of Fr. Tichitoli from the Parish of the Assumption, June 22.

22 Thursday. Mass in the chapel. Three Confessions and conv. M. C. Eu. Wrote to Father Niel a letter which Fr. Nerinckx will carry to him. In the evening penance for M. C. Eu.

23 Friday. Chapter. Went to confession. Heard one confession. Mass in the chapel. One Confession. In the evening penance for M. C. Eu.

24 Saturday. Heard two confessions early in the morning. Mass in the chapel. In the evening heard the Seminarians' confessions and of C. Eu.; penance for him.

25 Sunday. Heard the confessions of the brothers and of C. Eu. Mass in the chapel and communion. Assisted at High Mass, in which I preached a homily on the Gospel. 1st, I spoke of the necessity of guarding against errors in faith, and 2nd, of the necessity to conform our lives to the precepts of faith. Vespers in the church, followed with instruction by Mr. Vergani.[109]

26 Monday. Conference for the Seminarians. Jourdain[110]

108. "Louis Tucker, son of Nicholas Tucker, born at the Barrens on February 11, 1806, came to the Seminary on September 5, 1823." Rosati, *Catalogus*, etc., No. 54. On Father Louis Tucker, see J. Rothensteiner, *First Native Missourian to go to Rome for Studies and to be ordained there.* St. Louis Church Progress, December 19 and 26, 1918; and *Chronicles of an Old Missouri Parish. Historical Sketches of St. Michael's Church,* Fredericktown, Madison Co., Mo., St. Louis, 1917.

109. "Peter Vergani, born at Milan, Italy, August 15, 1799, come to the Seminary January 10, 1820; entered into the Congregation the 13th of June of the same year." Rosati, *Catalogus, etc.,* No. 22. He had come over with Father J. M. Rossetti; when he joined the Lazarists he had to begin with the study of Latin, hence he was relatively a long time counted among the scholastics of the Congregation.

110. "Francis Jourdain, born in St. Louis Mo. August 13, 1810, came to the Seminary on the 11th of November 1821. He pursued there the study of English, began that of French, and, in May 1822, that of Latin. He made his first Communion on Maundy-Thursday of the same year. His application was fair, and his deportment was excellent; he has talent and is very meek and submissive. He was confirmed by Bishop Du Bourg in the Seminary chapel, on October 12, 1822." Rosati, *Catalogus*, etc., No. 30 .

July was called and told very briefly the thoughts which occurred to him during meditation. I spoke on the love of God. 1st. We must love God; our heart is made for loving; without love it cannot live; in God we find the most lovable object; for in Him all the perfections which make the creatures lovable are found in a most eminent degree and in the most absolute perfection. 2nd. God himself has from all eternity loved us; he manifests to us his love by innumerable benefits. 3rd. In His love alone can the happiness that we eagerly and ceaselessly crave be found and enjoyed. But how is He to be loved? With our whole hearts, with our whole souls, with our whole strength; above all things and irrespective of all things. We shall know whether His love reigns in our hearts, 1st, if we think often of Him, and direct to Him all our affections: *Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also*[111]; 2nd, if we speak of Him willingly and frequently: *Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh*[112]; 3rd, if we are willing to work for Him: *Let us not love in word, nor in tongue, but in deed, and in truth*[113]; 4th, if we suffer patiently and cheerfully all things for His love's sake: *Love is strong as death, jealousy as hard as hell*[114]. —Mass in the chapel. Gave to Fr. Nerinckx faculty to give the holy habit to two girls in the Monastery, etc.[115] Heard confession of M. C. Eu. In the evening one communication.

27 Tuesday. Conference of the Community. Bro. Pifferi.[116] I spoke first in Italian, and afterwards in English on acquiring and maintaining the spirit of our Congregation. 1st. This is to us absolutely necessary, for just as a body without soul is dead, a corpse and no man, so is a Missionary etc.; again, just as a body without soul is incapable of exercizing the functions of man, so etc.; finally, just as a corpse is harmful to those around, corrupts the air, etc., etc., so etc. 2nd. The spirit of the Congregation is a spirit of simplicity, humility, meekness, mortification and zeal for God's glory and the neighbor's salvation, etc.,

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111. Luke, xii, 34.

112. Mtt. xii, 34.

113. I. John, ii. 18.

114. Cant. viii, 6.

115. Mary Stewart and Elizabeth Tucker; both were natives of the Barrens.

116. Joseph Pifferi was one of the members of Fr. M. J. Rossetti's band, that came to America in 1818, and, on the list, classified as a "farmer." Shortly after the arrival of the Milanese band in Missouri, Pifferi begged admission into the Congregation of the Mission as a lay brother, and was received on May 20, 1820. Some time later, Fr. Rosati, writing to Rome, penned this praiseful appreciation of the new recruit: "That Milanese is a saint: after working from morning till evening, the best rest he may think of is to pass an hour before the Bl. Sacrament. He works on our farm, takes care of our oxen, cows, and horses and pigs."

July etc. Mass in the chapel for M. C. Eu. Communication of Bro. Palelli [117] and Fr. Odin.

28 Wednesday. Heard four confessions, among which that of M. C. Eu. Mass in the chapel. Two confessions.

29 Thursday. Heard the confession of M. C. Eu. Mass in the chapel. Two confessions. Received a letter from Fr. Dahmen advising me of the coming of a boat to Ste. Genevieve that would give a good opportunity for the journey of Fathers Potini and De Neckere to Louisiana.[118] Every preparation being made, I bade good-bye to the aforesaid gentlemen, and gave them letters to deliver to the Rt. Rev. Bp. of New Orleans, and to Fathers Cellini, Brassac, Tichitoli, Rosti and Bigeschi. Communication of M. C. Eu.

30 Friday. Went to confession; heard two confessions, one of which was that of M. C. Eu. One Confession. Mass in the chapel. One communication. From Mr. Paquin returning from Ste. Genevieve I heard this morning that Fathers De Neckere and Potini left on the boat *Superior*. I received Mr. Rozier [119] as a guest.

31 Saturday. Mass early in the morning in the chapel. Heard the confessions of the Nuns, 23. In the evening confessions of the Seminarians and of M. C. Eu.

AUGUST.

1 VIIIth Sunday after Pentec. Early in the morning Brothers' confessions. Mass in the chapel. Confessions, etc. Assisted at High Mass in the church, during which I prached a homily on the Gospel, about Judgment. Vespers in the Church. Instruction by Mr. Paquin.

2 Monday. Spiritual Conference for the Seminarians. Mr. Thompson, [120] called, said very little etc. I spoke on the virtue of mortification. 1st, All are obliged to its practice, *a*) on account of their past sins, *b*) because of the present dangers, *c*) and because of the evils threatening us in the future. It is to be practised: *a*) interiorly, by the sacrifice made to God of our judgment, will, desires, affections;

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117. Anthony Palelli joined the community in July 1823, being then twenty-two years of age. When, whence, and how he had come to this country is not known. At any rate, he was considered an excellent acquisition for the community; he was a shoemaker by trade, and was employed in this capacity at the Seminary of the Barrens.

118. Both, it will be remembered, were in poor health, and a mild climate was expected to benefit them.

119. Ferdinand Rozier, a native of Nantes, France, was engaged in mercantile business since 1810 at Ste. Genevieve. One of his sons, Ferdinand, was at the College.

120. "Albert Thompson, son of Josiah and Jane Thompson, born at Baltimore, Md., on August 7, 1808, came to the Seminary with a view to study for the priesthood, May 1st, 1823. Studied Latin and Philosophy." Rosati, *Catalogus*, etc., No. 53.

August *b*) exteriorly, by crucifying our eyes, tongue, taste, etc. Confessions of two Nuns and M. C. Eu. and th.[121]

3 Tuesday. Community Spiritual Conference on Avoiding venial sin. 1, Motives, 2, Means, One Confession. Mass in chapel, after which confession of Eu. and of two.

4 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel. One confession.

5 Thursday. Confession of C. Eu. Mass in the chapel. Communication of Eu. and th. Spiritual conference to the Nuns on the right use of the Sacrament of Holy Eucharist.

6 Friday. Chapter. Went to confession. Heard one confession. Mass in the chapel. One communion. After night prayers Novena of the Assumption.

7 Saturday. One confession. Mass early in the chapel. Confessions of twenty-two Nuns. In the evening, confessions of thirteen Seminarians.

8 IXth Sunday after Pentec. Confessions of the Brothers and workmen, 10 in all. Mass in the chapel; twenty-three communions. Assisted at High Mass, before which I heard five confessions. The sermon was preached by Mr. Timon, on the holiness of the Church. Vespers in the Church, after which sermon by Mr. Loisel. Monthly retreat for the Novices and Eugene Saucier.

9 Monday. Spiritual Conference for the Seminarians. Labbadie[122] told in a few words what he had thought during meditation. I spoke on the Devotion to the Bl. Virgin Mary. 1. Motives, taken from the consideration of her being the Mother of God, and our Mother etc. 2. Means, every day manifest our piety to her by prayers, our love by our sentiments, our confidence by invoking her. Confessions of two externs. At 6 in the evening c. and confession of C. M. Eu.

10 Tuesday. Spiritual Conference of the Community, on the Devotion to the Bl. Virgin Mary, as above. Bro. Palelli and Mr. Paquin. One confession and two communions. In the evening, letters, 1st, of Fr. Dahmen advising that

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121. An abbreviation, of which we miss the key.

122. "Nicholas De Labadie, born at Sandwich, in Upper Canada, December 5, 1802, came to the Seminary on November 30, 1823, and was clothed with the cassock on April 25, 1824." Rosati. *Catalogus etc.*, No. 55. Fr. Gabriel Richard, S.S., of Detroit the place from which Labadie came to Missouri, was very much interested in him and Girardin, another Detroit boy who had gone to the Seminary, although, as he states, they had been rather, owing to his long absences, under the direction of Father Badin. "I can tell you, however, he wrote to Rosati on Nov. 24, 1823, "that for several years both have been deporting themselves very edifyingly, and for a long time have manifested a marked inclination to the ecclesiastical state. Nicholas Labadie made, when he left, a great sacrifice, giving up a clerkship in the house of one of the merchants here, where he made $300.00 a year. He is, therfore, quite efficient in Bookkeeping" (Archives of the St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery). When the subject of admitting these boys at the Barrens was first broached, early in the fall of 1823, Bishop Du Bourg warned Fr. Rosati: "Before accepting these subjects from Detroit, please mark to Fr. Richard, that you can take them only for this Diocese, unless they pay their board and tuition. It would be unjust to do otherwise." This condition must have been accepted, as all along they are supposed to study for the Diocese.

August b) exteriorly, by crucifying our eyes, tongue, taste, etc.
Confessions of two Nuns and M. C. Ea. and th.[122]

3 Tuesday. Community Spiritual Conference on Avoiding venial sin. 1. Motives, 2. Means, One Confession. Mass in chapel, after which confession of Ea. and of two.

4 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel. One confession.

5 Thursday. Confession of C. Ea. Mass in the chapel. Communication of Ea. and th. Spiritual conference to the Nuns on the right use of the Sacrament of Holy Eucharist.

6 Friday. Chapter. Went to confession. Heard one confession. Mass in the chapel. One communion. After night prayers Novena of the Assumption.

7 Saturday. One confession. Mass early in the chapel. Confessions of twenty-two Nuns. In the evening, confessions of thirteen Seminarians.

8 IXth Sunday after Pentec. Confessions of the Brothers and workmen, 10 in all. Mass in the chapel; twenty-three communions. Assisted at High Mass, before which I heard five confessions. The sermon was preached by Mr. Timon, on the holiness of the Church. Vespers in the Church, after which sermon by Mr. Loisel. Monthly retreat for the Novices and Eugene Saucier.

9 Monday. Spiritual Conference for the Seminarians. Labbadie [123] told in a few words what he had thought during meditation. I spoke on the Devotion to the Bl. Virgin Mary. 1. Motives, taken from the consideration of her being the Mother of God, and our Mother etc. 2. Means, every day manifest our piety to her by prayers, our love by our sentiments, our confidence by invoking her. Confessions of two exterans. At 6 in the evening c. and confession of C. M. Ea.

10 Tuesday. Spiritual Conference of the Community, on the Devotion to the Bl. Virgin Mary, as above. Bro. Pallell and Mr. Paquin. One confession and two communions. In the evening, letters, Int. of Fr. Dalmon advising that

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122. An abbreviation, of which we miss the key.

123. "Nicholas De Ladadie, born at Sandwich, in Upper Canada, December 1, 1802, came to the Seminary on November 30, 1823, and was clothed with the cassock on April 25, 1824." Rough Cataloging etc., No. 52, Fr. Gabriel Doherty, S.S., of Detroit the place which Ladadie came to Missouri, was very much interested in him and Chrysostom Verreydt, another Detroit boy who had gone to the Seminary, although, as he states, they had been strangers before, owing to his long absence, under the direction of Father Deslis. "I am all you, however, be wrote to Kenrick on May 24, 1833, "that for several years past have been opening themselves very cordially, and for a long time have maintained a marked leaning to the ecclesiastical state. Nicholas Ladadie made, when he left, a great sacrifice, giving up a clerkship in the house of one of the merchants here, where he might indeed a year. He is, therefore, quite efficient in Bookkeeping." (Archives of the St. Louis Archdiocese, Cathedral). When the subject of admitting these boys at the Barrens was first discussed early in the fall of 1823, Bishop Du Bourg wrote Fr. Rosati: "Before accepting these subjects from Detroit, please write to Fr. Kickard that you can take them only for this Diocese, unless they pay their board and tuition. It would be unjust to do otherwise." This condition must have been accepted, as all along they are supposed to study for the Diocese.

August Fr. Nerinckx, back from St. Louis, was detained by illness at Ste. Genevieve; 2nd, of Madame Duchesne and Charles Roussin coming back at last.

11 Wednesday. Two confessions. Mass in the chapel. Received a letter from the Bp. of New Orleans.

12 Thursday. Mass in the chapel. Communion of M. C. Eu. In the evening received word from Fr. Dahmen that Fr. Nerinckx was thought by the doctors to be in danger of death.

13 Friday. At half past three in the morning, set off for Ste. Genevieve with Mr. Paquin, where, arriving at 10 o'clock, I found Fr. Nerinckx dead since 5 p.m. of the preceding day. Received letters from Fr. Niel [123] and Fr. Van Quickenborne. At half past two started back for the Seminary where I arrived at 8 o'clock, and found Bro. Harrington [124] Ferdinand Rozier [125] and Fr. Pratte [126] sick. Confession of M. C. Eu.

14 Saturday. Mass in the chapel for Fr. Nerinckx. At 7 o'clock all the clergy assembled in the church, where we recited the whole Office of the Dead for Fr. Nerinckx, in presence of the corpse. High Mass, at which I assisted in cope; Absolution, following which the corpse was carried to the Nuns' cemetery and buried there. [127] In the evening, heard the confessions of the Seminarians. Confession of M. C. Eu.

15 Xth Sunday after Pentec. Assumption of the Bl. Virgin Mary. Heard the Brothers' confessions. Mass in the chapel; I was prevented by weakness and illness to celebrate Pontifical Mass in the church. Vespers in the church, after which Consecration of the Seminarians to the Bl. Virgin, chosen as their principal Patron. Litany of the Bl. Virgin, and veneration of the relic of the Bl. Virgin.

16 Monday. The Conferene to the Seminarians postponed to next Wednesday. Mass in the chapel. Wrote letters to Fr. Niel and Fr. Van Quickenborne and sent them through

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123. August 3, 1823. (Original in Archives of the St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery). Reports he was sick for three weeks. Saw Col. Lawless concerning the church lots; he wrote to Bp. Du Bourg, as to the affair of the rectory lot, *they* got the deed of sale, from the Sheriff, and took it for security, signing a paper whereby they engage themselves to give me the contract within three years if they are paid back. Some consignment has come from Fr. Acquaroni.

124. Daniel Harrington, a native of Ireland, was, in 1820, in St. Louis, plying the trade of carpenter. He begged and obtained from Fr. De Andreis to be received in the Congregation, and made his vows on May 4, 1822, being then thirty-two years of age.

125. "Ferdinad Rozier came to the Seminary, November 12, 1822; he was then eight years old." Rosati, *Catalogus*, etc., No. 47.

126. "Francis Pratte, son of Joseph Pratte, of Ste. Genevieve, came to the Seminary December 5, 1822 for his education. He was then nine years of age." Rosati, *Catalogus*, etc., No. 49.

127. In one of his exhortations to the Sisters of Bethlehem, whilst he was at the Barrens, he had spoken of his death, with a striking precision as to its date and place, and had declared he would be the first to be buried in the Sisters' graveyard.

August Fr. Nerinckx, back from St. Louis, was detained by illness at Ste. Geneviève; 2nd, of Madame Duchesne and Charles Rossain coming back at last.

11 Wednesday. Two confessions. Mass in the chapel. Received a letter from the Bp. of New Orleans.

12 Thursday. Mass in the chapel. Communion of M. C. Eu. In the evening received word from Fr. Delmen that Fr. Nerinckx was thought by the doctors to be in danger of death.

13 Friday. At half past three in the morning, set off for Ste. Geneviève with Mr. Fagnan, where, arriving at 10 o'clock, I found Fr. Nerinckx dead since 5 p.m. of the preceding day. Received letters from Fr. Niel [122] and Fr. Van Quickenborne. At half past two started back for the Seminary where I arrived at 8 o'clock, and found Bro. Harrington [123] Ferdinand Rosier [124] and Fr. Fratte [125] sick. Confession of M. C. Eu.

14 Saturday. Mass in the chapel for Fr. Nerinckx. At 7 o'clock all the clergy assembled in the church, where we recited the whole Office of the Dead for Fr. Nerinckx, in presence of the corpse. High Mass, at which I assisted in cope; Absolution, following which the corpse was carried to the Nuns' cemetery and buried there. [126] In the evening, heard the confessions of the Seminarians. Confession of M. C. Eu.

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16 Monday. The Conference to the Seminarists postponed to next Wednesday. Mass in the chapel. Wrote letters to Fr. Niel and Fr. Van Quickenborne and sent them through

August Bro. Blanka, who was going to St. Louis with Mr. Paquin. Another letter I sent to Fr. Dahmen at Ste. Genevieve, through Mr. Pratte,[128] who was returning there with Mr. Rozier, taking along with them Franc. Pratte, Ferdinand Rozier and Siegfried Roussin[129] who were unwell. Wrote likewise to the Rt. Rev. Bps. of Bardstown and New Orleans, to announce to them the death of Fr. Nerinckx.

17 Tuesday. The Community conference postponed to next week. Mass in the chapel, after which I consecrated in my room two altar stones, all the clergy attending. In the evening confession of M. C. Eu.

18 Wednesday. Conference to the Seminarians. Mr. Girardin.[130] I spoke on prayer. 1st. I proved it to be necessary owing to the necessity in which we are of divine grace in in order that we may resist temptation, acquire virtue, and persevere in good. 2nd. I explained the requisite qualities of prayer: confidence, humility, hope in the merits of Christ, fervor, perseverance, etc., etc. Mass in the chapel. In the evening heard the confessions of two sick Nuns and of M. C. Eu. The mail brought me letters of Fathers Rosti[131] and Hill,[132] together with the dimissorial letters of Messrs. Girardin and Labadie. I sent Fr. Odin and Mr. Timon to Apple Creek, to evangelize those people, say Mass, etc.

Vic. Gen. Cia. Dimiss. letters of Girardin and Labadie.

19 Thursday. Mass early in the chapel. Exhortation to the Nuns on the conformity to God's will. Heard two confessions.

20 Friday. Chapter. Went to confession. Heard two confessions. Mass in the chapel. Communion of M. C. Eu.

21 Saturday. Mass early in the chapel. Heard the Confessions of twenty-one Nuns. In the evening confessions of the Seminarians and of C. M. Eu.

22 XIth Sunday after Pentec. Early in the morning, heard the Brothers' confessions. At 6 o'clock administered the Sacrament of Confirmation to Albert Thompson.[133] Mass in the chapel for C. M. Eu., and, after Mass heard one

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128. Joseph Pratte, of Ste. Genevieve.

129. "Siegfried Roussin, son of Stephen Roussin of Ste. Genevieve, was eight years old when he came to the Seminary, as a boarder, on April 10, 1823." Rosati, *Catalogus*, etc.

130. "Peter Girardin, son of James Girardin and Josette Drouyare, born at Detroit, Territory of Michigan, May 27, 1803, arrived on May 1824." Rosati. *Catalogus*, etc., No. 59. See above Note 122, in Nicholas Labadie. In his letter of November 24, 1823 Fr. Gabriel Richard remarked: "Peter Girardin is an excellent tailor, and as such may be very useful to you, while beginning his studies."

131. This letter was dated from St. Joseph's Parish, La., June 15, 1824; "Nothing new here" summarizes it very well.

132. On Rev. John Austin Hill, See Webb. *Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky;* M. J. Spalding, *Sketches of...Bishop Flaget;* V. O'Daniel, *The Rt. Rev. Edw. Fenwick*, Washington, 1920. This letter (Original in Archives of the St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery), is dated, Cincinnati, July 19, 1824. Encloses dimissorial letters for Labadie and Girardin. Congratulations. Bishop Fenwick has obtained two priests from Propaganda, talks of building a church and Seminary on his return, next October. Church in Cincinnati now too small.

133. A young man at the College. See Note 120 above.

August Bro. Blanka, who was going to St. Louis with Mr. Pagani. Another letter I sent to Fr. Dahmen at Ste. Geneviève, through Mr. Pratte,[132] who was returning there with Mr. Rosier, taking along with them Franc. Pratte, Ferdinand Rosier and Siegfried Kousin[133] who were unwell. Wrote likewise to the Rt. Rev. Bps. of Bardstown and New Orleans, to announce to them the death of Fr. Nerinckx.

12 Tuesday. The Community conference postponed to next week. Mass in the chapel, after which I consecrated in my room two altar stones, all the clergy attending. In the evening confession of M. C. Eu.

18 Wednesday. Conference to the Seminarians. Mr. Girardin,[134] I spoke on prayer. 1st. I proved it to be necessary owing to the necessity in which we are of divine grace in order that we may resist temptation, acquire virtue, and persevere in good. 2nd. I explained the requisite qualities of prayer: confidence, humility, hope in the merits of Christ, fervor, perseverance, etc., etc. Mass in the chapel. In the evening heard the confessions of two sick Nuns and of M. C. Eu. The mail brought me letters of Fathers Rosti[135] and Hill,[136] together with the diimissorial letters

Vic. Gen. Cin. Dimiss. letters of Girardin and Ladavic. of Messrs. Girardin and Ladavic I sent Fr. Odin and Mr. Timon to Apple Creek, to evangelize those people, say Mass, etc.

19 Thursday. Mass early in the chapel. Exhortation to the Nuns on the conformity to God's will. Heard two confessions.

20 Friday. Chapter. Went to confession. Heard two confessions. Mass in the chapel. Communion of M. C. Eu.

21 Saturday. Mass early in the chapel. Heard the Confessions of twenty-one Nuns. In the evening confessions of the Seminarians and of C. M. Eu.

22 XIth Sunday after Pentec. Early in the morning, heard the Brothers' confessions. At 6 o'clock administered the Sacrament of Confirmation to Albert Thompson.[137] Mass in the chapel for C. M. Eu., and, after Mass, heard one

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132. Joseph Pratte, of Ste. Geneviève.

133. "Siegfried Rousin, son of Stephen Rousin of Ste. Geneviève, was often busy when he came to the Seminary, as a boarder, on April 10, 1822." Howell Lindsay, ms.

134. "Peter Girardin, son of James Girardin and Josette Dupuys, born at Detroit, Territory of Michigan, May 27, 1807, arrived on May 1822." Howell Lindsay, ms. See 59. See above Note 123. In Nicholas Ladavic. In the form of November 23, 1822 Pr. Gabriel Richard remarked: "Peter Girardin is an excellent tutor, and as such may be very useful to you, while beginning his studies."

135. This letter was dated from St. Joseph's Parish, Lac, June 15, 1822, "Nothing new here" summarizes it very well.

136. On Rev. John Austin Hill. See Wash. Cemetery of Cincinnati in Records of M. J. Spalding, Sketches of... Bishop Flaget, D. D'Daniel, The Rt. Rev. Edw. Fenwick, Washington, 1920. This letter (Original in Archives of the St. Louis Cathedral, Cincinnati, is dated Cincinnati, July 19, 1822. Enclosed dimissorial letters for Ladavic and Girardin Congratulations. Bishop Fenwick has obtained two priests from Propaganda, who is sending a church and Seminary on his return, next October. Cincinnati is Cincinnati now too small.

137. A young man at the College. See Note 120 above.

August confession. Assisted at High Mass, at which I preached on the Gospel of the Sunday. From the miracle wrought by Jesus we learn that: 1st, in order to receive the divine benefits, we must withdraw from the tumult of worldly affections; 2nd, we ought to deplore the miseries into which sin throws us; 3rd, we must lift up our eyes to heaven. After Mass I urged the people to build a church etc. Vespers in the church; after Vespers sermon by Mr. Moore.

23 Monday. Early in the morning, Conference to the Seminarians. Mr. Mascaroni.[134] I spoke on the exercise of the presence of God, and strove to demonstrate its supreme efficacy, 1st, in avoiding sin; 2nd, in resisting temptations; 3rd, in making progress in virtue; 4th, in finding comfort in afflictions. Enumerated some means of practising this exercise: 1st., in whatever we do in relation to God, think that God is present and excites us to do it; 2nd., from the consideration of visible things bring to mind the remembrance of his invisible perfection; 3rd., determine some external signal, like the striking of the clock, to turn our thoughts to God, etc. Mass in the chapel.

24 Tuesday. Early in the morning spiritual conference of the Community. Bro. Bosoni [135] and Mr. Timon. I spoke, first in Italian, then in English, on the virtue of patience; and 1st., I proposed some motives, namely, the consideration that the lack of patience does not free us from evils or difficulties, whereas patience lessens the ills that we suffer, and enriches our sufferings with merit. 2nd., I mentioned occasions of practising patience, by bearing with ourselves, with others, and everything that the disposition of divine providence sends us. Example of Christ, etc. Mass in the chapel. At 9 o'clock assisted at High Mass in the church, following which, as rain prevented our returning home at once, I made in the church an exhortation to the clergy on the devotion to, and imitation of the Holy Apostles. Vespers in the church.

25 Wednesday. Heard two confessions. Mass in the chapel. In the evening I received through the mail a letter from Father Tichitoli, of July 25; and through Mr. Paquin, back from St. Louis, letters of the S. Congregation of

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134. "Angelo Mascaroni, born at Milan, December 24, 1796, came to the Seminary August 14, 1820." Rosati, *Catalogus*, etc., No. 22. He was one of the members of the Rosetti band, but apparently had not studied Latin when he came to America.

135. John Bosoni, also a native of Milan, had likewise come to America with Fr. Rossetti. Shortly after this Milanese band reached the Barrens, Bosoni applied for admission into the Congregation as a Brother, and, after the proper time of probation, made his vows on June 9, 1822. He was a weaver by trade, in which capacity he was very useful in the house, at a time when practically everything had to be manufactured at home. He at the same time was infirmarian and had charge of the laundry.

No. 7. Letter of Prop. April 10. Propaganda, dated April 10;[136] of Fr. Niel Aug. 22,[137] of Fr. Saulnier, Aug. 13[138] and Madame Duchesne August 20.

26 Thursday. Heard the confession of M. C. Eu. Mass in the chapel for the same. In the evening answered Fr. Niel's letter stating I could not give any money to Mr. Haire, etc.

27 Friday. Early in the morning, Chapter. Went to confession; heard two confessions. Mass in the chapel.

28 Saturday. Mass early in the chapel. Heard the confessions of all the Nuns. Through Bro. Blanka returning from St. Louis, received that which Fr. Acquaroni had sent here, and a carriage, etc. In the evening heard the confessions of the priests and of the Seminarians.

29 XIIth Sunday after Pentec. Early in the morning heard the Brothers' confessions. Mass in the chapel. Heard one confession. Assisted at High Mass, at which I preached a homily on the Gospel of the Sunday. Charity is the epitome of the whole Law. *Thou shall love*: nothing easier, nothing more in conformity with our natrue. *The Lord thy God,* that is, thy father, benefactor, friend, master, creator; that is again the most perfect being, etc., etc. *With all thy heart,* directing to him all thy affections, subjecting thy whole mind and intellect to the submission of faith. *With thy whole soul, and with thy whole strength,* that is, doing what he commands, avoiding what he forbids. Let God be the only lord of all our affections; still *thou shalt love* thy neighbor as thyself. With the same love do we love God and the neighbor: Go dfor His own sake; the neighbor, for the sake of God. *The neighbor,* that is, all men created by God, without any exception, etc. *As thyself,* etc. Vespers in the church. Sermon by Eugene Saucier.

30 Monday. Early in the morning Conference for the Seminarians. Mr. Fiegan.[139] I spoke on the supreme care to be

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136. This letter (No. 7) was a short acknowledgement of Rosati's letter of December 6, 1823, accepting the Coadjutorship and promising to be consecrated without delay. (Original in Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery).

137. This letter (*Ibid.*) is dated August 23—not 22—. Has been able for now a month to resume his work. Anxious about the state of Rosati's health. The Jesuits do not think they will come to the College; somebody is needed at the head; could you not get somebody from Georgetown or Emmitsburg? Have obtained the school for the poor; could the Lorettines do well here? All the papers are in order; never was there an inventory taken of what was on the farm when Bp. Du Bourg and Fr. Anduze rented it. O'Toole presented a note for $90.00 against Bp. Du Bourg for the well on the farm. As the farm belongs to you now, please pay to Mr. Haies. Advanced $50.00 for the last lot of Connor.

138. Original *ibid.* Sent to Bishop Du Bourg two months ago 17 boxes of books and a letter about the four pictures mentioned by Rosati: No answer. Is preparing children for confirmation.

139. "John Fiegen (Bishop Rosati is very inconsistent in his spelling of this name: Fiegan, as in the text of the *Diary* above; *Fiegen,* as in the *Catalogus;* or even *Feigan*) son of Raynald Fiegan and Barbara Schumachers, born April 17, 1794, at Stein, County of La Merche, in the Diocese of Siege, arrived May 28, 1824." Rosati, *Catalogus,* etc., No. 58.

August given to spending our time well. Time, indeed is tantamount to grace, heaven, God Himself. Our tenure of that inestimable treasure is most uncertain, etc. Its loss is irreparable. We shall employ our time well if, 1st., we spent it according to the prescriptions of rule; 2nd., we do well all that we have to do; 3rd., etc., etc. Mass in the chapel. In the evening I welcomed Fr. Dahmen.

31 Tuesday. Early in the morning Conference of the Community. Bro. Donati.[140] and Mr. Paquin. I spoke, first in Italian, then in English, on the virtue of humility. 1st., The thought of what we were in the past, what we are now, and what we may become in the future recommends strongly that virtue. 2nd. We ought to be humble with God, with the neighbor, etc., humble in mind, in heart, in our actions. Mass in the chapel. Heard one confession. Fr. Dahmen returned to Ste. Genevieve.

SEPTEMBER.

1 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel. Heard three confessions. In the evening received through the mail a letter from Fr. Borgna, dated, Rome May 6, of this year, and one from Fr. Cellini, of July 22.[141]

2 Thursday. Mass in the chapel. Confession of M. C. Eu.

3 Friday. Chapter. Went to confession. Heard one confession. Mass in the chapel.

4 Saturday. Early in the morning, heard one confession at home. Mass in the chapel during meditation. Heard at the convent the confessions of all the Nuns and postulants. In the evening, confessions of the Seminarians.

5 VIIIth Sunday after Pentec. Early in the morning, heard the confessions of the Brothers and the workmen. Mass in

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140. Peter—or rather Dominic, for this was his real baptism name—Donati was born July 26, 1785 at Peggio di Berna, in the Diocese of Rimini, Italy. He was a farmer, and after an unsuccessful trial with the Jesuits was admitted in the Novitiate of the Congregation of the Mission in Rome, on the 28th of October 1819. Before one month elapsed, he fell sick to the point that his life was despaired of, and, on that account, was permitted to make his vows on November 28, 1819. He recovered however, and a year or so later was sent to America, reaching the Barrens in December 1821. He took care of the garden and was the baker of the Seminary.

141. The *Diary* is silent in regard to the result of Bishop Rosati's visit to Grand Coteau. See above Note 37. That he made definite propositions to Mrs. Smith in his interviews with her and in a letter written a few weeks later from New Orleans, is certain; and that these propositions were along the lines laid down by Bishop Du Bourg, is more than probable. To these propositions—perhaps because they were dictated by the Bishop—she would not assent: "I have never been able to succeed," wrote Cellini, "to bring her to consent to the propositions made by you, while you were here, and contained in your letter from New Orleans. Now, as I clearly perceive any further pressing to be useless, I am writing to you her plan, which is as follows: That we should take her and keep her on our premises in the Seminary, or in the Monastery at the Barrens, as boarder; or else, next spring, she will sell out all her property, and go to some other Diocese, probably to some religious house under the same conditions she proposed to us. Now the decision is in your hands, and it ought to come promptly, because delaying shall not stop the measures she has resolved to take in case of a new refusal."

September the chapel. One confession. Assisted at High Mass in the church; during it preached on the Gospel of the Sunday. I showed how leprosy is the figure of mortal sin, because it easily disfigures the beauty of the soul, deprives it of the participation in the divine grace, and takes away from it the right to eternal bliss. We should, therefore, imitate the lepers, who, moved by the consideration of their wretchedness, come to Jesus, address their prayer to him humbly and confidently, do what he commands them; and with the Samaritan we should return thanks to him. Vespers in the church, followed with sermon by Mr. Vergani.

6 Monday. Early in the morning, Spiritual Conference to the Seminarians. Mr. Loisel was called and told what he had thought on the subject. I spoke on the earnestness that the Seminarians must bring to study. 1st., because [142] study is the duty of their state of life; 2nd., a duty demanded by justice; 3rd., a duty upon which depends not only their own salvation, but the salvation of many others. How one should apply one's self to study. 1st, with a right intention; 2nd., to the study of the things that are necessary or useful; 3rd., prayer should accompany study. In the evening, through Mr. McGuire, who came from St. Louis, I received letters, 1st from Mr. Mulletti,[143] of the Arkansas Territory, who offers a piece of property for a church, and deplores the wretched state of nearly a thousand Catholics who are destitute of all spiritual help and have not seen a priest for twenty-five years; 2nd, from Mr. McGuire; 3rd, from Fr. Dahmen.

7 Tuesday. Early in the morning Conference of the Community. Bro. Sargiano. I spoke in Italian and English on the Virtue of Mortification. We must by all means acquire and practice this virtue, because it is the foundation of the other virtues; without it there can be neither love of God, nor love of neighbor, nor humility, patience, poverty, obedience, chastity, nor the love of our vocation etc. It must be practised exteriorly by the mortification of the senses, and interiorly by the mortification of the faculties of the soul, etc. Mass in the chapel. Wrote to Fr. Niel about the uncertainty of my trip to St. Louis, etc. Confessions of the Seminarians.

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142. *Qui*, a slip of the pen for *quia*.

143. Original in Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery. John Francis Mulletti, an Italian established in Arkansas, where he acquired military lands, and thinking now of going to Mexico, wishes, before leaving, to make donation of same property to the Catholic Church. The land in question is one quarter of a section (160 acres) of average land on the Cadron river, at about 35 miles from Little Rock, the S.E. quarter of Section 34 of township 7 N. in range 11 W. in the Territory of Arkansas. Wishes to know whether Bp. Rosati would be disposed to accept, and how the Deed should be made. Mentions in passing that the Creoles, perhaps 800 to 1000 in numbers, have not seen a priest for twenty or twenty-five years, and thinking themselves abandoned, begin to listen to protestant preachers and accept their Bibles.

September 8 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel. Assisted in cope at High Mass. Confessions of the Brothers. At 3 o'clock p.m., Fr. Odin and Mr. Timon set off for a missionary journey. They are to go first to Apple-Creek, then, by way of New Madrid they will journey through the territory of Arkansas; they were given the necessary faculties.[144] In the evening received through the mail a letter of Fr. Portier,[145] containing the sad news of the death of Fr. Bertrand. Answered Mr. Mulletti's letter.

Letter of Mission to Arkansas to Fr. Odin and Mr. Timon. See No. 3.

9 Thursday. Mass in the chapel early in the morning. Conference to the Nuns on the virtue of obedience.

10 Friday. Chapter. Mass in the chapel.

11 Saturday. Mass in the chapel early in the morning. Confessions of the Nuns. In the evening, confessions of the Seminarians and of C. M. Eu.

12 XIVth Sunday after Pentec. Early in the morning, confessions of the Brothers and of the workmen. Mass in the chapel. Heard confessions of some people. Assisted at High Mass, during which I preached a homily on the Gospel of the Sunday, etc. Vespers in the church.

13 Monday. Early in the morning, spiritual Conference to the Seminarians. Thos. Moore was called, etc. I spoke on the Ecclesiastical spirit. 1st. This spirit is necessary, because [146] without it we neither deserve the name of clerics nor are able to fulfill the obligations of the clerics, nor even can discharge the functions of the clerics. 2nd. The Ecclesiastical spirit is a spirit of zeal for the salvation of souls; a spirit of great holiness, of patience, mortification and obedience, etc., etc. Mass in the chapel.

14 Tuesday. Early in the morning, spiritual conference of the community. Bro. Vanucci [147] was called. I spoke on

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144. "Joseph Rosati, by the Grace of God and the authority of the Holy Apostolic See, Bishop of Tenagra and Coadjutor of the Bishop of Louisiana, to all the members of the Catholic Church who shall read these, greeting.

Knowing that great many Catholic families dispersed throughout the vast and extensive portion of this Diocese especially committed to our care have been these many years destitute of every kind of spiritual assistance for want of clergymen, we have thought it our duty to afford them that spiritual comfort which now is in our power. Therefore we send the Rev. John Odin, Priest of the Congregation of the Mission, with the Rev. John Timon, clergyman of our Seminary, to visit them, giving them the necessary powers according to the custom of the Catholic Church.

Given at St. Mary's Seminary, Perry County, Missouri, the 8th September 1824 under our seal and signed by us as our Secretary.

† Joseph, *Bp. of Tenegra, Coadj. of La.*

145. Original in Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery. This notification was written in the name of Bishop Du Bourg and of the priests of New Orleans. August 11, 1824.

146. *Qui*, a distraction for *quia*.

147. Joseph Vanucci was born in a little hamlet near Lucca, Italy, and made his vows in the house of S. Silvestro al Quirinale, in Rome on May 16, 1819. Shortly afterwards Fr. Baccari, the Vic. Gen. of the Congregation sent him to America, together with Bro. Donati. He discharged at the Barrens the functions of cook, and later on worked as shoemaker.

September
8 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel. Assisted in cope at High Mass. Confessions of the Brothers. At 3 o'clock p.m., Fr. Odin and Mr. Timon set off for a missionary journey. They are to go first to Apple-Creek, then, by way of New Madrid they will journey through the territory of Arkansas; they were given the necessary faculties.[144] In the evening received through the mail a letter of Fr. Portier,[145] containing the sad news of the death of Fr. Bertrand. Answered Mr. Mullett's letter.

Letter of Mission to Arkansas to Fr. Odin and Mr. Timon. See No. 3.

9 Thursday. Mass in the chapel early in the morning. Conference to the Nuns on the virtue of obedience.

10 Friday. Chapter. Mass in the chapel.

11 Saturday. Mass in the chapel early in the morning. Confessions of the Nuns. In the evening, confessions of the Seminarians and of C. M. Ed.

12 XIVth Sunday after Pentec. Early in the morning, confessions of the Brothers and of the workmen. Mass in the chapel. Heard confessions of some people. Assisted at High Mass, during which I preached a homily on the Gospel of the Sunday, etc. Vespers in the church.

13 Monday. Early in the morning, spiritual Conference to the Seminarians. Thos. Moore was called, etc. I spoke on the Ecclesiastical spirit. Ist. This spirit is necessary, because [146] without it we neither deserve the name of clerics nor are able to fulfill the obligations of the clerics, nor even can discharge the functions of the clerics. 2nd. The Ecclesiastical spirit is a spirit of zeal for the salvation of souls; a spirit of great holiness, of patience, mortification and obedience, etc., etc. Mass in the chapel.

14 Tuesday. Early in the morning, spiritual conference of the community. Bro. Vanucci [147] was called. I spoke on

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144. "Joseph Rosati, by the Grace of God and the authority of the Holy Apostolic See, Bishop of Tenagra and Coadjutor of the Bishop of Louisiana, to all the members of the Catholic Church who shall read these, greeting.

Knowing that great many Catholic families dispersed throughout the vast and extensive portion of this Diocese especially committed to our care have been there many years destitute of every kind of spiritual assistance for want of clergymen, we have thought it our duty to afford them that spiritual comfort which now it is not in our power. Therefore we send the Rev. John Odin, Prefect of the Congregation of the Mission, with the Rev. John Timon, clergyman of our Seminary, to visit them, giving them the necessary powers according to the custom of the Catholic Church.

Given at St. Mary's Seminary, Perry County, Missouri, the 8th September 1824 under our seal and signed by us at our Secretary.

† Joseph, Bp. of Tenagra, Coadj. of L.

145. Original in Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery. This recommendation was written in the name of Bishop De Neckere and of the priests of New Orleans.

August 11, 1824.

146. Qui, a dittography for quia.

147. Joseph Vanucci was born in a little hamlet near Lucca, early and made his vows in the house of S. Silvestro at Quirinale, in Rome on May 19, 1815. Shortly after words Fr. Barat, the Vic. Gen. of the Congregation sent him to America with Bro. Dorsaz. He discharged at the Barrens the functions of cook, and later on worked as shoemaker.

September the virtue of obedience. Mass in the chapel. Wrote letters, 1st., to .....[148]; 2nd., to Fr. Tichitoli; 3rd., to the Rt. Rev. Bishop of New Orleans to announce to him, *a*) the death of Fr. Timmermans; *b*) that of Fr. Nerinckx; *c*) the Mission undertaken by Fr. Odin and Mr. Timon at New Madrid and in Arkansas; and 4th, to ask him to take care of that region and send back Fr. Brassac, etc.

15 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel. In the evening through the mail I received letters, 1st., from Fr. Potoni, August 12, giving news of his and Fr. De Neckere's happy journey[149]; 2nd., from Fr. Rosti, August 10[150]; ,3rd., from the same, August 19[151]; 4th., from Fr. Niel, St. Louis, September 8, asking permission to go to Europe for his health[152]; 5th., from James Reed, in Kentucky.

16 Thursday. Mass in the chapel, after which I received letters, 1st., from Mr. Rozier, of September 15: he advises me he has at my disposal by order of the Rt. Rev. Bp. of New Orleans $300.00; 2nd., of the Rt. Rev. Bp. of New Orleans, of August 22, who tells me that, by order of the Sovereign Pontiff Leo XII, 621 Roman *scudi* are to be transmitted to me by the Rt. Rev. Poynter, and that out of that sum Mr. Rozier will give me 300[153]; 3rd., of the S. Congr. of Propaganda, which through His Eminence

No. 8. Letter of Prop.

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148. Scratched out in the manuscript, and partly illegible. The name of Fr. Cellini is the only thing which can now be made out .

149. Besides the news of his and Fr. De Neckere's arrival in St. Joseph's parish, and of their health, Fr. Potini speaks quite at length of the condition of the parish, and criticizes very severely the conduct of Fr. Rosti, and complains of evil reports of which he himself has been the object (Original in Archives of St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery).

150. Original *ibid.* The counterpart of Potini's letter; grave accusations against the latter; winds up by saying: "as he (Potini) is beginning to take ombrage, he would like to see me go away; however, as you order me to stay here, I shall not move now, no matter what Fr. Potini may say or do against me. I believe it would be better for Fr. Potini if he were changed from here."

151. Original *ibid.* Rehearses the things contained in the preceeding letter.

152. Original *ibid.* Has been sick again. Has been robbed of a little money he had; some was due him from the Attakapas, but small hope of getting it. Wants to go to Europe to recuperate and get money and so free the church lots. The people are embittered and will not help. Asks that Fr. Odin be sent to take his place, and promises to be back within a year. The Academy will do better under Odin than under himself.

153. Original *ibid.* This letter contains much more than the advice recorded in the *Diary*, in particular, startling news from Grand Coteau. "I am keeping Fr. De Neckere at the Bayou (La Fourche), it being impossible to send him to Fr. Cellini, who at length has so much exasperated everybody that I wrote to him in a friendly tone to leave that parish. Will he do it?I am seriously afraid he will not...You may be surprised that you received no answer from Mrs. S. I wrote to her again a few weeks ago, entering fully into her intentions, in order to avoid an *esclandre*: I was not any more fortunate than you. This poor woman is absolutely subjugated, and is permitted to read or answer a letter only according to the good pleasure of her guide, who teaches her to take no account of the decisions or the advice of the Bishops. You have no idea of such an infatuation. God grant they do not give the scandal of leaving together for another Diocese: for you must know that there was openly question of that...I am obliged to deal very leniently with Fr. Cel. He may ask me dimissorial letters. If he does, I shall direct him to you as his superior; and, if he applies to you, I advise you not to give him any for any other place but Rome." Another subject touched in this letter, has reference to Mr. Apollinaire Hermant, the seminarian from Rodez, whom Bp. Rosati had taken along with him on his return to the Seminary. See above Note 33, and *Diary*, May 19. "I cannot

September Card. de Somalia, Pro-Prefect, notifies me that the Sovereign Pontiff received kindly my petition wherein I begged him some help for the construction of the church; that he was moved by my prayers, and that, prompted by that solicitude which keeps constantly before his mind the good of the whole Church, out of his private purse he has given me 300 *scudi,* and other 321 out of moneys offered to him; and that the whole sum will be send me through the Rt. Rev. Bp. Poynter[154]. Heard the confession of M. C. Eu. *Requiem* Mass in the church for the Rev. Bertrand.

17 *Friday*[155]. Chapter. Went to confession. Mass in the chapel. Answered, 1st., the Rt. Rev. Bp. of New Orleans, requesting him to send some priests, etc.; 2nd., Fr. Cellini, to whom I declared I could not in any way assent to etc., etc.; 3rd., Fr. Potini; 4th., Fr. Rosti, whom I invited to come back to the Seminary; 5th., Fr. De Neckere, to whom I expressed the wish he should remain at the Bayou; 6th., Fr. Niel, telling him to write to the Bishop of New Orleans, for the permission which he asked of me.

18 *Saturday*[156]. Mass in the chapel early in the morning. Confessions of the Nuns. In the evening, confessions of the Seminarians and of C. M. Eu.

19 XVth Sunday after Pentec. Early in the morning, confessions of the Brothers and of the workmen. Mass in the chapel. Assisted at High Mass in the church, during which I preached a homily on the Gospel, on Death: 1st., people live and sin as though death was never to come; yet death is most certain. 2nd., people live and sin, and never concern themselves about preparnig for death, as though there was always the certainty they will have time to attend to that preparation: yet death is uncertain etc. 3rd., people live and sin, etc., as though it did not matter whether we are to make a good or a bad death: yet upon a good or a bad death depends our eternity, etc. Vespers in the church.

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close," says Bishop Du Bourg, without asking you to engage Mr. Hermant to turn his views somewhere else. I have nothing positive against him; but his correspondence with Europe caused there such a bad impression that I am constantly receiving letters to warn me against admitting him into my clergy. And, in very truth, this added to his lack of constancy, his distrust of everybody, and the symptoms I thought I discovered of his spirit of independence, inspired me fears which I cannot overcome. You may read him this." In his oft-quoted *Catalogus,* Rosati marked in reference to this: "He left during the month of September of the same year (1824). Bp .Du Bourg desired he should leave, on account of some letters written by him to France. He went to Kentucky, and was received in the Seminary of that Diocese."

154. The Original of this letter (No. 8), dated May 22, 1824, is in the Archives of the St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery.

155. Twice underlined in the Manuscript of the *Diary.*

156. Do.

September Card. de Somalis, Pro-Prefect, notifies me that the Sovereign Pontiff received kindly my petition wherein I begged him some help for the construction of the church; that he was moved by my prayers, and that, prompted by that solicitude which keeps constantly before his mind the good of the whole Church, out of his private purse he has given me 300 francs, and other 321 out of moneys offered to him; and that the whole sum will be send me through the Rt. Rev. Bp. Poynter [124]. Heard the confession of M. C. Eu. Requiem Mass in the church for the Rev. Bertrand.

17 Friday [125]. Chapter. Went to confession. Mass in the chapel. Answered, Int., the Rt. Rev. Bp. of New Orleans, requesting him to send some priests, etc.; 2nd., Fr. Celtin, to whom I declared I could not in any way assent to etc., etc.; 3rd., Fr. Petini; 4th., Fr. Rash, whom I invited to come back to the Seminary; 5th., Fr. De Neckere, to whom I expressed the wish he should remain at the Bayou; 6th., Fr. Niel, telling him to write to the Bishop of New Orleans, for the permission which he asked of me.

18 Saturday [126]. Mass in the chapel early in the morning. Confessions of the Nuns. In the evening, confessions of the Seminarians and of C. M. Eu.

19 XVth Sunday after Pentec. Early in the morning, confessions of the Brothers and of the workmen. Mass in the chapel. Assisted at High Mass in the church, during which I preached a homily on the Gospel, on Death: Int., people live and sin as though death was never to come; yet death is most certain. 2nd., people live and sin, and never concern themselves about preparing for death, as though there was always the certainty they will have time to attend to that preparation; yet death is uncertain etc. 3rd., people live and sin, etc., as though it did not matter whether we are to make a good or a bad death: yet upon a good or a bad death depends our eternity, etc. Vespers in the church.

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clesia," says Bishop Du Bourg, without asking you to engage Mr. Brennan to turn his views somewhere else, I have nothing positive against him but his correspondence with Europe caused there such a bad impression that I am constantly receiving letters to warn me against admitting him into my clergy. And, in very truth, this added to the lack of constancy, his distrust of everybody, and the symptoms I thought I discovered of his spirit of independence, inspired me fears which I cannot overcome. You may read his bills." In his circular Cathedral, Bishop marked to reference to this: "He left during the month of September of the same year (1826). By Dr. Du Bourg desired he should leave on account of some letters written by him to France. He went to Kentucky, and was received in the Seminary of that Diocese."

124. The Original of this letter (No. 8), dated May 23, 1826, is in the Archives of the St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery.

125. Twice underlined in the Manuscript of the Diary.

126. Do.

September 20 Monday. Early in the morning, Conference for the Seminarians (Saucier), on the attention to little things, to be done, when good; and to be avoided, when evil, etc. Mass in the chapel.

21 Tuesday. Early in the morning, spiritual Conference of the Community on the virtue of Poverty, etc. Mass in the chapel. Through the mail received a letter of Fr. Odin, dated New Madrid, September 16: he has baptized there fifty both children and adults, etc.

22 Wednesday. Early in the morning, Mass in the chapel, after which I left for Ste. Genevieve with Messrs. Loisel and Saucier; we arrived there at 2 o'clock, and after taking dinner, towards evening crossed the Mississippi and shortly before 10 o'clock p. m. reached *Prairie du Rocher,* where we received the warmest welcome from Fr. Olivier [157], the rector of that parish: we spent there the rest of the night.

23 Thursday. From *Prairie* we journeyed to Mr. Drury's [158], at whose home we took dinner and I heard the confession of three women; in the evening we arrived at Mr. James', four miles from Harrisonville.

24 Friday. In the morning, heard six confessions, said Mass and gave communion to those who had gone to confession, and preached after the Gospel; finally I baptized an infant, the son of Mr. James. On account of rain we had to remain there the whole day.

25 Saturday. Started early in the morning. Rain. Breakfast at Whiteside. At 5 p. m. we reached St. Louis.

26 XVIth Sunday after Pentec. Mass in the cathedral. Assisted at High Mass and at Vespers.

27 Monday. Mass in the cathedral.

28 Tuesday. At 8 a. m., said Mass, at which I made an exhortation to the fifty-two who were to receive Holy Communion, which also I distributed to them. After Mass, and a sermon, I administered the *Sacrament* [159] of confirmation to *fifty-two* boys and girls. At 12 o'clock we left for St. Ferdinand, where we arrived at 5 p. m., and after taking supper at the convent, we went to the Jesuits, and thence returned to the convent. The house of the Jesuits consists of the Rev. Van Quickenborne, the Su-

Confirm. 52.

157. The Rev. Donatian Olivier.

158. The Drurys lived "eight miles from Harrisonville," according to Bishop Rosati's *Catalogus* (in Notice on Hercules Brassac); evidently eight miles south of Harrisonville, judging from this entry, since Bishop Rosati is going North, and arrived in the evening at Mr. James', four miles from the same town.

159. Underlined in the original.

September perior, six Scholastics [160] and two Brothers [161]. There are also there six Indian boys, who already begin to speak, read and write English [162]. The Convent is under the direction of Madame Duchesne and counts six Nuns [163] etc.

29 Wednesday. Mass in the Parish church. Messrs. Loisel and Saucier leave for St. Charles.

30 Thursday. Mass in the same place. Heard two confessions, etc., also the confessions of all the Nuns, etc.

OCTOBER.

1 Friday. Mass in the convent chapel; exposition of the Bl. Sacrament. In the evening Benediction.

2 Saturday. Mass in the Parish church. In the evening heard two confessions.

3 XVIIth Sunday after Pentec. At 10 a. m., I baptized solemnly in cope and miter according to the rites prescribed in the Roman Ritual for the baptism of adults two Indian boys of the Sack nation. Joseph was the name given to the one, and ———————[164] that given to the other. The sponsors were Mr. Mullanphy and his daughter Mrs. Chambers. Before the ceremony I spoke a few words on the spirit with which Christians should assist at the administration of this sacrament.

Baptism of 2 Adults.

After this Baptism, I began Mass during which I conferred Tonsure on Jodocus Francis Van Assche [165] and Peter De Smet [166], scholastics of the Society of Jesus; and promoted to the four Minor Orders these same scholastics, Jod. F. Van Assche and Peter De Smet, and Peter Joseph Verhaegen [167], also a scholastic of the same Society. Before the Ordination I said a few words. During

No. 4 Ordin.

160. The six scholastics were Jodocus Francis Van Asshe, Peter J. Verhaegen, John B. Elet, John B. Smedts, Peter J. De Smet and Felix L. Verreydt.

161. Peter De Meyer and Henry Rysselmans.

162. Cf. Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J.: *St. Regis Seminary—First Catholic Indian School*, in *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. IV, No. 4, January 1919, pp. 452—478.

163. Mesdames Octavie Berthold, Lucile Mathevon, Mary Ann Summer., Eulalie Hamilton, Mathilda Hamilton, Mary O'Connor.

164. Louis was the name of the other Indian boy. "Was baptized in this church by the Right Reverend Bishop Rosati, Joseph, born of an Indian woman of the tribe of the Sacks, old about 6 years. The ceremonies of baptism were also performed over Louis, his brother, old about 8 years, and privately baptized by me some months before, he being in danger of death. Godfather, Mr. John Mullanphy; Godmother, Mrs. Chambers. St. Ferdinand, this 3rd of October A. D. 1824. Cs. F. Van Quickenborne" (*Register of Baptism*, St. Ferdinand's Church, Florissant).

165. Born at St. Amand, in the Diocese of Mechlin, Belgium, in 1800, was a student in the Seminary of Mechlin when he came over to America in 1821.

166. The future Indian Missionary. The story of his stealing away from home for America is told by Maes, *Life of Rev. Charles Nerinckx*, p. 456.

167. Also a Seminarian of Mechlin when he came to America with Father Nerinckx.

September prefor, six Scholastics[160] and two Brothers[161]. There are also three six Indian boys, who already begin to speak, read and write English[162]. The Convent is under the direction of Madame Duchesne and counts six Nuns[163] etc.

29 Wednesday. Mass in the Parish church. Messrs. Loisel and Saucier leave for St. Charles.

30 Thursday. Mass in the same place. Heard two confessions, etc., also the confessions of all the Nuns, etc.

OCTOBER.

1 Friday. Mass in the convent chapel; exposition of the Bl. Sacrament. In the evening Benediction.

2 Saturday. Mass in the Parish church. In the evening heard two confessions.

3 XVIIth Sunday after Pentec. At 10 a. m. I baptized solemnly in cope and mitre according to the rites prescribed in the Roman Ritual for the baptism of adults two Indian boys of the Sauk nation, Joseph was the name Baptism of 2 Adults. given to the one, and ——————[164] that given to the other. The sponsors were Mr. Mullanphy and his daughter Mrs. Chambers. Before the ceremony I spoke a few words on the spirit with which Christians should assist at the administration of this sacrament.

After this Baptism, I began Mass during which I conferred Tonsure on Jodocus Francis Van Assche[165] and Peter De Smet[166], scholastics of the Society of Jesus; No. 4 Ordin. and promoted to the four Minor Orders these same scholastics, Jod. F. Van Assche and Peter De Smet, and Peter Joseph Verhaegen[167], also a scholastic of the same Society. Before the Ordination I said a few words. During

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160. The six scholastics were Jodocus Francis Van Assche, Peter J. Verhaegen, John B. Elet, John B. Smedts, Peter J. De Smet and Felix L. Verreydt.

161. Peter De Meyer and Henry Nyssenaers.

162. Cf. Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., St. Regis Seminary—First Catholic Indian School, in The Catholic Historical Review, Vol. IV, No. 4 (January 1919), pp. 432–452.

163. Mesdames Octavie Berthold, Eulalie Mathevon, Mary Ann Summer, Emilie Hamilton, Matilda Hamilton, Mary O'Connor.

164. Louis was the name of the other Indian boy. "Was baptized in this church by the Right Reverend Bishop Rosati, Joseph, born of an Indian woman of the tribe of the Sauks, old about 8 years. The ceremonies of baptism were also performed over Louis, his brother, old about 8 years, and privately baptized by me some months before, he being in danger of death. Godfathers, Mr. John Mullanphy [Godmother], Mrs. Chambers, St. Ferdinand, this 3rd of October A. D. 1823. Ch. F. Van Quickenborne" (Registry of Baptism, St. Ferdinand's Church, Florissant).

165. Born at St. Amand, in the Diocese of Mecklin, Belgium, in 1809, was a student in the Seminary of Mecklin when he came over to America in 1831.

166. The future Indian Missionary. The story of his wending away from home to America is told by Mess, Life of Rev. Charles Felix, p. 414.

167. Also a Seminarist of Mecklin when he came to America with Father Verreydt.

October Mass I gave communion to those about to be confirmed.

Confirm. 27 The Mass finished, I made an exhortation to the candidates for *Confirmation,* and administered that sacrament to 27 persons of both sexes.

Assisted at solemn Vespers in the church.

4 Monday. Mass early in the morning. We left for St.

Confirm. 10. Louis at 7 o'clock. At 4 p. m., administered the sacrament of confirmation to 10 boys and girls in the church of St. Louis.

5 Tuesday. Early in the morning, in spite of the rain, we set off for Cahokia, which we reached about 9 o'clock. I said Mass in the Parish church, and distributed communion to *forty-seven* candidates for Confirmation. After Mass I preached a sermon to them, and finally administer-

Confirm 47 ed to them the sacrament of *Confirmation.* After breakfasting in the rectory with Fr. Savine[168], the pastor, we pursued our journey, but followed the wrong road for some two hours. In the evening we reached Waterloo, where we spent the night.

6 Wednesday. Starting off early in the morning, we arrived at *Prairie du Rocher* about 2 o'clock p. m. There we found Fr. Olivier sick for about two weeks with dysentery. We took lunch and thence continued our journey, arriving at Ste. Genevieve in the evening.

7 Thursday. Mass in the church of Ste. Genevieve.

8 Friday. Mass in the same place.

9 Saturday. Mass in the same place. At 9 o'clock I bapt-

Bapt. of an Adult. tized Joseph Butler an adult. The godfather was Fr. Dahmen.

10 XVIIIth Sunday after Pentec. At 10 o'clock said Mass in the church, and gave communion to the candidates for

Confirm 36 confirmation. After Mass I preached and *confirmed* 36 persons of both sexes. Assisted at solemn Vespers in the church.

11 Monday. Mass early in the morning. After breakfast we started from Ste. Genevieve for the Seminary, where we arrived at half past five; we met, three miles from the house all the Seminarians who had come to meet us. Found at home letters: 1st., of the Bishop of Bards-

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168. Not Savigné, as Louis Houck spells the name in his *History of Missouri* (II, p. 314), was a Canadian by birth. He was sent to Cahokia in 1811 by Bishop Flaget, and from there occassionally attended St. Louis until the arrival of Father Henry Pratte in 1817.

October town; 2nd., of the Bishop of New Orleans [169]; 3rd., of Fr. Potini [170]; 4th., of Father Tichitoli; 5th., of Father Rosti [171].

12 Tuesday. Mass in the Community chapel. Went to the Convent. Since the week previous, the parishioners had started to haul stones from the quarry to the Seminary for building the church.

13 Wednesday. Mass in the Community chapel. Went to the quarry.

14 Thursday. Mass in the Community chapel. In the evening, confession of M. C. Eu. Went to the quarry.

15 Friday. Chapter. Mass in the Community chapel. Went to confession; heard one confession.

16 Friday. Mass in the chapel. Heard the Nuns' confessions. In the evening heard the confessions of the Seminarians and of C. M. Eu.

17 XIXth Sunday after Pentec. Early in the morning heard the Brothers' confessions. Mass in the church, at a quarter past six, at which communion of the Seminarians, the Brothers, the Nuns, the people and C. M. Eu. After breakfast heard some people's confessions at home. Assisted at High Mass, at which I preached on the Small Number of the Elect. Many are called, because all men were by God created for, and called to happiness; and to them he gave at least remote means, for Christ died for all, etc., etc. Few are chosen, because few efficaciously wish to be saved: for few are they who search for the truth, follow it when they know it; few conform their lives with the precepts of God, of the Gospel, of the Church, etc., etc., etc. Assisted at Vespers, etc.

18 Monday. Mass in the chapel. Went to the quarry.

19 Tuesday. Mass in the chapel.

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169. Letter of August 28, 1824, Original in Archives of the St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery. Asks that Mr. Caretta be ordained and sent South. Was reassured by Col. Lawless about the validity of the sale of some of Connor's lots; and is pleased to hear that the land on the Des Peres is rented. He recommends Rosati to be slow in accepting candidates for the Seminary. Trouble about Fr. Martin at Avoyelles. Discountenances the idea that Fr. Niel should be empowered to collect for the Mission. The affairs of the Apple Creek land and the Church lots and the Connor lots in St. Louis ought to be attended to. In regard to candidates for the priesthood, the following remark ought to be singled out: "I think that the Americans whom you will find cold and *sine affectione*, no matter how good they may be otherwise, ought to be eliminated. This does not apply either to Thomas (Moore) or to Frederick (Saucier), but may apply to others. Such cold hearts, which are ordinarily united with a speculative mind, have neither zeal, nor talent to win confidence, and think only of material advantages."

170. La Fourche, August 27, 1824. Original *Ibid.* A long diatribe against Fr. Rosti, who does not take care of him when he is sick, neglects his duties, etc.

171. St. Joseph's, August 222, 1824. *Ibid.* Renews the complaints contained in his preceeding letters, and begs that a remedy be applied.

October town; 2nd., of the Bishop of New Orleans[168]; 3rd., of Fr. Potini[169]; 4th., of Father Tichitoli; 5th., of Father Rosti[170].

12 Tuesday. Mass in the Community chapel. Went to the Convent. Since the week previous, the parishioners had started to haul stones from the quarry to the Seminary for building the church.

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15 Friday. Chapter. Mass in the Community chapel. Went to confession; heard one confession.

16 Friday. Mass in the chapel. Heard the Nuns' confessions. In the evening heard the confessions of the Seminarians and of C. M. Eu.

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18 Monday. Mass in the chapel. Went to the quarry.

19 Tuesday. Mass in the chapel.

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169. Letter of August 26, 1824. Original in Archives of the St. Louis Archdiocesan Chancery. Asks that Mr. Curtis be ordained and take Bonds. Was protested by Colonel Walters about the validity of the sale of some of Clamorgan's land and it ceased to be sold. Had the land on the Des Peres is rented. He recommends Nuns to be sent to accept candidates for the Seminary. Trouble about Fr. Marin at Vincennes. Recommends Apple Creek land and the Church lot in St. Louis either to be sold or attended to. Is resting to candidates for the priesthood, the following remark: "I single out: "I think that the Americans whom you will find cold and non expressive, no matter how good they may be otherwise, ought to be eliminated. This does not apply either to Thomas (Moore) or to Frederick (Saulnier), for they study to adorn. Both, and others, which are ordinarily united with a speculative mind, have rather weak, but talent with confidence, and think only of material advantages."

170. La Porrche, August 27, 1824. Original (?)nd. A long diocesan matter. Wants the does not take care of him when he is sick, neglects his duties, etc.

171. St. Joseph's, August 27th, 1824. Reviews the contents of his preceding letters, and begs that a remedy be applied.

October 20 Wednesday. Mass in the same place. Received a letter from the Rt. Rev. Bp. of New Orleans, dated September 14 [172].

21 Thursday. Mass in the same place. Answered the Rt. Rev. Bp. of New Orleans, and wrote a draft for him.

22 Friday. Chapter. Went to confession. Heard one confession. Mass in the chapel. Answered: 1st., Fr. Rosti, calling him back to the Seminary; 2nd., His Eminence Card. De Somalia, Pro-Prefect of the S. Congregation of Propaganda, begging him to return thanks to the Sovereign Pontiff for the 621 *scudi* sent us, etc. [173]; 3rd., the Rt. Rev. G. Poynter, London, etc. [174]

To the S. C. of Propag. No. 6.

23 Saturday. Early in the morning, Mass in the chapel. Confessions of the Nuns. In the evening was commenced the retreat of the Community [175]. Arrival of three boys, Higgins, Walsh and LeBeau for the College, etc.

24 XXth Sunday after Pentec. Mass in the chapel, 1st. Meditation: the necessity of the retreat; 2nd.: the benefit of Creation. Assisted at High Mass, at which I preached a homily on the Gospel of the Sunday. From the narrative of the cure of the Centurion's son I deduced the following considerations: 1st. Sickness and whatever else we call

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172. Original *ibid.* A letter has come from Bp. Poynter, containing money sent by the Pope: £ 124, sh. 16 and 6d. Directions to get the money and acknowledge receipt.—"Mr. C(ellini) has left Grand Coteau, but, *according to what was written to me* (italics Du Bourg's), with the hope of obtaining from me the permission to return there. Before leaving, he had Mrs. Sm. give orders to sell out everything, negroes and lands; and *it is rumored* that the purpose is that they may go away together. God knows where. I hope I shall be able to forestall this, but this good man is going to put me in a very embarrassing position. He must be now at La Fourche. I shall go there in a few days." This new turn of events was the ralization, probably hastened by bitterness, of the course of action resolved upon by Mrs. Smith. How much Fr. Cellini had to do with the determination of Mrs. Smith, is not clear; and it does not appear to us as certain as it did to Bp. Du Bourg, that Cellini was the instigator of that move. If we believe his letter of July 22 (cf. above Note 148)—and there is no reason to suspect his sincerity—he had tried hard and honestly to bring Mrs. Smith to Rosati's—and Du Bourg's—views. It rather seems that good lady clung to her resolution, prompted by her once wounded feelings, of refusing to have anything to do with Bishop Du Bourg; presently she would not enter into a deal, the conditions of which were dictated by him. However this may be, it is hard to resist the impression that the prelate was lending too complacent an ear to gossip—perhaps of interested parties—from those quarters: *qui n'entend qu'une cloche n'entend qu'un son.* "Fr. De Neckere arrived providentially at Grand Coteau before Fr. Cellini's departure. He saw everything with his own eyes. Madam Eugénie (Audé, the Superioress of the Convent at Grand Coteau) writes to me that she believes him to be the man most capable to arrange things. I wrote to him at once to give him, subject to your approval, at least temporary charge of that place." Another point mentioned is the necessity to recall Fr. Rosti from St. Joseph's.—Bishop Rosati had anticipated this and written to Fr. Rosti, on the 17th of September, to come back to the Seminary. Embarrassing as might be the situation which the Bishop apprehended to be thrown into, much more so was actually that of his Coadjutor.

173. Rough Draft in the Archives of the St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery.

174. Do., under date of October 21; probably the letter was copied only the following day.

175. The custom in the Congregation of the Mission is that all the members of the house make their annual retreat at the same time, for eight full days. No one preaches the retreat which, though made in common, may rather be called an individual affair, insofar as one of its principal daily exercises is the making of three meditations of one hour each, and another, styled Consideration, of three quarters of an hour.

October
20 Wednesday. Mass in the same place. Received a letter from the Rt. Rev. Bp. of New Orleans, dated September 14.[172]

21 Thursday. Mass in the same place. Answered the Rt. Rev. Bp. of New Orleans, and wrote a draft for him.

22 Friday. Chapter. Went to confession. Heard one confession. Mass in the chapel. Answered: 1st., Fr. Rosti, calling him back to the Seminary; 2nd., His Eminence Card. De Somalia, Pro-Prefect of the S. Congregation of Propaganda, begging him to return thanks to the Sovereign Pontiff for the 621 scudi sent us, etc.[173]; 3rd., the Rt. Rev. C. Poynter, London, etc.[174]

23 Saturday. Early in the morning, Mass in the chapel. Confessions of the Nuns. In the evening was commenced the retreat of the Community.[175] Arrival of three boys, Higgins, Walsh and Ledsam for the College, etc.

24 XXth Sunday after Pentec. Mass in the chapel, 1st. Meditation: the necessity of the retreat; 2nd.: the benefit of Creation. Assisted at High Mass, at which I preached a homily on the Gospel of the Sunday. From the narrative of the cure of the Centurion's son I deduced the following considerations: 1st. Sickness and whatever else we call

To the S. C. of Propag. No. 6.

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172. Original (ibid. A letter has come from Bp. Perché, containing money sent by the Pope: £ 124, 1s. 1d and the Directions to get the money and acknowledge receipt. "Mr. Cridland has left United Canada, but according to what they writes to my father Da Bourg(?), with the hope of obtaining from me the permission to return there. Before leaving, he had Mrs. Sm. give orders to sell out everything, servants and family and it is reported that the purpose is that they way go away forever. God knows what. I hope I shall be able to forestall this, but this good man is going to put me in a very embarrassing position. He must be now at La Fourche. I shall go there in a few days." This new turn of events was the realization, probably hastened by bitterness, of the course of action resolved upon by Mrs. Smith. How much Fr. Cridland had to do with the determination of Mrs. Smith, is not clear; and it does not appear to us certain as it did to Bp. Du Bourg, that Cridland was the instigator of that move. If we believe his letter of July 22 (cf. above Note 145)—and there is no reason to suspect his sincerity—he had tried hard and honestly to bring Mrs. Smith to Donaldsonville and Du Bourg's views. It rather seems that good lady clung to her resolution, prompted by her once wounded feelings, of refusing to have anything to do with Bishop Du Bourg and she would not enter into a deal, the conditions of which were dictated by him. However this may be, it is hard to resist the impression that the prelate was looking for compensation on our to gossip—perhaps of interested motive—from those quarters on whose favor Cridle depended. Cridland's departure. He saw everything with his own eyes. Mobile, Natchez, the Superiores of the Convent at [illegible] Canada, the Superiores of the Convent at [illegible] Canada, the Superiores of the Convent at [illegible] Canada

October misfortune lead us to God, often are effects of the divine goodness towards us, and are always directed to our spiritual benefit. 2nd. The great merit of the Centurion's faith, which received its reward, etc., demonstrates the merit of our own faith, which shall receive its reward in heaven. 3rd. The example of the fathers of families most important, etc., etc. Vespers in the Church. Consideration on our duties to God and the neighbor. 4th. Meditation on the benefit of our vocation. In the evening, beginning of the Seminarians' retreat.

25 Monday. 1st. Meditation, on Mortal Sin (Mass in the chapel). 2nd. Meditation, on Venial Sin. Consideration on our Duties to ourselves. 3rd. Meditation, on Death.

For the Seminarians, 1st Meditation and Exhortation, on the necessity of the retreat. 1st. Instruction, on Confession. 2nd. Instruction on our Duties to God. 2nd Meditation and Exhortation on the End of Man (Confessions).

26 Tuesday. 1st. Meditation, on Judgment (Mass in the chapel). 2nd., on Hell. Consideration, on the Motives of Contrition. 3rd. Medit., on the Prodigal Son.

For the Seminarians, 1st. Meditation, on Sin. 1st. Instruction, on our Duties towards the neighbor. 2nd. Instr., on our Duties to ourselves. 2nd Medit., on Death (Confessions).

27 Wednesday. 1st. Meditation, on the H. Eucharist (Mass in the chapel). 2nd. Medit., on Heaven. Consideration on the Interior Communication. 3rd. Medit., on the desire of perfection (Communications).

For the Seminarians, 1st. Meditation, on Judgment. 1st. Instruction, on the Duties of a Seminarian. 2nd., on Vocation. 2nd. Meditation on Hell (Confessions).

Received through the mail a letter from Fr. Tichitoli and one from Fr. Odin.

28 Thursday. On the Imitation of Christ. (Mass in the chapel). 2nd., on Simplicity. Consideration, on cc. vi and vii of our Rules. 3rd. Medit., on Humility.

For the Seminarians, 1st. Meditation, on the Prodigal Son. 1st. Instruction, on the way we should respond to our vocation. 2nd. on spiritual Communication. 2nd. Meditation, on Heaven (Confessions).

29 Friday. 1st. Meditation, on Mortification (Mass in the chapel). 2nd., on Meekness. Consideration on c. viii of our Rules. 3rd. Meditation on Zeal for the Salvation of Souls (Interior Communications).

For the Seminarions, 1st. On H. Eucharist (Communion). 1st. Instruction.[176] 2nd.[176]
2nd. Meditation on the Passion of our Lord.

176. A blank in the original.

October 30 Saturday. 1st. Meditation, on the vow of Poverty (Mass in the chapel). 2nd., on Obedience. Consideration on the vow of Chastity. 3rd. Medit., on the observance of the rules (Interior Communications).

For the Seminarians, 1st. Meditation, on the happiness and fruits found in the service of God. 1st. Instruction, on Temptation. 2nd., on Prayer. 2nd. Meditation, on the Love of God (Interior Communications).

Arrival of the two Rozier brothers [177].

31 XXIst Sunday after Pentec. 1st. Meditation, on the Passion of Jesus Christ. 2nd., on the Love of God. Consideration on the Devotion to the Bl. Virgin. 3rd. Medit., on Fraternal Charity.

Mass in the chapel. Assisted at High Mass, in which I preached a homily on the Gospel of the day. Solemn Vespers in the Church (Confessions of the Seminarians).

For the Seminarians, Meditation on Perseverance. End of the retreat.

Return of Fr. Odin and Mr. Timon from their mission in the Territory of Arkansas, in which the former baptized two hundred children or adults, performed many marriages, visited the Indians called Arkansas, etc., etc. Two priests should be sent there to reside; and another to New Madrid, where one is much desired. The aforesaid missionaries suffered many hardships in that journey of twelve hundred miles, to which hardships was added the fever which seized Fr. Odin, etc.[178]

NOVEMBER.

1 Feast of All Saints. Mass in the chapel. Meditation on Perseverance (Confessions of the Brothers, etc.) At 9 o'clock confessions of the Nuns. At 11 o'clock assisted at the solemn Mass in Pontifical vestments. Preached on the happiness enjoyed by the Saints, and to which we are called, and on the manner of obtaining it. Solemn Vespers in the church, followed by the Vespers, Matins and Lauds of the Dead.

2 Commemoration of the Deceased faithful. Pontifical Mass in the church.

3 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel. Distribution of the offices of the Community and of the Seminary. The classes of Theology, Rhetoric, Greek, controversy and S. Scrip-

177. Ferdinand and Francis, the sons of Ferdinand Rozier, of Ste. Genevieve.

178. A complete account of this Missionary journey, from the pen of Father Odin, may be read in *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, Vol. II, pp. 374—389.

October
30 Saturday, 1st. Meditation, on the vow of Poverty (Mass in the chapel). 2nd., on Obedience. Consideration on the vow of Chastity. 3rd. Medit., on the observance of the rules (Interior Communications).

For the Seminarians, 1st. Meditation, on the happiness and fruits found in the service of God. 1st. Instruction, on Temptation. 2nd., on Prayer. 2nd. Meditation, on the Love of God (Interior Communications).

Arrival of the two Rosier brothers [121].

31 XXIst Sunday after Pentec. 1st. Meditation, on the Passion of Jesus Christ. 2nd., on the Love of God. Consideration on the Devotion to the BI. Virgin. 3rd. Medit. on Fraternal Charity.

Mass in the chapel. Assisted at High Mass, in which I preached a homily on the Gospel of the day. Solemn Vespers in the Church (Confessions of the Seminarians).

For the Seminarians, Meditation on Perseverance. End of the retreat.

Return of Fr. Odin and Mr. Timon from their mission in the Territory of Arkansas, in which the former baptized two hundred children or adults, performed many marriages, visited the Indians called Arkansas, etc., etc. Two priests should be sent there to reside; and another to New Madrid, where one is much desired. The aforesaid missionaries suffered many hardships in that journey of twelve hundred miles, to which hardship was added the fever which seized Fr. Odin, etc. [122]

NOVEMBER.

1 Feast of All Saints. Mass in the chapel. Meditation on Perseverance (Confessions of the Brothers, etc.). At 9 o'clock confessions of the Nuns. At 11 o'clock assisted at the solemn Mass in Pontifical vestments. Preached on the happiness enjoyed by the Saints, and to which we are called, and on the manner of obtaining it. Solemn Vespers in the church, followed by the Vespers, Matins and Lauds of the Dead.

2 Commemoration of the Deceased faithful. Pontifical Mass in the church.

3 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel. Distribution of the offices of the Community and of the Seminary. The classes of Theology, Rhetoric, Greek, controversy and S. Scrip-

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121. Ferdinand and Francis, the sons of Ferdinand Rosier, of Ste. Geneviève.

122. A complete account of this Missionary journey, from the pen of Father Odin, may be read in Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, Vol. II, pp. 278—285.

November ture I reserved to myself. 1st class of Latin, Mr. Loisel; 2nd, the same; 3rd, Mr. Saucier; 1st class of French, Fr. Odin; 2nd, Mr. Paquin; 1st class of English, Mr. Timon; 2nd, Mr. Moore; plain-chant, Mr. Vergani. I appointed Mr. Vergani prefect, Mr. Timon assistant-prefect of the Seminarians, and Mr. Paquin of the boys; bell-ringer, Mr. Saucier; infirmarians, Messrs. Moore and Tucker; Sacristans of the church, Messrs. Labadie and Girardin; of the house chapel, Messrs. Feigan and Thompson; care of health, Mr. Timon; of fire, Messrs. Jourdain and Tucker; of lights, Mr. Hamilton; of Libary, Mr. Loisel, and Prefect of the choir, Mr. Timon.

4 Thursday. Mass in the chapel early in the morning. At 6 o'clock exhortation to the Nuns on the spirit of their Insitute.

5 Friday. Early in the morning, Chapter. Went to confession. Mass in the chapel. Opening of the classes. Arrival of Fr. Cellini. Received letters from Frs. Tichitoli and Bigeschi.

6 Saturday. Early in the morning, Mass in the chapel. Confessions of the Nuns. At 5 p. m., confessions of the Seminarians.

7 XXIInd Sunday after Pentec. Early in the morning confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Assisted at High Mass in the church, at which I preached on the Gospel of the day; at the occasion of some who were leaving the church I spoke on the sanctification of the Sundays and holy days[179]. Vespers in the church. At 5:30 commenced the class of S. Scripture, which is to be had every Sunday.

8 Monday. Early in the morning, spiritual Conference for the Seminarians, on perseverance in the good resolutions of the retreat. Mass in the chapel; and, in the evening, exhortation to the Nuns on the necessity of the retreat and the means to make it well, etc.

9 Tuesday. Conference of the Community on perseverance, as above. Mass in the chapel. At 3 p. m., sermon to the Nuns on our Duties to God.

10 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel. Arrival of Fr. Dahmen. Exhortation to the Nuns on our Duties to the neighbor.

11 Thursday. Mass in the chapel. Started at 5.30 p. m. the class of controversy.

12 Friday. Chapter. Went to confession. Heard one confession. Mass in the chapel. Exhortation to the Nuns on our Duties to ourselves.

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179. The original says: *Festorum;* but this word, under Rosati's pen, according to the Italian idiom, signifies both the Sundays and holy days of obligation.

November 13 Saturday. Mass early in the morning. Two confessions. In the evening confessions of the Seminarians. Fathers Cellini and Caretta went to Brazeau.

14 XXIIIrd Sunday after Pentec. Early in the morning confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Did not assist at High Mass; on account of rain there was scarcely any of the parishioners in the church. Instead of sermon there was a reading. Wrote to the Rt. Rev. Bp. of New Orleans about Frs. Rosti, Potini, Cellini and De Neckere; I complained that a parish was confided to the last mentioned, and of the things which etc. Vespers in the church. Class of S. Scripture.

15 Monday. Early in the morning Conference to the Seminarians on Lukewarmness in God's Service. I showed how detestable it is, because it deprives us, 1st., of the delights which we would enjoy if we were fervent in God's service; 2nd., of frequent opportunities of practising various virtues; 3rd., of the merits of good works when these are neglectfully done; 4th., because it leads us to fall continually into venial sins; 5th., it exposes us and in the end leads us to mortal sin and final impenitence. The means to be employed to prevent it are, 1st., the remembrance of death; 2nd., earnestness; 3rd., prayer, etc. Wrote to Fr. De Neckere, complaining of his silence [180], and I declared to him I could not absolutely permit him to remain in the parish of *Grand Coteau;* 2nd., to Fr. Tichitoli;

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180. Fr. De Neckere had written; indeed Bishop Rosati was to receive a letter from him four days later, and it was not his first letter from Grand Coteau: this, dated September 22, reached the Barrens only the 24th of November. It recounted by what nexus of circumstances he had been appointed to Grand Coteau. He had come there, after a difficult and painful journey, and, on arriving there, was shown by Fr. Cellini a letter of Bishop Du Bourg whereby Cellini himself was recalled. After his departure another letter of the Bishop came telling him (Dr N.) to take charge of the parish and the convent. Cellini, who expected to find Bishop Du Bourg at Assumption, returned without seeing him; he left again the 15th of September. On September 19 De Neckere ,according to the orders of the Bishop, left the house of Mrs. Smith and was then living, with Fr. Anduze at Mr. Perrodin's, until the rectory would be inhabitable.—The letter of October 8, referred to in the text of the *Diary,* starts by rehearsing a painful scene which took place at Grand Coteau, on Fr. Cellini's return to that place after his unsuccessful attempt to meet the Bishop at Assumption. It seems that the prelate's letter recalling him forbade him to return to Grand Coteau: "Fr. Anduze, who was here, invested with powers from the Bishop, thought it fit to use them, when he saw Fr. C. in opposition to his Bishop. However he never went beyond threats." More important: "Mrs. Smith has, by a public deed made a donation of all her possession to Fr. C., which, being known everywhere is commented upon in a manner very disparaging to Fr. C., Mrs. Sm., religion in general, and us all. Religion and its ministers are exposed to obloquy, the way Fr. C. is spoken of is horrible...Mr. Perrodin, who expected, as you know, one-fifth of the property, is plunged in desolation; Bp. Du Bourg has nervous fits." "See whether you could not prevail upon Fr. C. to apply this donation to some purpose tending to the general good of the church, in order to put a stop to the talking...Everything is so firmly in the hands of Fr. C., that nothing but his own desistment can deprive him of it. There may be a lawsuit; the State General Attorney has expressed himself in very strong terms...As for me, I cannot believe that either Fr. C. or Mrs. Sm. had any other intention than to do good...Fr. C. obliged himself to Mrs. Sm. never to alter the holograph will which he made, whereby all the estates of Mrs. S. are returned to her; but the fact is that this will and this obligation have no value before the law, and that the public Act of Donation is the only hing valid." De Neckere adds that the Italian clergy in Louisiana, or at least Fr. Bigeschi, are shocked by the way Fr. C. was treated by the Bishop, but they are ill-informed.

November
13 Saturday. Mass early in the morning. Two confessions. In the evening confessions of the Seminarians. Fathers Cellini and Caretta went to Brazeau.

14 XXIIIrd Sunday after Pentec. Early in the morning confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Did not assist at High Mass; on account of rain there was scarcely any of the parishioners in the church. Instead of sermon there was a reading. Wrote to the Rt. Rev. Bp. of New Orleans about Frs. Rosti, Pooni, Cellini and De Neckere; I complained that a parish was confided to the last mentioned, and of the things which etc. Vespers in the church. Class of S. Scripture.

15 Monday. Early in the morning Conference to the Seminarians on Lukewarmness in God's Service. I showed how detestable it is, because it deprives us, 1st., of the delights which we would enjoy if we were fervent in God's service; 2nd., of frequent opportunities of practising various virtues; 3rd., of the merits of good works when these are neglectfully done; 4th., because it leads us to fall continually into venial sins; 5th., it exposes us and in the end leads us to mortal sin and final impenitence. The means to be employed to prevent it are, 1st., the remembrance of death; 2nd., earnestness; 3rd., prayer, etc. Wrote to Fr. De Neckere, complaining of his silence [44], and I declared to him I could not absolutely permit him to remain in the parish of Grand Coteau; 2nd., to Fr. Tielkish;

November 3rd., to Fr. Potini, telling him he should prepare himself to go back to Italy the coming spring; 4th., to Fr. Portier, about some books sent from Lyons to the Seminary and detained in New Orleans; and I asked him to prepare to send here dried fish and rice, also paper, ink, etc., and various drugs, for all which he will be given the money by the Rt. Rev. Bp. of New Orleans.

16 Tuesday. Early in the morning Spiritual Conference on Lukewarmness in God's Service, as yesterday. Mass in the chapel.

17 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel, etc.

18 Thursday. Mass in the chapel early in the morning. Received through the mail a letter of Fr. De Neckere, dated Opelousas, October 8,[181] and one of the Rt. Rev. Bishop of New Orleans, from Bringier, October 8. [182]

19 Friday. Early in the morning, Chapter. Went to confession. Two confessions. Mass in the chapel. Answered 1st., Fr. De Neckere telling him that I cannot permit that he should stay at Opelousas; 2nd., the Rt. Rev. Bishop, stating that I cannot leave Fr. De Neckere in the office of confessor of the Nuns, as that is forbidden to us by our rules, neither can I send there another priest of our Congregation, because that parish is so far away from the others that it would not be possible for him to see his confreres, and etc., etc. [183]

20 Saturday. Early in the morning, Mass in the chapel. In the evening confessions of the Seminarians; the Nuns' confessions were heard by Fr. Odin as extraordinary confessor.

21 *Last Sunday* after Pentec. Early in the morning, confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel, Communion.

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181. See above note.

182. Original in Archives of the St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery; it is not of the hand of the Bishop, who for the last two weeks has been unable to use his right arm, on account of an abcess. This letter is almost completely devoted to the recent events which had taken place at Grand Coteau. After briefly speaking of the Smith-Cellini donation, he adds: "I cannot persuade myself that, while acting against all the rules of the most elementary prudence and the counsels and even the commands of his Superiors, he was guided by sordid views of personal interest; I attribute his conduct to his self-sufficiency and his obstinacy...But the whole district is on fire, and in spite of the strong opposition which I thought it my duty to manifest, when it was still time to prevent the mischief, yet there has fallen upon the head and upon the members (of the church) an odium, the consequences of which for religion you may easily surmise." He recommends to adduce "by meekness and persuasion" Cellini to retrocede the whole to any members of the Congregation whom Rosati may deem trusty. However, he has misgivings, "owing to the character of the man we have to deal with." He adds: "As the state of Fr. De Neckere's health does not permit him to have charge both of the parish and the convent, I think his work ought to be limited to the latter; I am thinking of sending him one of his Confreres of La Fourche" (for the parish).

183. The *etc., etc.*, were quite important and wounded to the quick the feelings of Bishop Du Bourg. Rosati represented quite warmly that the Bishop had, without consulting him, disposed of Fr. De Neckere for Grand Coteau, and threatened to call back to Missouri all the priests of the Congregation then in Louisiana.

November Assisted at High Mass, at which I preached on the Gospel of the day. Assisted at Vespers. Received a letter from Fr. Dahmen, etc.

22 Monday. Early in the morning, spiritual Conference for the Seminarians, on performing our ordinary actions well. Mr. Saucier was called, etc. Mass in the chapel. Received a letter from Fr. Niel.[184] Sent Fr. Cellini to Kaskaskia, etc.

23 Tuesday. Early in the morning, Conference of the Community, on the exercise of the presence of God. Motives: it is a most efficacious means, 1st., of resisting temptation; 2nd., of avoiding sin; 3rd., of practising virtue; 4th., of leading a peaceful and, as much as is possible here below, a happy life. Means: 1. daily exercises of piety, etc.; 2. All creatures; 3. Actions, etc.; 4. Temptations, etc. Received a letter from Fr. Jeanjean.[185]

24 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel. One confession. In the evening I received through the mail letters: 1st., from Fr. De Neckere, Opelousas, September 22[186]; 2nd., from Fr. Rosti, La Fourche, October 20[187]; 3rd., from Mr. Hermant, Bardstown.

25 Thursday. Early in the mornnig, Mass in the chapel. Wrote, 1st., to Fr. Jeanjean, asking him to send a small barrel of sugar and a sack of coffee, etc.; 2nd., to Fr. Janvier, to whom etc.; 3rd., to Fr. Dahmen.

26 Friday. Chapter. Went to confession. Mass in the chapel. One confession. In the evening, received the books which Fr. Cholleton, director of the Seminary of Lyons, procured us, the price of which...$240.00 he paid, and we shall refund by saying Masses for his intentions.

27 Saturday. Early in the morning, Mass in the chapel. One confession. Confessions of the Nuns. In the evening confessions of the Seminarians.

28 Ist Sunday in Advent. Early in the morning, heard the Brothers' confessions. Mass in the chapel. One confession. Assisted at High Mass, at which Fr. Odin preached. Vespers in the church.

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184. November 19. Original in Archives of the St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery. Still unwell. Sends copy of Doctor's certificate, countersigned by Fr. Saulnier; begs permission to go at once; cannot wait until spring. Asks that someone be sent to St. Louis to make arrangements for the Academy with Mr. Shephard; is physically unable to continue it, and when the contract expires he will not take it again.

185. September 22, 1824. Original *ibid.* Was able to clear from the customhouse the books sent from Europe; they are shipped on the *Steubenville* together with a number of other things. When all notes due are paid, the account of Rosati will be about $170 in deficit.

186. On this much delayed letter, see above, Note 180.

187. Original in Archives of the St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery. Protests that whatever he has written before, is true, and was written for no other purpose than to fulfill his duty. Complains of his companion in regard to money matters, and his disparaging conversations about the Superior and the Bishop. One of the two ought to be changed, and he is ready to be the one.

November Monday. Early in the morning, Conference for the Seminarians on the sanctification of the season of Advent. (Mr. Thompson). 1st. Motive, in order that we may correspond to the wishes of the church; 2nd., in order that this preparation may draw graces from God upon us; 3rd., in order that we may correspond to the graces received. Means: 1st., Recollection; 2nd., Consideration of our wretchedness; 3rd., desire of the help from heaven, etc.; 4th., invocation of the Savior; 5th., practice of virtue, etc. Mass in the chapel.

30 Tuesday. Early in the morning, Conference of the Community, as yesterday, (Fr. Odin). Mass in the chapel. Assisted at High Mass in the church. Vespers in the church. Return of Fr. Cellini, who gathered at Mr. O'Hara's the Catholics scattered in Illinois, heard their confessions, gave communion to 20, and confirmed them in their desire of building a church. On the 1st Sunday of Advent he said Mass and preached at Kaskaskia, whose inhabitants undertook to repair the church in the hope of getting a resident priest. Through Fr. Cellini I received a letter from Father Niel begging permission to go to Europe,[188] 2. also one from Fr. Saulnier[189], 3,and one from the Bp. of New Orleans.[190]

DECEMBER.

1 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel. I promised to two men of New Madrid that I would send a priest to that place at the beginning of next spring.

2 Thursday. Mass early in the Morning in the chapel.

See No. 4. Permission to Fr. Niel to go to France.[191]

3 Friday. Early in the morning, Chapter. Went to confession. Mass in the chapel. One confession.

4 Saturday. Mass early in the morning. Postponed the Nuns' confessions to the 7th inst. Answered Fr. Niel and sent him the permission to go.

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188. November 25. Original *ibid.* Describes the bad state of his health, and once more asks to go. Bp. Du Bourg needs not be afraid he may pretend to be sent to collect.

189. November 24. Original *ibid.* Sends a leter of Bp. Du Bourg (evidently the letter received the same day; see note 190). Has sent to the Bishop the five pictures he claimed, five boxes of books and some altar ornaments.

190. This letter had been written more than two months before, September 24, 1824, and was in part an answer to Rosati's letter of July 16.—Sorrow for Fr. Nerinckx' death. There are threats of taking away the Church block in St. Louis; this ought to be attended to by Rosati in person, not through Fr. Niel. The Ursuline Convent in New Orleans has just been turned over to the Bishop. The College will open soon under the direction of Fr. Portier.

191. *Copiae Litterarum et Documentorum Officialium a Rmo. Josepho Rosati Epo. etc., a 14 Januarii 1822 ad 22 Aprilis 1840,* No. 4.

December 5 IInd Sunday of Advent. Early in the morning, confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Assisted at High Mass in the church, during which I preached on the preparation to be made during this season of Advent for the Feast of Christmas. Vespers in the church.

6 Monday. Early in the morning, spiritual Conference to the Seminarians, on the virtue of Mortification.

7 Tuesday. Early in the morning, before Meditation, Mass in the chapel. Spiritual Conference of the Community, on the virtue of Mortification; after that, confessions of the Nuns. In the evening, confessions of the Seminarians.

8 Wednesday. Early in the morning, confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Communion. Assisted at High Mass in the church.

9 Thursday. Mass early in the morning. Conference to the Nuns.

10 Friday. Early in the morning, Chapter. Went to confession.

11 Saturday. Mass in the chapel. In the evening confessions of the Seminarians.

12 IIIrd Sunday of Advent. In the morning, confessions of the Brothers. Assisted at High Mass, during which the sermon was preached by Fr. Odin. Vespers in the chapel, on account of rain.

13 Monday. Spiritual Conference to the Seminarians, on the virtue of humility. Mass in the chapel.

14 Tuesday. Spiritual Conference of the Community on the virtue of humility. Mass in the chapel.

15 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel. At 8:30 p. m. was begun the Novena in peparation for Christmas.

16 Thursday. Mass early in the morning. Spiritual Conference to the Nuns.

17 Friday. Chapter. Went to confession. Mass in the chapel.

18 Saturday. Confessions of the Nuns. In the evening, confessions of the Seminarians. At 9 a. m., Mass in the church, during which I promoted Messrs. Paquin and Vergani to Subdeaconship.

Ordin. No. 5.

19 IVth Sunday of Advent. Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Assisted at High Mass, during which I preached: *There hath stood one in the midst of you, whom you know not.*[192] On knowing Christ, etc.

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192. John i, 26.

December IInd Sunday of Advent. Early in the morning, con-
5 fessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Assisted at High Mass in the church, during which I preached on the preparation to be made during this season of Advent for the Feast of Christmas. Vespers in the church.

6 Monday. Early in the morning, spiritual Conference to the Seminarians, on the virtue of Mortification.

7 Tuesday. Early in the morning, before Meditation, Mass in the chapel. Spiritual Conference of the Community, on the virtue of Mortification; after that, confessions of the Nuns. In the evening, confessions of the Seminarians.

8 Wednesday. Early in the morning, confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Communion. Assisted at High Mass in the church.

9 Thursday. Mass early in the morning. Conference to the Nuns.

10 Friday. Early in the morning, Chapter. Went to confession.

11 Saturday. Mass in the chapel. In the evening confessions of the Seminarians.

12 IIIrd Sunday of Advent. In the morning, confessions of the Brothers. Assisted at High Mass, during which the sermon was preached by Fr. Odin. Vespers in the chapel, on account of rain.

13 Monday. Spiritual Conference to the Seminarians, on the virtue of humility. Mass in the chapel.

14 Tuesday. Spiritual Conference of the Community on the virtue of humility. Mass in the chapel.

15 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel. At 8:30 p. m. was begun the Novena in preparation for Christmas.

16 Thursday. Mass early in the morning. Spiritual Conference to the Nuns.

17 Friday. Chapter. Went to confession. Mass in the chapel.

18 Saturday. Confessions of the Nuns. In the evening, confessions of the Seminarians. At 9 a. m. Mass in the church, during which I promoted Messrs. Dupuis and Vergani to Subdeaconship.

19 IVth Sunday of Advent. Confessions of the Brothers. Mass in the chapel. Assisted at High Mass, during which I preached: "There hath stood one in the midst of you, whom you know not." [105] On knowing Christ, etc.

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[105] John i, 26.

December 20 Monday. Spiritual Conference for the Seminarians, on the Imitation of Christ. Mass in the chapel. Wrote to Fr. Niel, and gave him permission to go to Europe on account of his health.

21 Tuesday. Spiritual Conference of the Community, as yesterday, etc. Mass in the chapel. Assisted at High Mass in the chapel.

22 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel. Received letters: 1st. from Fr. Tichitoli; 2nd., from the same; 3rd., from Fr. Potini [193]; 4th., from Fr. Niel [194]; 5th., from Fr. Niel. [195]

23 Thursday. Mass in the chapel. Letter from Mr. English, blacksmith, etc.

24 Friday. Vigil of the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ. Early in the morning Mass in the chapel. Confessions of the Nuns. At 9 a. m., assisted at High Mass in the church. At 1:45 p. m., confessions of the Seminarians. At 3:30 p. m., solemn Vespers in the church. At 4:30 p. m. confessions of the Brothers, etc. At 5:30, collation. At 7:45 night prayers. Received letters, 1st., from Fr. Niel [196]; 2nd., from Mad. Duchesne.

25 Saturday. Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ. At 1:30 a. m., Rising. At 2, Matins in the church. Pontifical Mass at which homily: *I bring you good tidings of great joy,* [197] etc.; after Mass, solemn Lauds, following which second Mass (a low Mass) in the church. At 11 o'clock, after the singing of Tierce, Pontifical Mass in the church. At 4 p. m., Pontifical Vespers, following which sermon by Mr. Vergani.

26 Sunday. Mass in the chapel. Assistance in cope at High Mass and homily on St. Stephen: Yesterday we saw in the Mystery of the Nativity what God did for us; today we must learn from St. Stephen what we should do for God. Solemn Vespers in the church, after which sermon by Mr. Loisel.

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193. St. Joseph's, La. November 20, 1824. Original in Archives of the St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery. Rosti's actions proceed from disappointed ambition; he expected to be pastor. Cannot prove the facts he complains of. Explanations about money matters; he professes publicly subversive opinions. Potini wants permission either to return to the Seminary, or to go to Europe. He proposes to write to the Vic. Gen. the whole matter. Does not know where Rosti now is; the Bishop sent him to Grand Coteau, to help Fr. De Neckere.

194. December 8. Original in Archives of the St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery. Steamboat mishaps have delayed letters from Louisiana, hence no answer from Bp. Du Bourg. Expects somebody from Vincennes to take up the Academy. Asks permission for Midnight Mass at Christmas; the people promise to see that good order is kept.

195. December 15. Original *ibid.* Received Rosati's letter and Dimissorials. Will not be able to go to the Barrens; no boat. The trustees and parishioners of St. Louis ask him to represent condition of their church where he will go; hopes this will not be against the orders of Bp. Du Bourg.

196. One of these three entries recording the reception of a letter from Fr. Niel must be a duplicate. No other letters of that date are extant.

197. Luke, ii, 10.

December

Monday. Spiritual Conference for the Seminarians, on the Imitation of Christ. Mass in the chapel. Wrote to Fr. Niel, and gave him permission to go to Europe on account of his health.

Tuesday. Spiritual Conference of the Community, as yesterday, etc. Mass in the chapel. Assisted at High Mass in the chapel.

Wednesday. Mass in the chapel. Received letters: 1st, from Fr. Thellioll; 2nd, from the same; 3rd, from Fr. Potini[195]; 4th, from Fr. Niel[196]; 5th, from Fr. Niel.[196]

Thursday. Mass in the chapel. Letter from Mr. English, blacksmith, etc.

Friday. Vigil of the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ. Early in the morning Mass in the chapel. Confessions of the Nuns. At 9 a. m., assisted at High Mass in the church. At 1:45 p. m., confessions of the Seminarians. At 3:30 p. m., solemn Vespers in the church. At 4:30 p. m. confessions of the Brothers, etc. At 5:30, collation. At 7:45 night prayers. Received letters, 1st, from Fr. Niel[196]; 2nd, from Mad. Duchesne.

Saturday. Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ. At 1:30 a. m., Rising. At 2, Matins in the church, Pontifical Mass at which homily: I bring you good tidings of great joy, [197] etc.; after Mass, solemn Lauds, following which second Mass (a low Mass) in the church. At 11 o'clock, after the singing of Tierce, Pontifical Mass in the church. At 4 p. m., Pontifical Vespers, following which sermon by Mr. Vergani.

Sunday. Mass in the chapel. Assistance in cope at High Mass and homily on St. Stephen: Yesterday we saw in the Mystery of the Nativity what God did for us; today we must learn from St. Stephen what we should do for God. Solemn Vespers in the church, after which sermon by Mr. Loisel.

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195. St. Joseph's, La. November 29, 1851. Original in Archives of the St. Louis Cathedral. Chancery. Bonte's actions proceed from disappointed ambition. Je cherche la paix. Cannot prove the facts he complains of. Reclamations about money matters. Preferences publicly subversive opinions. Postal wants permission either to return to the country, or to go to Europe. He proposes to write to the Vic. Gen. the whole matter. We now where Bonte now is: the Bishop sent him to Grand Coteau, to help Fr. Neckers.

196. December 8. Original in Archives of the St. Louis Archdioc. Chancery. Sisters of Loretto have desired letters from Louisiana. Begs us answer them. Be benign. Wants somebody from Vincennes to take up the Academy. Asks permission for Mass at Christmas; the people promise to see that good order is kept.

197. December 15. Original (ibid. Received Nativity letter and Dimissorials. Will not able to go to the Baptême; no boat. The trustees and parishioners of St. Louis ask him [illegible] condition of their church where he will get hopes this will not be against orders of Bp. Du Bourg.

198. One of these three entries recording the reception of a letter from Fr. Niel must be a duplicate. No other letters of that date are extant.

199. Luke, ii, 12.

December 27 Monday. Mass in the chapel. Assistance at High Mass, etc. Vespers in the church.

28 Tuesday. Mass in the chapel. Assistance at High Mass. Vespers at 3 o'clock. Letter and power of Vicar General given to the Rev. Fr. Van Quickenborne.[198]

Record No. 6.

29 Wednesday. Mass in the chapel.

30 Thursday. Mass in the chapel.

31 Friday. Mass early in the morning in the chapel. Confessions of the Nuns. At 1:45 p. m., confessions of the Seminarians. At 3:30 we assembled in the church; there I preached on the swiftness with which the years of our life go by, etc. Exposition of the Bl. Sacrament. *Te Deum.* Benediction, etc.

198. *Copiae Litterarum et Documentorum Officialium* etc., No. 6.

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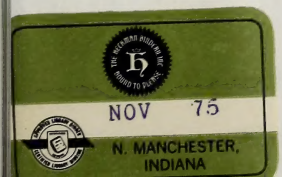
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